

From Suffrage to the Senate

From Suffrage to the Senate

An Encyclopedia of American Women in Politics

Volume 1: A–M

Suzanne O’Dea Schenken

Foreword by Ann W. Richards



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Administrative Appointments

- Adams, Annette Abbott (Justice
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 Adkins, Bertha Sheppard (Health,
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 Anderson, Eugenie Moore (Am-
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 Anderson, Mary (Women's Bu-
 reau)
 Armstrong, Anne Legendre (Am-
 bassador)
 Baca, Pauline Celia (Polly) (Office
 of Consumer Affairs; General
 Services Administration)
 Banuelos, Romana Acosta (Trea-
 surer)
 Bellamy, Carol (Peace Corps)
 Bentley, Helen Delich (Federal
 Maritime Commission)
 Berry, Mary Frances (Commission
 on Civil Rights)
 Campbell, Bonnie Jean Pierce (Vi-
 olence Against Women Office)
 Clark Gray, Georgia Neese (Trea-
 surer)
 Costanza, Margaret (Midge)
 (White House Public Liaison)
 East, Catherine Shipe (Department
 of Labor)

Echaveste, Maria (Deputy White House Chief of Staff)	Alpha Suffrage Club
Elders, Joycelyn (Surgeon General)	American Association of University Women
Harriman, Pamela Beryl Digby Churchill Hayward (Ambassador)	American Civil Liberties Union
Hernandez, Aileen Clarke (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission)	American Life League, Inc.
Koontz, Elizabeth Duncan (Women's Bureau)	American Woman Suffrage Association
Lathrop, Julia (Children's Bureau)	Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching
Lewis, Ann Frank (White House Director of Communications; Counselor to the President)	Business and Professional Women/USA
Louchheim, Kathleen (Katie) Scofield (Ambassador)	Catholics for a Free Choice
Meissner, Doris Marie (Immigration and Naturalization Service)	Center for the American Woman and Politics
Motley, Constance Baker (Federal Judge)	Children's Bureau
Myers, Margaret Jane (Dee Dee) (White House Press Secretary)	Children's Defense Fund
Ortega, Katherine Davalos (Treasurer)	Christian Coalition
Novello, Antonia Coello (Surgeon General)	Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women
Peterson, Esther (Women's Bureau)	Coalition for Women's Appointments
Priest, Ivy Maude Baker (Treasurer)	Coalition of Labor Union Women
Smith, Mary Louise (Commission on Civil Rights)	Colored Women's League
Watson, Barbara Mae (State Department)	Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, Inc.
Wexler, Anne Levy (White House Public Liaison)	Commissions on the Status of Women
Widnall, Sheila Evans (Secretary of the Air Force)	Communist Party, USA
Willebrandt, Mabel Walker (Department of Justice)	Concerned Women for America
	Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues
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	Daughters of Bilitis
	Daughters of Liberty
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ERAmerica
 Federal Women's Program
 Federally Employed Women
 The Feminist Majority
 Feminists for Life of America
 General Federation of Women's Clubs
 Glass Ceiling Commission
 Green Party USA
 Independent Women's Forum
 League of Women Voters
 MANA, a National Latina Organization
 Ms. Foundation for Women
 Ms. Magazine
 National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League
 National Advisory Committee for Women
 National American Woman Suffrage Association
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the
 National Association of Colored Women
 National Association of Commissions for Women
 National Coalition Against Domestic Violence
 National Coalition of 100 Black Women
 National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975
 National Committee on Pay Equity
 National Committee to Defeat the Unequal Rights Amendment
 National Consumers League
 National Council of Jewish Women
 National Council of Negro Women
 National Federation of Afro-American Women
 National Federation of Republican Women
 National Gender Balance Project USA
 National League of Republican Colored Women
 National Organization for Women
 National Organization of Black Elected Legislative Women
 National Political Congress of Black Women
 National Right to Life Committee
 National Welfare Rights Organization
 National Woman Suffrage Association
 National Woman's Party
 National Women's Conference
 National Women's Conference Committee
 National Women's Political Caucus
 New York Radical Women
 9to5, National Association of Working Women
 Operation Rescue
 Planned Parenthood Federation of America
 President's Commission on the Status of Women
 President's Interagency Council on Women
 President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities
 Progressive Party, Women in the Pro-Life Action League
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Woman's Peace Party
Women Strike for Peace
Women Work! The National Net-
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Women's Bureau
Women's Campaign Fund
Women's Equity Action League
Women's Health, Office of
Research on
Women's International League for
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Women's Joint Congressional
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Women's Policy, Inc.
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Women's Political Union
Women's Trade Union League
YWCA of the USA

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 1979–1981
 Kirkpatrick, Jeane Duane Jordan,
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 O’Leary, Hazel Rollins, 1993–
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 Perkins, Frances (Fanny) Corlie,
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Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology (1986)
UAW v. Johnson Controls (1991)
United States v. Virginia (1996)
Webster v. Reproductive Health Services (1989)
Weeks v. Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company (1969)
Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld (1975)
Williams v. Zbaraz (1980)

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Adams, Abigail Smith, 1797–1801

Bush, Barbara Pierce, 1989–1993
 Carter, Eleanor Rosalynn Smith, 1977–1981
 Clinton, Hillary Diane Rodham, 1993–2001
 Ford, Elizabeth Ann (Betty) Bloomer, 1974–1977
 Johnson, Claudia Alta (Lady Bird) Taylor, 1963–1969
 Nixon, Pat Ryan, 1969–1974
 Onassis, Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy, 1961–1963
 Reagan, Nancy Robins, 1981–1989
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 1933–1945
 Wilson, Edith Bolling Galt, 1915–1961

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 Juries, Women on
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 Public Offices, Women Elected to
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Collins, Martha Layne Hall (D-KY), 1983–1987
 Ferguson, Miriam Amanda Wallace (D-TX), 1925–1927, 1933–1935
 Finney, Joan (D-KS), 1991–1995
 Grasso, Ella Rosa Giovanna Oliva Tambussi (D-CT), 1975–1980
 Hull, Jane Dee Bowersock (R-AZ), 1997–
 Kunin, Madeleine May (D-VT), 1985–1991
 Mofford, Rose Perica (D-AZ), 1988–1991

Orr, Kay Avonne Stark (R-NE),
1987–1991
Ray, Dixy Lee (D-WA), 1977–1981
Richards, Ann Willis (D-TX),
1991–1995
Roberts, Barbara Hughey (D-OR),
1991–1995
Ross, Nellie Tayloe (D-WY),
1925–1927
Roy, Vesta M. (R-NH), 1982–1983
Shaheen, Jeanne (D-NH), 1997–
Wallace, Lurleen Burns (D-AL),
1967–1968
Whitman, Christine Todd (R-NJ),
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Abortion
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Child Day Care
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Conservatism
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Divorce Law Reform
Domestic Violence
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The Feminine Mystique
Feminist Movement
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Gender Gap
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Military, Women in the
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Peace Movement
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Rape
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RU-486 (Mifepristone)
Seneca Falls Convention
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Sexual Harassment
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Social Security
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Suffrage
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Triangle Shirtwaist Company Fire
Welfare
Women's Liberation Movement
Year of the Woman

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Adkins, Bertha Sheppard (Repub-
lican National Committee)
Blair, Emily Newell (Democratic
National Committee)
Crisp, Mary Dent (Republican Na-
tional Committee)
Dewson, Mary (Molly) Williams
(Democratic National Commit-
tee)
Edwards, India Moffett (Demo-
cratic National Committee)
Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley (Comm-
unist Party)

- Martin, Marion E. (Republican National Committee)
- Moskowitz, Belle Lindner Israels (Democratic National Committee)
- Smith, Mary Louise (Republican National Committee)
- Upton, Harriet Taylor (Republican National Committee)
- Westwood, Frances Jean Miles (Democratic National Committee)
- Willebrandt, Mabel Walker (Republican National Committee)
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- Abzug, Bella Savitzky (D-NY), 1971–1977
- Andrews, (Leslie) Elizabeth Bullock (D-AL), 1972–1973
- Ashbrook, (Emily) Jean Spencer (R-OH), 1982–1983
- Baker, Irene Bailey (R-TN), 1964–1965
- Baldwin, Tammy (D-WI), 1999–
- Bentley, Helen Delich (R-MD), 1985–1995
- Berkley, Shelley (D-NV), 1999–
- Biggert, Judith Borg (R-IL), 1999–
- Blitch, Iris Faircloth (D-GA), 1955–1963
- Boggs, Marie Corinne Morrison Claiborne (Lindy) (D-LA), 1973–1991
- Boland, Veronica Grace (D-PA), 1942–1943
- Bolton, Frances Payne Bingham (R-OH), 1940–1969
- Bono, Mary Whitaker (R-CA), 1998–
- Bosone, Reva Zilpha Beck (D-UT), 1949–1953
- Boxer, Barbara Levy (D-CA), 1983–1993
- Brown, Corrine (D-FL), 1993–
- Buchanan, Vera Daerr (D-PA), 1951–1955
- Burke, Perle Yvonne Watson Brathwaite (D-CA), 1973–1979
- Burton, Sala Galante (D-CA), 1983–1987
- Byrne, Leslie Larkin (D-VA), 1993–1995
- Byron, Beverly Barton Butcher (D-MD), 1979–1993
- Byron, Katharine Edgar (D-MD), 1941–1943
- Cantwell, Maria (D-WA), 1993–1995
- Capps, Lois (D-CA), 1998–
- Carson, Julia May Porter (D-IN), 1997–
- Chenoweth, Helen Palmer (R-ID), 1995–
- Chisholm, Shirley Anita St. Hill (D-NY), 1969–1983
- Christian-Green, Donna (D-VI), 1997–
- Church, Marguerite Stitt (R-IL), 1951–1963
- Clarke, Marian Williams (R-NY), 1933–1935
- Clayton, Eva McPherson (D-NC), 1992–
- Collins, Barbara-Rose (D-MI), 1991–1997
- Collins, Cardiss Hortense Robertson (D-IL), 1973–1997
- Cubin, Barbara Lynn (R-WY), 1995–
- Danner, Patsy Ann (D-MO), 1993–
- DeGette, Diana (D-CO), 1997–

DeLauro, Rosa L. (D-CT), 1991–
 Douglas, Emily Taft (D-IL),
 1945–1947
 Douglas, Helen Mary Gahagan (D-
 CA), 1945–1951
 Dunn, Jennifer (R-WA), 1993–
 Dwyer, Florence Price (R-NJ),
 1957–1973
 Emerson, Jo Ann (R-MO), 1996–
 English, Karan (D-AZ), 1993–1995
 Eshoo, Anna G. (D-CA), 1993–
 Eslick, Willa McCord Blake (D-
 TN), 1932–1933
 Farrington, Mary Elizabeth Pruett
 (R-HI), 1954–1957
 Fenwick, Millicent Hammond (R-
 NJ), 1975–1983
 Ferraro, Geraldine Anne (D-NY),
 1979–1985
 Fiedler, Roberta (Bobbi) Frances
 Horowitz (R-CA), 1981–1987
 Fowler, Tillie Kidd (R-FL), 1993–
 Fulmer, Willa Lybrand (D-SC),
 1944–1945
 Furse, Elizabeth (D-OR),
 1993–1999
 Gasque Van Exem, Elizabeth Mills
 Hawley (D-SC), 1938–1939
 Gibbs, Florence Reville (D-GA),
 1940–1941
 Granahan, Kathryn Elizabeth
 O’Hay (D-PA), 1956–1963
 Granger, Kay (R-TX), 1997–
 Grasso, Ella Rosa Giovanna Oliva
 Tambussi (D-CT), 1971–1975
 Green, Edith Louise Starrett (D-
 OR), 1955–1975
 Greene, Enid (R-UT), 1995–1997
 Greenway King, Isabella Selmes
 (D-AZ), 1933–1937
 Griffiths, Martha Edna Wright (D-
 MI), 1955–1974
 Hall, Katie Beatrice Green (D-IN),
 1982–1985
 Hansen, Julia Caroline Butler (D-
 WA), 1960–1974
 Harden, Cecil Murray (R-IN),
 1949–1959
 Harman, Jane Frank (D-CA),
 1993–1999
 Heckler, Margaret Mary
 O’Shaughnessy (R-MA),
 1967–1983
 Hicks, (Anna) Louise Day (D-
 MA), 1971–1973
 Holt, Marjorie Sewell (R-MD),
 1973–1987
 Holtzman, Elizabeth (D-NY),
 1973–1981
 Honeyman, Nan Wood (D-OR),
 1937–1939
 Hooley, Darlene (D-OR), 1997–
 Horn, Joan Kelly (D-MO),
 1991–1993
 Huck, Winifred Sprague Mason
 (R-IL), 1922–1923
 Hyde, Henry John (R-IL), 1975–
 Jackson Lee, Sheila (D-TX), 1995–
 Jenckes, Virginia Ellis (D-IN),
 1933–1939
 Johnson, Eddie Bernice (D-TX),
 1993–
 Johnson, Nancy Lee (R-CT),
 1983–
 Jones, Stephanie Tubbs (D-OH),
 1999–
 Jordan, Barbara Charline (D-TX),
 1973–1979
 Kahn, Florence Prag (R-CA),
 1925–1937
 Kaptur, Marcia (Marcy) Carolyn
 (D-OH), 1983–
 Kee, Maude Elizabeth Simpkins
 (D-WV), 1951–1965

Kelly, Edna Patricia Kathleen
 Flannery (D-NY), 1949–1969
 Kelly, Sue W. (R-NY), 1995–
 Kennelly, Barbara Bailey (D-CT),
 1982–1999
 Keys, Martha Elizabeth Ludwig
 (D-KS), 1975–1979
 Kilpatrick, Carolyn Cheeks
 (D-MI), 1997–
 Knutson, Coya Gjesdal (D-MN),
 1955–1959
 Langley, Katherine Gudger
 (R-KY), 1927–1931
 Lee, Barbara (D-CA), 1998–
 Lincoln, Blanche Lambert (D-AR),
 1993–1997
 Lloyd Bouquard, Rachel Marilyn
 Laird (D-TN), 1975–1995
 Lofgren, Zoe (D-CA), 1995–
 Long, Catherine Small (D-LA),
 1985–1987
 Long Thompson, Jill Lynnette
 (D-IN), 1989–1995
 Lowey, Nita Melnikoff (D-NY),
 1989–
 Luce, Clare Boothe (R-CT),
 1943–1947
 Lusk, Georgia Lee Witt (D-NM),
 1947–1949
 Maloney, Carolyn Boshier (D-NY),
 1993–
 Mankin, Helen Douglas (D-GA),
 1946–1947
 Margolies-Mezvinsky, Marjorie
 (D-PA), 1993–1995
 Martin, Judith Lynn Morley
 (R-IL), 1981–1991
 May Bedell, Catherine Dean
 Barnes (R-WA), 1959–1971
 McCarthy, Carolyn (D-NY),
 1997–
 McCarthy, Karen (D-MO), 1995–
 McCormick Simms, Ruth Hanna
 (R-IL), 1929–1931
 McKinney, Cynthia Ann (D-GA),
 1993–
 McMillan, Clara Gooding (D-SC),
 1939–1941
 Meek, Carrie Pittman (D-FL),
 1993–
 Meyers, Jan (R-KS), 1985–1997
 Meyner, Helen Day Stevenson
 (D-NJ), 1975–1979
 Mikulski, Barbara Ann (D-MD),
 1977–1987
 Millender-McDonald, Juanita
 (D-CA), 1996–
 Mink, Patsy Matsu Takemoto
 (D-HI), 1965–1977, 1990–
 Molinari, Susan (R-NY),
 1990–1997
 Morella, Constance Albanese
 (R-MD), 1987–
 Myrick, Sue (R-NC), 1995–
 Napolitano, Grace Flores (D-CA),
 1999–
 Nolan, Mae Ella Hunt (R-CA),
 1923–1925
 Norrell, Catherine Dorris (D-AR),
 1961–1963
 Northrup, Anne Meagher (R-KY),
 1997–
 Norton, Eleanor Holmes (D-DC),
 1991–
 Norton, Mary Teresa Hopkins
 (D-NJ), 1925–1951
 Oakar, Mary Rose (D-OH),
 1977–1993
 O’Day, Caroline Love Goodwin
 (D-NY), 1935–1943
 O’Laughlin, Kathryn Ellen Mc-
 Carthy (D-KS), 1933–1935
 Oldfield, Pearl Peden (D-AR),
 1929–1931

Owen Rohde, Ruth Bryan (D-FL), 1929–1933

Patterson, Elizabeth Johnston (D-SC), 1987–1993

Pelosi, Nancy B. (D-CA), 1987–

Pettis Roberson, Shirley Neil McCumber (R-CA), 1975–1979

Pfost, Gracie Bowers (D-ID), 1953–1963

Pratt, Eliza Jane (D-NC), 1946–1947

Pratt, Ruth Sears Baker (R-NY), 1929–1933

Pryce, Deborah (R-OH), 1993–

Rankin, Jeannette Pickering (R-MT), 1917–1919, 1941–1943

Reece, Louise Goff (R-TN), 1961–1963

Reid, Charlotte Thompson (R-IL), 1963–1971

Riley, Corrine Boyd (D-SC), 1962–1963

Rivers, Lynn Nancy (D-MI), 1995–

Robertson, Alice Mary (R-OK), 1921–1923

Rogers, Edith Frances Nourse (R-MA), 1925–1960

Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana (R-FL), 1989–

Roukema, Margaret Scafati (R-NJ), 1981–

Roybal-Allard, Lucille (D-CA), 1993–

Saiki, Patricia Fukuda (R-HI), 1987–1991

St. George, Katharine Delano Price Collier (R-NY), 1947–1965

Sanchez, Loretta (D-CA), 1997–

Schakowsky, Janice D. (D-IL), 1999–

Schenk, Lynn (D-CA), 1993–1995

Schneider, Claudine Cmarada (R-RI), 1981–1991

Schroeder, Patricia Nell Scott (D-CO), 1973–1997

Seastrand, Andrea Ciszek (R-CA), 1995–1997

Shepherd, Karen (D-UT), 1993–1995

Simpson, Edna Oakes (R-IL), 1959–1961

Slaughter, Louise McIntosh (D-NY), 1987–

Smith, Howard Worth (D-VA), 1931–1967

Smith, Linda A. (R-WA), 1995–1999

Smith, Margaret Madeline Chase (R-ME), 1940–1949

Smith, Virginia Dodd (R-NE), 1975–1991

Snowe, Olympia Jean Bouchles (R-ME), 1979–1995

Spellman, Gladys Blossom Noon (D-MD), 1975–1981

Stabenow, Deborah Ann (D-MI), 1997–

Stanley, Winifred Claire (R-NY), 1943–1945

Sullivan, Leonor Kretzer (D-MO), 1953–1977

Sumner, Jessie (R-IL), 1939–1947

Tauscher, Ellen (D-CA), 1997–

Thomas, Lera Millard (D-TX), 1966–1967

Thompson, Ruth (R-MI), 1951–1957

Thurman, Karen L. (D-FL), 1993–

Unsoeld, Jolene Bishoprick (D-WA), 1989–1995

Velázquez, Nydia Margarita (D-NY), 1993–

Vucanovich, Barbara Farrell
(R-NV), 1983–1997
Waters, Maxine Moore (D-CA),
1991–
Weis, Jessica McCullough (R-NY),
1959–1963
Wilson, Heather (R-NM), 1998–
Wingo, Effiegene Locke (D-AR),
1930–1933
Woodhouse, Chase Going (D-CT),
1945–1947, 1949–1951
Woolsey, Lynn (D-CA), 1993–

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Abel, Hazel Pearl Hempel (R-NE),
1954
Allen, Maryon Pittman (D-AL),
1978
Bowring, Eva Kelly (R-NE), 1954
Boxer, Barbara Levy (D-CA),
1993–
Burdick, Jocelyn Birch (D-ND),
1992–
Bushfield, Vera Cahalan (R-SD),
1948
Caraway, Hattie Ophelia Wyatt
(D-AR), 1931–1945
Collins, Susan Margaret (R-ME),
1997–
Edwards, Elaine Lucille
Schwartzenburg (D-LA), 1972
Feinstein, Dianne Goldman
(D-CA), 1992–
Felton, Rebecca Ann Latimer
(D-GA), 1922
Frahm, Sheila Sloan (R-KS), 1996
Graves, Dixie Bibb (D-AL),
1937–1938
Hawkins, Paula Fickes (R-FL),
1981–1987

Humphrey Brown, Muriel Fay
Buck (D-MN), 1978
Hutchison, Kathryn (Kay) Ann
Bailey (R-TX), 1993–
Kassebaum Baker, Nancy Landon
(R-KS), 1979–1997
Landrieu, Mary (D-LA), 1997–
Lincoln, Blanche Lambert (D-AR),
1999–
Long, Rose McConnell (D-LA),
1936–1937
Mikulski, Barbara Ann (D-MD),
1987–
Moseley-Braun, Carol (D-IL),
1993–1999
Murray, Patty Johns (D-WA),
1993–
Neuberger, Maurine Brown
(D-OR), 1960–1967
Pyle, Gladys (R-SD), 1938–1939
Smith, Margaret Madeline Chase
(R-ME), 1949–1973
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(R-ME), 1995–

U.S. Supreme Court Justices

Ginsburg, Ruth Joan Bader, 1993–
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Women of Sovereign Nations

Bonnin, Gertrude Simmons (a.k.a.
Zitkala-Ša and Red Bird)
(1876–1938)
Deer, Ada Elizabeth (b. 1935)
Harris, LaDonna (b. 1931)
Jumper, Betty Mae (b. 1923)
LaDuke, Winona (b. 1959)
Liliuokalani (1838–1917)
Mankiller, Wilma P. (b. 1945)

Foreword

The big story in American politics, the narrative that runs through our history, is the expansion of power from the few to the many. When they left Europe for the New World, our ancestors were leaving nations where they had little or no influence over politics or political action. Their religion or their poverty or their failure to be born into the nobility kept them from having any real power in government. So, from the beginning in America, it was fundamentally important to ensure that ability to participate and the power that goes with it.

American women have been petitioning for equal rights since colonial times. When the founding fathers were debating the Constitution, Abigail Adams wrote her husband John and told him to be sure to “remember the ladies.”

Looking back to the beginning of the organized movement for suffrage, we remember founding mothers like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Carrie Chapman Catt. Anthony is especially vivid in my mind because she worked so long and so hard. She was there when the organized movement began in 1848 and she was the symbolic leader until she died in 1906. And, I especially admire the work of African American women like Mary Church Terrell who supported suffrage in spite of the fact that they were often discriminated against in order to reduce Southern political objections. We share the legacy of these strong women and we add to it with every day of our lives.

But when we look back to find our past, it is not always easy to do. I know because I worked for years on the Women in Texas History Project. In fact, that project was born because of a question my daughter Ellen

asked. I had taken my kids to San Antonio to see an exhibit about Texas history at the Institute of Texan Cultures. And after we had seen most of the presentation, Ellen, who was about twelve at the time, turned to me and said, “Mama, where are the women?” Several years and a lot of work later, we opened “Texas Women: A Celebration of History” at the Institute of Texan Cultures. So I understand what is required to reclaim our history and I know how valuable the work of reclamation is to all of us.

Finding the women from our past helps us know who we are and where we came from. Those of us who grew up looking at history textbooks that contained few pictures of strong women know how much it means to have those pictures in this book for our children and grandchildren.

We have come a long way from the days when, for all we knew, Clara Barton, Florence Nightingale, Jane Addams, and Amelia Earhart were the only women who ever worked outside the home. Only one of them dared to take on a “man’s job” like flying. And we know what happened to her.

There was a time when the history books told us by their omissions that women should know their place and keep their silence. Thanks to the efforts of historians like Suzanne O’Dea Schenken and thoughtful publishers like ABC-CLIO, we’ve made considerable progress.

I hope that every young person who opens this encyclopedia finds inspiration in its pages and determines to go into public service—if not in elective office, then by working for candidates and issues of your choice and volunteering to help your community. And, I hope many of you will become entries in later editions of *From Suffrage to the Senate: An Encyclopedia of American Women in Politics*.

Ann W. Richards
Austin, Texas
September, 1999

Preface

The story of American women and politics covers a wide range of topics. In selecting entries for this volume, consideration was given to several factors depending on the nature of the entry. Biographical sketches can be found for women who served in Congress, as governors, and in presidential cabinets. Women heads of organizations or agencies who influenced policies related to women are also included, as are women leaders in political parties. Women's organizations have been limited to those that seek to influence public policy. Selecting the legislation to include presented some challenges because women have been involved in so many areas of public policy and because every policy from tax rates to war and peace affects women. To narrow the selections, only those measures that more specifically address issues related to women are included. Court decisions pose a similar problem, and the same criteria were used. Some broad topics, such as the civil rights movement, were narrowed to women's roles in them.

The entries in this volume include subjects of intense controversy and heated debate. In an effort to present information on the topic without prejudice, the practice has been to use the vocabulary chosen by a group to describe itself and its positions on issues. Using abortion as an example, those who support reproductive rights call themselves prochoice; that is the term used in this work. Those opposed to abortion call themselves prolife, the term used here.

The *Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress* has been used as the source for the dates women served in Congress. It has also been used for determining the names under which women who have served in Congress are listed. For example, Senator Nancy Kassebaum married after leaving

the Senate and changed her name to Nancy Kassebaum Baker. In the *Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress* she is listed under Kassebaum, as she is in this volume. Enid Greene Waldholtz was elected with that name, divorced her husband while she was in office, and changed her name to Enid Greene, the name under which she is listed. Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis, however, was not an officeholder, and the entry for her is Onassis, Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy.

Acknowledgments

My deepest gratitude goes to the women who have wanted fuller lives for themselves, their daughters, and their neighbors; the women who have challenged the status quo and raised their voices in protest; the women who have articulated the fundamental human needs for dignity, justice, and equality; and the women who have run for public office, whether they won or lost. Conservative, moderate, liberal, and radical women have enriched this nation and have offered a range of perspectives for evaluating its past actions and planning its future. Their energy, commitment, and courage have made researching and writing this volume a rewarding adventure.

Next, my thanks to the scholars who believed that women's actions deserved attention, preservation, and analysis; created the field of women's studies; and established it as a legitimate area of scholarly pursuit. Their work provided the foundation for this volume.

Thank you to Elizabeth M. Cox, whose guide, *Women in Modern American Politics: A Bibliography, 1900–1995*, led me to sources that otherwise would have remained hidden and left this work impoverished.

Thank you to the librarians and staff at the West Des Moines Public Library for finding the many items I have requested through interlibrary loan. Your patience and goodwill have made it a pleasure to work with you.

Thank you to copy editor Beth Partin, whose editorial skills significantly improved this work.

Melanie Stafford, production editor at ABC-CLIO, has made this a much richer reference work than it would have been without her contributions to it. She deserves an award for her extraordinary patience and for her goodwill.

Thank you to my husband John, who attentively listened to daily stories of women and politics over the wonderful dinners he prepared.

Suzanne O'Dea Schenken

Introduction

One of the most fascinating stories in American history has been women's acquisition of political power and the ways that they have used it to change the nation's perceptions of government's roles and responsibilities. Like all captivating dramas, the story includes heroines, detractors, courage, frustration, confrontation, passion, failures, and successes. Throughout the story, women and men grapple with the questions of citizenship, democracy, and freedom and struggle to determine who benefits from them and how to grant and obtain them.

During the first century that Europeans lived in North America, survival consumed colonists' time and energy, but two women attempted to assert themselves in the public realm. In Boston, Anne Hutchinson led discussions of the weekly sermon in her home and offered a theology that differed from that espoused by the local clergy. Tried and convicted of heresy, she was banished in 1638. A decade later, in 1648, landowner and lawyer Margaret Brent sought to vote in the Maryland assembly, a right granted to other landowners, but was refused.

As words of liberty, equality, and freedom filled the air and as conflicts with England developed, the Daughters of Liberty, a loosely defined group, joined in the support of the Nonimportation Agreement in 1769. Most memorable from that era, however, is Abigail Adams's 1776 admonition to her husband John Adams to "remember the ladies" while forming the new government. The Congress did not remember the ladies, nor did the state governments that were being created. Only New Jersey granted women suffrage rights, in 1783, but the state disenfranchised women in 1807.

One could argue that the story of women and power in America begins in the early nineteenth century. It was a time when women, especially married women, had virtually no legal existence. Their status had a name, “coverture,” meaning “covered,” which was a part of English common law that had emigrated to this continent with other laws and traditions. Under common law, when a woman and a man married, they became one and that one was the man. From the mid-nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century, women’s rights activists sought to shed the forced invisibility imposed upon them by coverture.

The early nineteenth century imposed other burdens on women. Few educational opportunities beyond the elementary levels existed for girls. Almost 200 years after Harvard College opened in 1636, the first women’s college-level institution, Troy Female Seminary, opened in 1821. Mount Holyoke Seminary, the first women’s college, was founded in 1837, and the first coeducational college, Oberlin College, was founded in 1833. Women yearned for formal education, and a few satisfied themselves with independent and unguided efforts, but most lived with the limitations that their poor education placed on them.

Society imposed another limit on women. They were not to speak in public before mixed audiences, that is, audiences of women and men. When Frances Wright addressed mixed audiences in 1828 or 1829, newspapers and ministers attacked her for her brazenness. Even though many obstacles confronted women’s participation in the nation’s life, women attempted to change their society. In the 1830s, women formed temperance societies and abolitionist societies but discovered that social and legal constraints greatly reduced their effectiveness.

The legal inequities inhibiting women’s freedom of action and the exercise of their rights as citizens gained formal expression in 1848, at the first women’s rights convention. Organized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, the Seneca Falls, New York, gathering endorsed the *Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions*, a document modeled after the Declaration of Independence. Word of the convention spread, and women organized other conventions throughout the 1850s, launching the women’s rights movement.

The luxuries of gathering together, protesting their status, and organizing to change laws and society were reserved for white women. Native American women and men had no rights that the government of the United States or Anglo Americans honored. Their land, their homes, and their very lives were unprotected and vulnerable to the depredations of Anglo Americans. African American women living in slavery coped with the daily threats of rape and other violence, separation from loved ones, and oppression without end. For these women, married women’s property

rights, voting rights, and educational opportunities were too implausible for contemplation. Two African American women, however, grace the era with their courage, dedication, and devotion to freedom: Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman. Sojourner Truth denounced slavery and slaveowners with fierce and compelling rhetoric. Tubman conducted slaves on the Underground Railroad into freedom.

The women's rights movement receded into the background during the Civil War but reappeared with a vengeance over the exclusion of women from the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Controversy over the amendments spawned the American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Woman Suffrage Association, both in 1869. The two groups merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890, and the concentrated effort to pass the woman suffrage amendment became less fractured. Suffragists' unity, however, ended in the 1910s, when a militant organization, the Congressional Union, split from NAWSA. The Congressional Union staged demonstrations, picketed the White House, and frustrated NAWSA's attempts to conduct a refined campaign. After Congress passed in 1919 and the states ratified in 1920 the Nineteenth Amendment granting voting rights to women, NAWSA reorganized itself into the League of Women Voters (LWV), and the Congressional Union reorganized itself into the National Woman's Party (NWP).

The LWV's initial mission was to educate newly enfranchised women on voting, issues, and related matters. It joined other women's groups to pass measures that established a woman's citizenship independent of her husband's citizenship and created a maternal and infant health program, among others. Politicians passed the laws because they believed that women would vote as a bloc, but that phenomenon did not materialize until the 1980s in what became known as the gender gap.

The National Woman's Party drafted and presented the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), a measure that was introduced in 1923 and every subsequent session of Congress until 1972, when it passed. The ERA languished for almost fifty years and is an important part of the drama of women's acquisition of political power, even though it was not ratified. From the 1920s into the 1960s, social reformers opposed the ERA because they believed that it would make protective labor legislation unconstitutional. Protective legislation included limits on the number of hours women could work, the hours of the day they could work, and the weight they could lift. The NWP viewed the legislation as barriers to women's employment options, whereas social reformers viewed it as safeguarding women's health and well-being. The ERA and other women's issues moved to the forefront in the 1960s and 1970s as the feminist movement developed. Feminists were inspired, in part, by the civil rights movement.

For African Americans living in the South, slavery ended in 1865, but oppression did not, and civil rights were only an illusion. Periods of lynching in the 1890s, 1920s, and 1940s wreaked havoc across the South. Outraged by the injustice and further angered by civil authorities' failure to intervene, black women led antilynching crusades throughout the South and carried the stories into the North. Their efforts from the grassroots level to the congressional level significantly contributed to reducing the incidence of the crime. Violations of voting rights and other civil rights, however, continued unabated. African American women across the South risked their jobs, their homes, and their lives to end the tyranny of segregation and denigration that intruded on every aspect of their days. Some became icons of the civil rights movement. Rosa Parks, Daisy Bates, and Fannie Lou Hamer stand among the nation's patriots for their passionate commitment to the country's fundamental beliefs in equality, liberty, and freedom. They, the hundreds of women and men who followed their leadership, the men whose stories are better known, and the young people who shared their beliefs presented the story of racism and violence in words and images so potent that the nation responded. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and other measures are part of their legacy.

The belief in equality that civil rights leaders espoused resonated with women, who considered their status and found it unacceptable. For most women, however, Betty Friedan's 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique* crystallized their discontent. Her articulation of the barriers between women and their full participation in the nation's political, social, and economic life gave women a guidebook for examining their own lives. Also in 1963, the President's Commission on the Status of Women released its report itemizing the laws and policies that stood between women and equality.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, however, served as one of the most powerful catalysts for motivating women into action. The act primarily addressed discrimination on the basis of race. Title VII prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of race, but unlike other sections of the act, it also prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex. Title VII also created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to enforce the law. The EEOC's resistance to responding to sex discrimination complaints led to the founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966. In addition to NOW, dozens of local and regional groups sprang up, independent of each other, across the country. Energetic and committed women formed rape crisis centers and child care centers, identified domestic violence as a legal problem, and coined phrases like "displaced homemaker." Women lobbied Congress and their state legislatures to enact new policies to remedy these and other problems. Solutions that

seemed obvious to these women appeared radical to other women, men, and policymakers.

In some ways, the proposals that feminists offered did have radical aspects to them. Claiming that the personal is political, feminists sought to change the distribution of power and to make matters that had traditionally been considered private or personal issues into public ones. They sought equality and visibility. Their agenda included the legalization of abortion; lesbian rights; and equality in education, employment, and every other aspect of life. They challenged religious beliefs and practices, and they objected to the use of gender-based nouns and pronouns. Two major successes came within a year of each other: Congress passed the ERA in 1972, and it went to the states for ratification; and the U.S. Supreme Court legalized abortion in 1973.

The changes overwhelmed many women and men. To preserve the status quo, halt the progress of the ERA, and reverse the legalization of abortion, new groups formed. Phyllis Schlafly fought ratification of the ERA for almost ten years and succeeded. The amendment failed to be ratified by the required thirty-eight states and died in 1982. Prolife groups sought passage of the Human Life Amendment and failing to do that, effectively limited access to abortion through state and federal laws. Abortion remained legal, but legal restrictions and social pressures constricted its availability. Progress in fulfilling the feminist agenda in other areas stagnated as well in the 1980s.

Also in the 1980s, however, increasing numbers of women ran for public office and won. In 1981, there were 912 women in state legislatures; a decade later, there were 1,359 women in state legislatures. In 1981, there were twenty-one women in the U.S. House of Representatives and two women in the U.S. Senate; in 1991, there were twenty-eight women in the House and four women in the Senate. The increases continued in the 1990s, with 1,652 women serving in state legislatures in 1999, fifty-six women in the U.S. House, and nine women in the U.S. Senate that year. Some of the women in state legislatures and Congress held feminist beliefs, but not all. Conservative women who opposed the feminist agenda entered the political arena to gain political power.

The political power that women have obtained as officeholders, lobbyists, and voters has transformed issues considered radical or marginal in the 1970s and 1980s into matters of national debate. Initially articulated by feminists and identified as women's issues, many of these issues have lost their gender labels and taken their places in candidates' and policymakers' lists of priorities.

In 1971, for example, Republican president Richard Nixon vetoed a \$2 billion child care package because he felt it might encourage mothers to

enter the paid workforce. Child care programs were an issue in the 1988 presidential election and in 1990, Republican president George Bush signed a package of more than \$22 billion in tax credits and new grant programs. In another example, Bush's veto of a measure to require employers to permit their employees to take leaves for childbirth, adoption, or family illness was a campaign issue in 1992. Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton promised to sign the policy into law if Congress again passed it. After women voters gave him the margin of victory in the election, Clinton signed the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993. Child support enforcement offers a third example. Custodial parents, generally women, had sought help collecting delinquent child support payments for years but with few results, until members of Congress realized that a significant number of the families were on welfare. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 and the Deadbeat Parents Punishment Act of 1998 significantly increased government involvement in collecting delinquent child support.

In the almost 400 years since European women became permanent settlers on this continent, American women have transformed their status from invisible and silenced observers into policymakers and leaders. Throughout the process, men at every level have been their partners by sharing the vision of full citizenship for all Americans, extending voting rights to women, supporting legislation, and contributing in dozens of other small and large ways. The story of women's political involvement and leadership has not ended. It continues to develop new plotlines and themes as the nation explores the meanings of freedom, liberty, and equality.

From Suffrage to the Senate

A

Abbott, Grace (1878–1939)

One of the many social reformers influenced by Chicago's Hull House and its founder Jane Addams, Grace Abbott worked to improve the lives of immigrants and children, using her skills as a researcher to investigate and report the conditions in which they lived and worked. She began her career as the first director of the Immigrants' Protective League, conducting research on immigrants' lives and writing a series of articles published as *The Immigrant and the Community* (1917). Based on her research, Abbott concluded that immigrants needed protection from aggressive employment agencies, and she proceeded to successfully lobby the Illinois legislature for a measure to regulate them. In 1913, she directed an investigation into the exploitation of immigrants in Massachusetts and again recommended proposals for the legislature's consideration.

In 1917, Julia Lathrop, who was director of the Children's Bureau in the U.S. Department of Labor, invited Abbott to join her staff and direct the implementation of the Keating-Owen Child Labor Reform Act. The next year, however, the U.S. Supreme Court found the law unconstitutional. Abbott, who had observed the abuses of child labor, became a dedicated advocate for a child labor amendment, which was passed by Congress in 1923 but was not ratified by the states.

Abbott succeeded Lathrop as head of the Children's Bureau in 1921 and had as her first mission the implementation of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921, which provided federal grants-in-aid to states for maternal and infant health programs. Under

Abbott's leadership approximately 3,000 child health and prenatal health clinics opened across the country. Despite the program's demonstrated success and the protests of Abbott and other social reformers, Congress ended it in 1929. During the 1930s, Abbott directed several studies on the Depression's impact on children, describing the nutritional deficiencies, educational losses, and health hazards that threatened children's well-being. Neither the research findings nor Abbott's pleas convinced President Herbert Hoover that children were suffering. After Franklin Roosevelt's election to the presidency, Abbott's proposals for a mother's pension and emergency food and medical care for the neediest children gained acceptance.

Abbott resigned from the Children's Bureau in 1934 to recover from tuberculosis, but she remained involved in the agency as an adviser, helping develop sections of the Social Security Act of 1935 that related to maternal and child health, aid to dependent children, children with special needs, and crippled children. From 1934 until her death, Abbott was professor of public welfare administration at the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration.

Born in Grand Island, Nebraska, Grace Abbott earned her bachelor's degree from Grand Island College in 1898, studied at the University of Nebraska, and earned her master's degree in political science from the University of Chicago in 1907.

See also Addams, Jane; Child Labor Amendment; Children's Bureau; Lathrop, Julia; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921

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Abel, Hazel Pearl Hempel (1888–1966)

Republican Hazel Abel of Nebraska served in the U.S. Senate from 8 November 1954 to 31 December 1954. Abel had run for the office for a very specific reason: "To me it was more than a short term in the Senate. I wanted Nebraska voters to express their approval of a woman in government. I was a sort of guinea pig."

Born in Plattsmouth, Nebraska, Abel graduated from the University of Nebraska in 1908. A high school mathematics teacher and a high school principal from 1908 to 1916, she left teaching to marry George Abel and moved to Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1916. She joined his construction company, and following his death in 1936, she became company president. She was also a Girl Scout leader, treasurer of the Nebraska League of Women Voters, and active in the Nebraska Republican Party, serving as vice chairwoman in 1954. Her many activities in Lincoln earned her the nickname "Hurricane Hazel."

In the summer of 1954, Abel, a Republican, became a candidate for the U.S. Senate to complete an unexpired term that would have only two months left at the time of the election. A technicality in Nebraska law prevented candidates from running for both the unexpired term and the full six-year term that would be filled in the election. During her short time in office, Abel held the distinction of being the only senator to listen to all of the debate to censure Senator Joseph McCarthy. She voted with the majority to censure him.

Abel was a delegate to the White House Conference on Education in 1955 and a member of the Theodore Roosevelt Centennial Commission from 1955 to 1959. In 1960, she unsuccessfully ran in the Republican primary for governor.

See also Bowring, Eva Kelly; Congress, Women in

References “Lady from Nebraska,” *Newsweek*, 20 December 1954, 20; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Treese, ed., *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774–1996* (1997).

Abolitionist Movement, Women in the

In the 1830s, African American and white women from the North and the South entered men’s political world to crusade against slavery. Outraged by slavery’s inhumanity, they founded antislavery societies, broke social taboos by making public speeches before audiences of women and men, and petitioned Congress. The honor of their cause did not protect them from public acrimony and derision or from threats of violence, and in the process they carved new public spaces for themselves and laid the groundwork for a women’s rights movement.

Women encountered their first significant obstacle to participating in the abolitionist movement in 1833 at the founding meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia. The meeting organizers permitted women to attend the meeting but refused to let them speak from the floor or join the society. After the meeting, a group of black women and white women organized the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. In 1832, a group of African American women had already moved on to the public stage when they formed the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Salem, Massachusetts, one of the first abolitionist groups. Groups formed in Boston, New York, and other communities, particularly in New England. When the National Female Anti-Slavery Society convened in New York in 1837, delegates from twelve states attended.

Participating in the abolition movement required courage as well as commitment. Some courageous women, Harriet Tubman being a notable

example, served the abolitionist movement as conductors on the Underground Railroad, and others housed and fed fugitive slaves as they made their way North. Even attending abolitionist meetings could be dangerous. For example, at a Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society meeting in 1835, William Lloyd Garrison was scheduled to speak, but after an angry mob gathered, the mayor ordered the women in the convention hall to leave. In order to provide some level of safety to the African American women in the audience, each white woman accompanied a black woman out of the building. Garrison did not escape—he was dragged through the streets on a rope. At the second Anti Slavery Convention of American Women, held in Philadelphia in 1838, a mob gathered outside the convention and later burned the meeting hall.

Without voting rights, women were limited in the ways that they could influence political decisions, but they conducted petition drives and gathered thousands of signatures. In 1836, after abolitionist women had flooded Congress with petitions to end slavery, Congress responded to their pleas by passing a gag rule prohibiting the petitions from being read or considered.

The commitment to ending slavery compelled some women to break the social prohibition against women speaking in public. Frances Wright, Maria Stewart, and Angelina and Sarah Grimké all suffered criticism from the public, the press, and the pulpit for publicly addressing mixed audiences of women and men in the late 1820s and 1830s. In the next decade, however, it became more common for women, including Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, Lucretia Mott, and Sojourner Truth, to use their oratorical skills on behalf of the abolition movement.

Women writers used their pens to expose the wretchedness of slaves' lives and to decry the injustice of slavery. For example, in 1833 Lydia Maria Child wrote the first antislavery book by a northern abolitionist calling for the immediate emancipation of the nation's 2 million slaves. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* humanized slavery for thousands of readers, solidifying their antipathy to slavery.

As women continued to seek the end of slavery, they became increasingly frustrated by the limits on their effectiveness as abolitionists and their rights as citizens. One of the most historically significant examples occurred at the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention held in London. Despite objections and heated debate, the convention ruled that only male delegates could be seated. Among the women relegated to the convention hall galleries were U.S. delegates Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Excluded from active participation, the two women spent hours discussing women's status and the need for change. Eight years later, they organized the first U.S. women's rights convention and launched the nineteenth-century women's rights movement.

See also Child, Lydia Maria Francis; Grimké, Angelina Emily and Sarah Moore; Mott, Lucretia Coffin; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher; Suffrage; Truth, Sojourner; Tubman, Harriet

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Abortion

The issue of a woman's right to decide whether to continue a pregnancy or to terminate it became one of the United States' most challenging political questions in the last three decades of the twentieth century. Debates on abortion have taken place in front of abortion clinics, in state legislatures, on the floors of the U.S. House and Senate, and in the U.S. Supreme Court, but the nation has not found a common ground on which to rest the range of issues related to abortion. It has prompted men and women to organize, run for political office, and perform acts of civil disobedience. Violence, including murder, has been committed in the name of protecting fetuses.

Those who support reproductive rights insist that women must have the right to control their own bodies and that the state has no role in the decision regarding whether a woman continues a pregnancy. Calling themselves prochoice, they argue that no one favors abortion, but that circumstances, including a woman's health, the fetus's health, the pregnant woman's ability to care for a child, and other factors such as rape or incest make the decisions so intimate that only the pregnant woman can make them. Those who oppose abortion call it infanticide and insist that abortion is murder. Identifying themselves as prolife, they argue that life begins at conception, that all life must be protected, and that abortions must stop.

In 1821, Connecticut became the first state to enact abortion legislation, making it illegal after quickening (first recognizable movement of the fetus). In 1860, Connecticut made all abortions illegal, a policy followed by every state by the end of the nineteenth century. By 1930, an estimated 800,000 illegal abortions were performed annually, and between 8,000 and 17,000 women died every year from them.

In addition to prohibitions against abortion, access to birth control information and devices was also limited in some states and illegal in others. The first step in the legalization of abortion occurred in 1965, when the U.S. Supreme Court decided *Griswold v. Connecticut*. The case centered on a Connecticut law that made it illegal for anyone, including married couples, to obtain birth control drugs and devices. The Court found that the ban on contraception violated the constitutional right to marital privacy. In 1972, the Court extended the right to use contraceptives to all people, regardless of their marital status.

As the second wave of the feminist movement developed increasing visibility in the 1960s, reproductive rights, including the right to abortion, became one of the demands. Feminists initiated a wide range of projects to make abortions available, from teaching women how to self-abort to establishing referral services to presumably safe practitioners. In some communities, physicians and Protestant ministers established abortion referral services or worked together to provide abortions by disguising the procedure in their records and reports. Between 1967 and 1971, seventeen states decriminalized abortion, reflecting a change in public opinion: 15 percent of Americans favored legal abortions in 1968, and by 1972, 64 percent did.

In 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court made its landmark decision in *Roe v. Wade*, invalidating restrictive abortion laws across the country and making abortion legal. The Court found that the right to privacy “is broad enough to encompass a woman’s decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy.” The Court also recognized two compelling state interests that would justify restricting a woman’s right to choose. During the second trimester (fourth to sixth months) of a pregnancy, the abortion procedure could be regulated to protect a woman’s health. After fetal viability (approximately the twenty-fourth to twenty-eighth weeks), a state could pass legislation prohibiting abortions to protect the life of the fetus. The Court also stated that abortions could be performed at any time during the pregnancy to save the life of the mother.

To some, the decision meant that women would no longer need to seek illegal abortions and that women’s lives would be saved. To others, the decision meant that more pregnancies would be terminated. A Roman Catholic bishop called the decision “an unspeakable tragedy.” Those opposed to the decision organized to seek ways to make abortion illegal again. On both sides, existing organizations began defining their stands, and new organizations were formed to preserve *Roe v. Wade* or to reverse it. More than two dozen resolutions to overturn the decision by constitutional amendment were introduced in Congress following the announcement of the Court’s decision in 1973. Several prolife groups supported, and members of Congress introduced, the Human Life Amendment that stated that life begins at conception and that ending it was murder.

One of the early questions that arose centered on the issue of whether tax dollars could be used to pay for poor women’s abortions. In 1974, Medicaid programs in forty-three states and the District of Columbia paid for first-trimester abortions without restrictions for women who were covered by the program. In addition, Medicaid programs in thirty-nine states and the District of Columbia paid for all legal abortions. In 1976, Republican Congressman Henry Hyde of Illinois passed a measure prohibiting the use of federal funds for abortions. Known as the Hyde

Amendment, the measure excluded coverage for abortions under Medicaid except to save the life of the mother. In subsequent years, Congress permitted the use of Medicaid funds for abortions for pregnancies resulting from rape or incest and pregnancies that two doctors agreed would cause the mother to suffer “severe and long-lasting physical health damage.” Prochoice advocates promptly began looking for test cases with which to challenge the policy. In 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in *Harris v. McRae* that the Hyde Amendment was constitutional. Justice Stewart Potter wrote: “the Congress has neither invaded a substantive constitutional right or freedom, nor enacted legislation that purposefully operates to a detriment of a suspect class, the only requirement of equal protection is that congressional action be rationally related to a legitimate governmental interest.”

Prolife groups also sought ways to limit access to abortion by establishing a variety of conditions and restrictions before the procedure could be performed. Several states passed legislation requiring minors seeking abortions to notify one or both parents or to obtain a judicial waiver. Beginning in 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court considered a variety of different approaches. The Court rejected requirements that both parents be notified, but permitted the minor woman to obtain an abortion with the notification of one parent. In addition, the Court insisted that minor women must have an option beyond telling a parent and approved a system that allowed a minor woman to bypass her parent(s) and obtain permission from a judge to obtain an abortion.

Another approach to limiting access to abortion developed in 1988, when President Ronald Reagan’s administration issued new regulations for federally supported family planning programs. Under what became known as the “gag rule,” 4,000 federally funded health clinic medical personnel were prohibited from discussing abortion with their clients. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the regulations in *Rust v. Sullivan* (1991), but in 1993 President Bill Clinton eliminated them.

The availability of physicians trained and willing to perform abortions also became an obstacle to women seeking abortions. By 1998, 84 percent of counties in the United States had no trained, qualified doctors willing to perform abortions, requiring some women seeking abortions to travel great distances. In South Dakota and North Dakota, for example, only one physician in each state performed abortions. Some physicians stopped performing abortions because they did not want to be harassed by prolife demonstrators or because they feared for their safety.

Violence at abortion clinics first appeared in the 1970s, when groups including Operation Rescue physically blocked clinic entrances and destroyed clinic property and equipment. Between 1977 and April 1993,

there were thirty-six bombings, eighty-one arsons, eighty-four assaults, and two kidnappings at abortion clinics or involving abortion providers. In 1993 and 1994, abortion opponents killed two doctors, two clinic workers, and one volunteer escort. The National Organization for Women (NOW) initiated a lawsuit contending that the violence was part of a nationwide conspiracy that used violence to attain its goal of closing abortion clinics. NOW argued that trespassing, arson, the theft of fetuses, physical attacks, and threats against abortion clinics and abortion providers constituted extortion and came under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) statute. In *NOW v. Scheidler* (1994), the U.S. Supreme Court agreed and held that RICO could apply to anti-abortion protesters. In addition, Congress passed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994 to help protect women seeking abortions and the facilities and professionals providing the service. The law prohibits the use of force, threats of force, physical obstruction, and property damage intended to interfere with people seeking or providing reproductive health services.

In the mid-1990s abortion opponents focused on making a specific procedure illegal, one they named partial birth abortion. Congress twice passed bills prohibiting partial birth abortions, but President Bill Clinton vetoed the bill both times. Several states have passed similar measures, but many of them face court challenges.

By the 1980s, abortion had become a delineating issue between the Republican Party, with its adamant insistence on opposing abortion, and the Democratic Party, with its strong support for abortion rights. The issue may have determined the 1992 presidential election between prolife Republican incumbent President George Bush and prochoice Democratic challenger Bill Clinton and the 1996 race between prolife Republican Robert Dole and incumbent Clinton. Polls suggest that abortion played a key role in both years and that women who support abortion rights may have provided the winning margins for Clinton, who promised to support those rights. Clinton kept his pledges to prochoice supporters. He overturned the gag rule that prohibited abortion counseling in federally funded family planning clinics, lifted the ban on fetal tissue research, and ended a ban on abortions at overseas military medical facilities. In addition, Clinton ended the Mexico City Policy, which denied United States aid to international family planning organizations that provided abortion services.

Preventing unwanted pregnancies has been a goal of both reproductive rights supporters and abortion opponents. In 1970 Congress created the family planning program, offering birth control information, devices, and prescriptions through hospitals, health departments, Planned Parenthood affiliates, and other agencies. Then in 1981, Con-

gress passed the Adolescent Family Life Program (AFLP) designed to discourage teenagers from being sexually active and to encourage pregnant teens to carry their pregnancies to term and put their babies up for adoption. The AFLP sponsors demonstration projects designed to encourage abstinence and to provide health, education, and social services to pregnant adolescents, adolescent parents, and their infants, male partners, and families. The AFLP also supports research on adolescent sexuality, pregnancy, and parenting.

Groups that support abortion rights include the American Association of University Women, American Civil Liberties Union, National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, National Council of Jewish Women, National Organization for Women, National Women's Political Caucus, Planned Parenthood, and Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights.

Groups that oppose abortion rights include the American Life League, Concerned Women for America, Eagle Forum, Feminists for Life of America, National Right to Life Committee, Operation Rescue, and Pro-Life Action League.

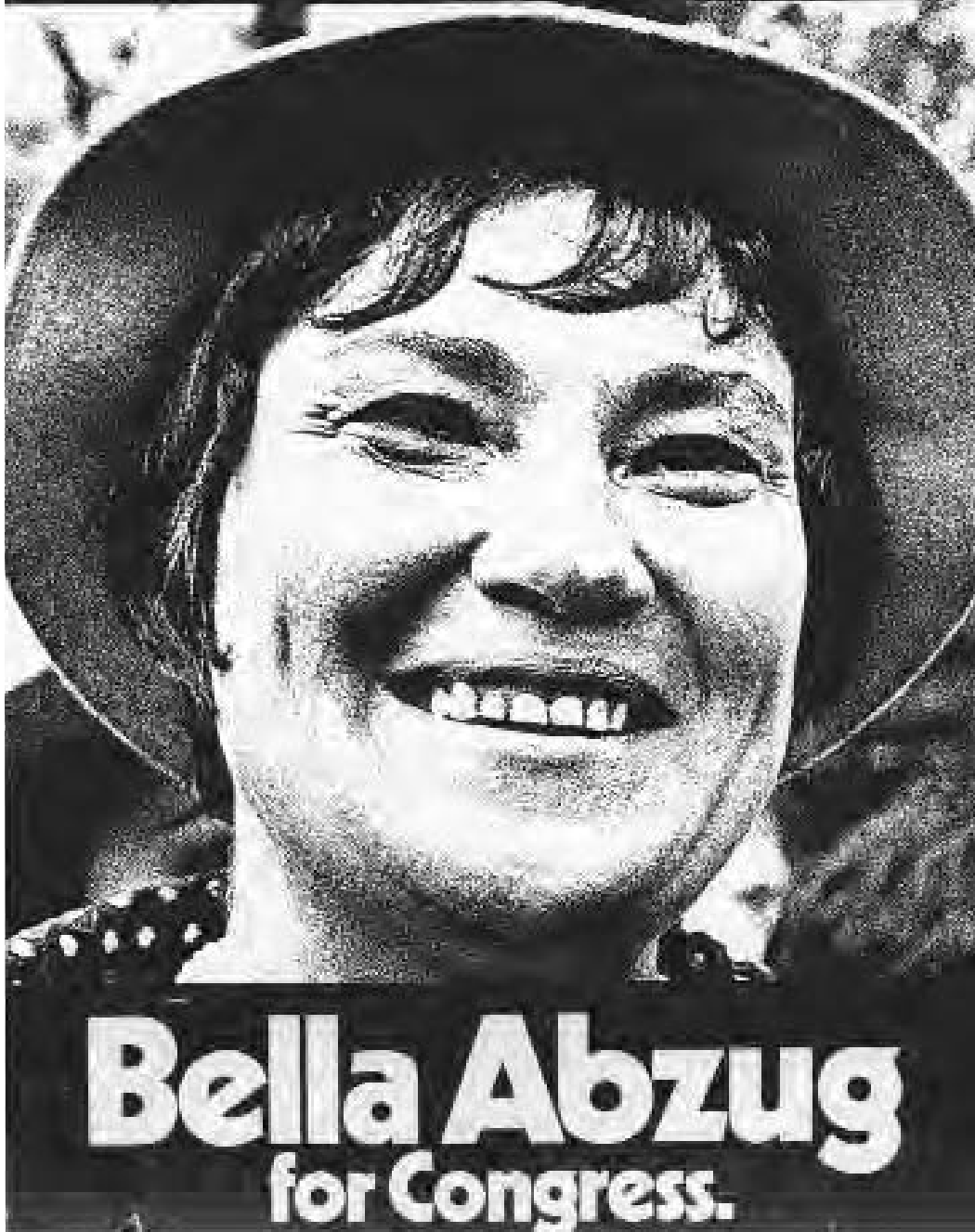
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Abzug, Bella Savitzky (1920–1998)

Democrat Bella Abzug of New York served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1971 to 3 January 1977. The first Jewish woman to serve in Congress, she was an outspoken, flamboyant feminist, who once said: "We don't so much want to see a female Einstein become an assistant professor. We want a woman schlemiel to get promoted as quickly as a male schlemiel."

This woman's place is in the House...
the House of Representatives!



A campaign poster for Representative Bella Abzug, 1970 (D-NY) (Library of Congress)

Born in New York City, Bella Abzug earned her bachelor of arts degree from Hunter College in 1942 and entered Columbia University School of Law, but left to work in a shipbuilding factory to aid the war effort. She resumed her legal studies at the end of World War II and received her law degree in 1947 from Columbia University. She also did graduate work at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

In her legal practice, Abzug specialized in labor and civil rights cases, representing fur workers, restaurant workers, longshoremen, and civil rights workers. She defended people accused of subversive activities by Senator Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s and was a lawyer for the Civil Rights Congress and the American Civil Liberties Union. From 1961 to 1970, she was national legislative director for Women Strike for Peace, an organization she helped found.

Early in her legal career, Abzug began wearing her trademark hats. She explained: “When I was a young lawyer, I would go to people’s offices and they would always say, ‘Sit here. We’ll wait for the lawyer.’ Working women wore hats. It was the only way they would take you seriously.” She added: “When I got to Congress, they made a big deal of it. So I was watching—did they want me to wear it or not? They didn’t want me to wear it, so I did.”

Abzug challenged the incumbent Democratic member of Congress in the 1970 primary, running as an anti-Vietnam War candidate. With the campaign slogan, “This woman belongs in the House—the House of Representatives,” she promised to work for better housing, a reduced defense budget, equal rights for women, and an end to the war in Vietnam.

A leading opponent of the war, she introduced a measure on her first day in office to withdraw troops from Vietnam by 4 July 1971. It failed, as did her other attempts to end U.S. involvement in Vietnam. She supported the Equal Rights Amendment, child care, women’s credit rights, pay equity for women, and welfare reform. She introduced the measure that created Women’s Equality Day in 1973, which celebrated the fifty-third anniversary of woman suffrage. She helped organize the Congresswomen’s Caucus, but in part because some did not want to be identified with Abzug’s outspoken feminism, it did not formally organize until she left Congress. She wrote the bill that created the National Women’s Conference, which was held in 1977 and which she chaired. Following the conference, President Jimmy Carter appointed Abzug cochair with Carmen Delgado Votaw of the National Advisory Committee for Women. Six months later, Abzug criticized the president’s economic policies, charging that they adversely affected women, and Carter dismissed her. Abzug ran unsuccessfully in the Democratic primary for United States senator in 1976, for mayor of New York in 1977, and for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1978 and 1986.

A founding member of the National Women's Political Caucus, she also founded Women U.S.A. Fund in 1980. With an initial agenda of increasing women's involvement in politics through voter education and registration programs, Women U.S.A. Fund worked to involve more women in foreign and environmental policymaking.

Abzug presided at the World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet in 1991 and was a member of the 1992 International Facilitating Committee of Nongovernmental Organizations and Independent Sectors for the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. She also founded the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), which served as one of the main coordinators of the nongovernmental forum held in coordination with the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China.

She wrote *Bella! Ms. Abzug Goes to Washington* (1972), and coauthored *Gender Gap: Bella Abzug's Guide to Political Power for American Women* (1984), as well as other works relating to women and politics.

See also Congress, Women in; Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues; Equal Rights Amendment; National Women's Conference; National Women's Political Caucus; Pay Equity; Women Strike for Peace

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Adams, Abigail Smith (1744–1818)

Patriot Abigail Adams established herself as an early advocate for women's rights with a letter she wrote to her husband John Adams in 1776, asking him to "remember the ladies" as he helped construct a new nation. A dedicated correspondent with her husband and other revolutionary leaders and thinkers, she shared her husband's commitment to American independence. When John Adams was elected president of the United States in 1797, Abigail Adams became first lady.

Born in Massachusetts, Abigail Adams was largely self-educated, primarily because educational opportunities for females in colonial America were nonexistent. The lack of educational opportunities for women was a continuing disappointment to her and one that she saw as an unnecessary limitation on her sex, an early indicator of her awareness of women's status. In 1764, she married John Adams, who deeply influenced the depth of her patriotism and her commitment to separation from England. When John Adams was elected to serve in the First Continental Congress in 1774, the couple began decades of extended separations as he accepted a

variety of assignments at home and abroad. Abigail Adams remained at home with their growing family, managing their farm and educating their children. Her business acumen may have saved the family from the financial ruin that many other patriots experienced.

In addition, she provided John Adams with reports on local political developments through their extensive correspondence. In her letters she expressed her concerns about proposals for taxation and trade policies as well as her opposition to slavery. Of her many letters, the one dated 31 March 1776 has received the greatest attention. In it, Abigail Adams wrote to John Adams:

I long to hear that you have declared an independency—and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If pertuculiar care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.

That your Sex are Naturally Tyrannical is a Truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute, but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up the harsh title of Master for the more tender and endearing one of Friend. Why then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the Lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity. Men of Sense in all Ages abhor those customs which treat us only as the vassals of your Sex. Regard us then as Beings placed by providence under your protection and in imitation of the Supreme Being make use of that power only for our happiness.

In this historic letter, Abigail Adams's request is modest. She does not ask for political rights such as suffrage rights or political equality; she only sought legal protection for women. Under English common law, married women had no legal existence and from that status were vulnerable to abuse by their husbands.

When John Adams replied on 14 April 1776, he compared women to other dependent groups:

As to your extraordinary Code of Laws, I cannot but laugh. We have been told that our Struggle has loosened the bands of Government every where. That Children and Apprentices were disobedient—that schools and Colledges were grown turbulent—that Indians slighted their Guardians and Negroes grew

insolent to their Masters. But your Letter was the first Intimation that another Tribe more numerous and powerfull than all the rest were grown discontented.

Abigail Adams repeated her pleas for women in later letters, including one in which she described to John Adams the frustrations of women patriots, who could not vote, serve in the government, own property, or have a voice in legislation. As she explained, women patriots had also made significant sacrifices in the quest for independence, but they were limited in the ways that they could contribute to their country or could benefit from its potential. In a letter to another woman, Abigail Adams contemplated sending a petition to Congress calling for women's independence. In other letters, Abigail Adams expressed her concern about the inequality of educational opportunities for boys and girls and married women's lack of rights.

In the context of the American and French Revolutions in which the ideals of freedom, liberty, and equality were being sought in new ways, Abigail Adams's plea for women's rights could be viewed as a reasonable extension of the philosophies supported by her husband and other American patriots. Abigail Adams's letters testify to one woman's interest in women's status, but she did not begin a woman's movement or provide the basis for later women's rights efforts.

See also Coverture; Suffrage

References Levin, *Abigail Adams: A Biography* (1987).

Adams, Annette Abbott (1877–1956)

In 1914, Annette Adams became U.S. attorney for the northern district of California, the highest judicial position any woman in the world had ever held. In 1920, she became the first female U.S. assistant attorney general.

Born in Prattville, California, Annette Adams graduated from the State Normal School in Chico, California, in 1897 and taught school for five years. She returned to college and earned her bachelor of law degree in 1904 and her juris doctor degree in 1912, both from Boalt Hall.

In 1912, Democratic congressman John Raker recruited Adams to join presidential candidate Woodrow Wilson's campaign. After Wilson won the election, Raker believed that Adams deserved a reward for her labors and began to work for her appointment as an assistant U.S. attorney, the kind of post that generally went to young men with political potential. Raker brought her to the attention of President Wilson, the U.S. attorney general, and other decisionmakers, developing strategies to make the novel choice of a woman an acceptable one. Raker worked for more than a year and finally won Adams's appointment in 1914. Adams became

the first female federal prosecutor when she was appointed assistant U.S. attorney for the northern district of California. Her first cases involved U.S. neutrality laws in the early days of World War I, a group of cases that other prosecutors had not successfully pursued, but Adams developed a strategy for prosecuting the cases that succeeded where others had failed. President Wilson appointed her special U.S. attorney in San Francisco in 1918.

In 1920, she became the first woman to hold the position of assistant attorney general. Assigned to enforce the Volstead Act, her first case required defending the constitutionality of the Eighteenth Amendment, which she successfully did before the U.S. Supreme Court. After Democrats lost the presidency in the 1920 elections, Adams stayed with the Justice Department until the summer of 1921, when she was replaced by Mabel Walker Willebrandt.

Adams unsuccessfully ran for a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1923 but remained active in the Democratic Party. She persuaded the California Democratic Party that 50 percent of its delegates to the party's 1924 national convention should be women. She also worked for Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1932 presidential campaign. She was appointed presiding justice of California's intermediate appellate court in 1942, the year she was elected to a full twelve-year term. She retired in 1950, four years before her term expired.

See also Democratic Party, Women in the; Willebrandt, Mabel Walker

References Jensen, "Annette Abbott Adams" (1966).

Addams, Jane (1860–1935)

A leader in the settlement house movement, Jane Addams founded Hull House in Chicago in 1889, perhaps the best known of the settlement houses in the United States. Addams created an environment at Hull House that nurtured the development and activities of immigrants, political activists, artists, union organizers, children, and young adults. A social reformer, Addams supported education and labor reform, woman suffrage, improvements in municipal government, and other aspects of the progressive social agenda.

Born in Cedarville, Illinois, Jane Addams graduated from Rockford Seminary in 1881. She enrolled in the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania in 1881, but poor health and the realization that she was not suited to be a doctor contributed to her decision to leave the college. In 1883, Addams went to Europe, where exposure to London's slums and the wretched conditions in which poor people lived introduced her to the type of environment in which she would eventually live and work. She began to



Jane Addams,
founder of Hull
House, a settlement
house for poor
immigrants (Library
of Congress)

consider living in a poor neighborhood with other like-minded women and through it test the concepts she had learned in school. A visit to London's Toynbee Hall gave her a model for the institution she wanted to establish.

With her friend Ellen Gates Starr, Addams found the abandoned Hull mansion in a neighborhood of 5,000 Greek, Italian, Russian, German, and other immigrants. They moved into it in 1889, invited the neighbors to visit them, and began the traditions of Hull House. Over the decades, programs grew to include child care, children's activities, youth activities, social events for women and men, English-language classes, cultural activities, health care, and dozens of other programs and projects. Hull House's success rested in Addams's ability to attract talented and dedicated residents to it, her skill at raising money from wealthy Chicago women, and the program innovations that sustained interest in the settlement and helped it grow.

In an attempt to gain a better understanding of the neighborhood and thereby address its fundamental problems, the settlement residents embarked on a study of it. The *Hull House Maps and Papers*, published in 1895, provided a survey of the housing, sweatshops, and child labor in Chicago's 19th Ward. Pressure from Addams and other Hull House residents helped pass Illinois's first factory inspection law and contributed to the establishment of the nation's first juvenile court. Addams and other Hull House activists led crusades for trash removal, recognition of labor unions, protective legislation for immigrants, and many other reforms.

Beginning in 1907, Addams took an active part in the Chicago woman suffrage effort and was an officer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1911 to 1914. In 1912, she seconded Theodore Roosevelt's nomination at the Progressive Party convention and campaigned for him. Also active in the peace movement, she headed the Woman's Peace Party in 1915 and served as the first president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom from 1919 to 1928. In 1931, she shared the Nobel Peace Prize with another recipient.

Addams wrote *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (1909), *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910), *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (1912), and *The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1930), among other works.

See also Abbott, Grace; Balch, Emily Greene; Lathrop, Julia; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Progressive Party, Women in the; Suffrage;

References Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1911); Lasch, ed., *The Social Thought of Jane Addams* (1965).

Adkins, Bertha Sheppard (1906–1983)

Undersecretary of Health, Education, and Welfare from 1958 to 1960, Bertha Adkins began her political career as representative to the Republican National Committee for Maryland in 1948 and served as director of the Republican Party's Women's Division from 1950 to 1953, when the division closed. Adkins then became assistant to the chair of the Republican National Committee, serving until 1960.

One of presidential candidate Dwight Eisenhower's earliest supporters, Adkins played a central role in organizing women to support him in 1952. The effectiveness of her efforts appears in the significant amount of support he received from women: Eisenhower won with one of the earliest identified gender gaps, about 6 percent. To maintain women's support for President Eisenhower, Adkins established a series of "for ladies only" breakfasts with him to provide women with access to him and to introduce him to potential presidential appointees. She also organized annual conferences for Republican women that drew between 1,500 and 1,800 women to hear cabinet members, Vice President Richard Nixon, and Eisenhower speak; to attend classes on political organization; and to share information on political strategies.

Born in Salisbury, Maryland, Adkins earned her bachelor of arts degree at Wellesley College in 1928 and her master of arts degree from Columbia University. Adkins taught at a private school from 1928 to 1932, when she became a secretary. She served as dean of women at Western Maryland College from 1934 to 1942 and dean of residence at Bradford Junior College from 1942 to 1946.

She was headmistress of the Foxcroft School in Middleburg, Virginia, from 1961 until her retirement in 1967. In 1970, she served as special assistant on President Nixon's Advisory Committee on Social Security and, in 1972, was executive vice chair of the Older Americans Advisory Committee. She chaired the National Council on Aging from 1974 to 1978.

See also Gender Gap; Republican Party, Women in the

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography 1953* (1953); <http://redbud.lbjlib.utexas.edu/eisenhower/fa7317.txt>; *New York Times*, 14 August 1958, 15 August 1958, 15 January 1983.

Adkins v. Children's Hospital (1923)

In *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, decided in 1923, the U.S. Supreme Court found unconstitutional a 1918 law providing a minimum wage for women workers in the District of Columbia. Similar to laws passed in several states to protect women workers, the District of Columbia law created a three-member board charged with determining the wages for women and minors, depending upon the occupation and upon the board's determination of the amount necessary to maintain workers' good health and to protect their morals.

The Court acknowledged that several states had enacted comparable laws and that women's wages were higher with the policies but questioned whether minimum wage laws were the reason for the improvements. In finding the law unconstitutional, the Court explained that if the legislation were legally justified, "the field for the operation of the police power will have been widened to a great and dangerous degree." Because the law considered only the needs of the employee and not those of the employer, the Court expressed concern that some employers' "bargaining power may be as weak as that of the employee" and that the employer could be left "without adequate means of livelihood." The Court concluded that the minimum wage unduly restricted the freedom to contract and that no reasonable relationship existed between pay and health and morals. Social reformers criticized the decision as guaranteeing women's constitutional right to starve.

See also Employment Discrimination; *Muller v. Oregon*; Protective Legislation

References *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 261 U.S. 525 (1923); Baer, *The Chains of Protection: The Judicial Response to Women's Labor Legislation* (1978).

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action, as defined by the Clinton administration, "is any effort taken to expand opportunity for women or racial, ethnic and national origin minorities by using membership in those groups that have been subject to discrimination as a consideration." In other words, through education, employment, and contractual policies, affirmative action seeks to remedy past discrimination against women and minorities. The primary strategies used in affirmative action employment programs are increased recruitment, promotion, retention, and on-the-job training opportunities. Affirmative action in education includes removing admissions barriers to educational institutions and providing grants and graduate fellowships in nontraditional careers, for example, in engineering, math, and the physical sciences. Women's rights and civil rights groups have supported affirmative action plans and programs as demonstrations of the United

States' commitment to equal opportunity. Conservative groups have opposed affirmative action, arguing that it leads to reverse discrimination.

Within the civil rights context, affirmative action had its earliest roots in presidential orders, beginning with President John F. Kennedy's 1961 Executive Order 10925, which referred to efforts to end racial discrimination. In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson's Executive Order 11246 required federal contractors to take affirmative action to ensure equality in employment as it related to race, religion, and national origin. He expanded the scope to include women in his 1967 Executive Order 11375. The order covered employment, upgrades, demotions, transfers, employee recruitment and advertising for employees, pay rates, layoffs and termination, and training opportunities. President Richard Nixon significantly expanded federal involvement in affirmative action in 1969 when he announced the Philadelphia Order, which instructed federal construction contractors to establish goals and timetables for affirmative action. In 1970, he included nonconstruction federal contractors in the policy.

In addition to presidential actions, Congress contributed to the concept of equal opportunity by passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which included prohibitions against employment discrimination and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in Title VII. The EEOC was given enforcement responsibilities for private employers, and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance enforced the law for federal contractors and subcontractors. By 1968, the government had developed goals and timetables for affirmative action programs and recognized that discrimination could be systemic and unintentional. The Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 expanded coverage of the 1964 act and increased the EEOC's enforcement powers. In addition, one of the more persistent advocates of affirmative action, Congresswoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, passed a measure that required that contracts for the construction of the Alaskan pipeline be awarded on an affirmative action basis, and she placed amendments that required any project receiving federal funding to implement an affirmative action plan. Eventually, the measures became known as the Burke Amendment.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court has never defined affirmative action as a legal term, it has decided several cases related to it. The Court has decided that affirmative action programs are permissible when there is evidence of continuing discrimination. The plans must not use quotas, must be flexible, cannot require the selection of unqualified candidates, must not last longer than necessary to remedy the discrimination, and must not replace incumbent white male employees or businesses.

The most widely publicized affirmative action case was probably *Bakke v. Regents of the University of California* (1978). Bakke was a white male who

applied to the University of California Medical School but was denied admission, even though minority students with lower scores were admitted. The U.S. Supreme Court decided that race could be a factor in admissions policies, that universities could design affirmative action programs to increase the enrollments of minority students, and that those policies must be the least intrusive available. The Court decided that the University of California did not meet the criteria, and Bakke won his case, but the Court also concluded that affirmative action programs are constitutional.

Although women are the largest group of Americans to benefit from affirmative action, the only affirmative action case to reach the Supreme Court that dealt specifically with women was *Johnson v. Transportation Agency of Santa Clara County*, decided in 1987. The Court approved the county's affirmative action program, which set goals that would have a workforce of women, minorities, and people with disabilities in proportion to their population in the county.

See also *Bachur v. Democratic National Committee*; Burke, Perle Yvonne Watson Brathwaite; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; *Johnson v. Transportation Agency of Santa Clara County*

References Taylor, *Affirmative Action at Work: Law, Politics, and Ethics* (1991); www.aclu.org; www.civilrights.org; www.feminist.org; www.whitehouse.gov.

Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health (1983)

In *Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*, the U.S. Supreme Court considered five aspects of an Akron, Ohio, ordinance relating to abortion and found all of them unconstitutional. The Court rejected the requirement that after the first trimester of pregnancy all abortions had to be performed in a hospital, saying that it “unreasonably infringes upon a woman’s constitutional right to obtain an abortion.” It turned down the requirement that before performing an abortion on an unmarried minor under the age of fifteen, a physician had to obtain either the consent of one of her parents or the minor had to obtain a court order. The Court disagreed with the stipulation that the attending physician had to inform the woman about the status of her pregnancy, the development of the fetus, the likely date of viability, the physical and emotional complications that could result from an abortion, sources of assistance for pregnant women, and information about childbirth and adoption. The Court also disallowed the mandatory twenty-four-hour waiting period after a woman had signed the informed consent form, saying that no legitimate state interest had been demonstrated in defense of it. The last section considered by the Court required physicians performing abortions to ensure the humane and sanitary disposal of fetal remains or risk punishment for

a misdemeanor. The Court decided that the provision violated the due process clause because it failed to give a physician fair notice that he or she could be breaking the law. The Court considered several of these issues in earlier and subsequent cases.

See also Abortion; *Bellotti v. Baird*; *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*

References *Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*, 462 U.S. 416 (1983).

Albright, Madeleine Jana Korbelt (b. 1937)

Madeleine Albright became the first female U.S. secretary of state when President Bill Clinton appointed her in 1997. Upon taking the post, Albright became the highest-ranking woman in the U.S. government in the nation's history. During the first Clinton administration, she was the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations and a member of the National Security Council.

Born in Prague, Czechoslovakia, Albright was the daughter of a member of the Czechoslovak diplomatic service. Her father's career played a significant role in Albright's life, beginning in 1938 when her family had to flee their home to escape the Nazis. When Communists took over the Czech government in 1948, Albright, her siblings, and her parents became refugees and were granted political asylum in the United States. These experiences greatly influenced Albright's views of the United States' responsibilities to refugees and its relationships with totalitarian governments.

A naturalized U.S. citizen, Albright graduated from Wellesley College in 1959 and earned her master of arts degree in 1968 and her Ph.D. in 1967, both from Columbia University. Albright began her career as a professor and researcher, developing and implementing programs designed to enhance women's professional opportunities in international affairs. She entered politics by working for Senator Edmund Muskie's 1972 presidential campaign and later became his chief legislative assistant. In 1974, she became congressional liaison for national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, one of her former professors. Foreign policy adviser to Democratic vice presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro in 1984, Albright held the same position in presidential candidate Michael Dukakis's campaign in 1988. She then taught international relations at Georgetown University in the School of Foreign Service until 1992.

President Bill Clinton appointed Albright the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations in 1993. After her appointment, she explained her perspective on the United States' role in international affairs: "For me, America is really, truly the indispensable nation. I've never seen America as an imperialist or colonialist or meddling country." Her belief



Secretary of State Madeleine Albright spoke at a press conference as Vice President Al Gore (left) and President Bill Clinton (right) listened, 1998 (Archive Photos)

in the central role the United States plays in international affairs includes the use of military power, which is exemplified by her active efforts in two areas. She worked for United Nations authorization to use military force in Haiti in 1994, which led to the legally elected president of that nation being restored to power. In addition, she worked with several nations in developing the UN plan to use force to quell the war in Bosnia in 1995 and was a leading voice in the creation of a war crimes tribunal in that country. During her tenure as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Albright inspected peacekeeping operations and United Nations initiatives in twenty-four countries.

When Clinton began his second term in 1997, he appointed Albright secretary of state. On her first day as secretary, Albright learned that her ancestry was Jewish and that three of her grandparents had died at the hands of the Nazis. News stories abounded, some of them openly skeptical that she could have been ignorant of her ancestry. Albright, however, steadfastly maintained that she had not known and that she was proud of her parents for making the decisions they had to protect their children. She also expressed pride in her heritage.

As secretary of state, Albright has worked to convince the American public that the country's foreign policy should be important to them, even

in the post–Cold War era. Albright has worked to expand the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), obtained Senate approval of the International Chemical Weapons Treaty, and gained congressional approval of the State Department reorganization plan.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential; Ferraro, Geraldine Anne

References Blood, *Madam Secretary: A Biography of Madeleine Albright* (1997); *New York Times*, 5 February 1997.

Alexander, Sadie Tanner Mosell (1898–1989)

Lawyer and civil rights advocate Sadie Alexander led desegregation efforts in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in the 1930s by helping draft Pennsylvania’s public accommodation law prohibiting discrimination in hotels, restaurants, and theaters. She and her husband Raymond Alexander, also a lawyer, tested the law by attempting to enter a theater. When the manager refused to admit them, he was arrested for violating the law, and the Alexanders won their point. They continued their crusade at hotels and restaurants.

Born in Philadelphia, Sadie Alexander received her bachelor’s degree in education in 1918, her master’s degree in economics in 1919, and her doctorate in economics in 1921. She was the first African American woman in the United States to earn a doctoral degree and the first to earn one in economics. She completed her law degree in 1927, receiving all of the degrees from the University of Pennsylvania. Alexander entered private law practice and served as Philadelphia assistant city solicitor from 1927 to 1931 and from 1936 to 1940.

In the late 1940s, Sadie Alexander was “Woman of the Year” in the comic book *Negro Heroes*. She served on the President’s Committee on Civil Rights, which reported in 1948 that the United States had a substantial gap between its ideals and practice. In the 1960s, she headed Philadelphia’s Commission on Human Rights. President Jimmy Carter appointed her chair of the White House Conference on Aging in 1981.

Alexander was the first national president of Delta Sigma Theta, a black woman’s sorority. She was also active in the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, and the National Urban League’s national board.

See also American Civil Liberties Union; Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

References Hine, ed., *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (1993); *New York Times*, 3 November 1989.

Allen, Maryon Pittman (b. 1925)

Democrat Maryon Allen of Alabama served in the U.S. Senate from 8 June 1978 to 7 November 1978. While working as women's editor for the *Birmingham News*, she interviewed Alabama lieutenant governor James B. Allen in the spring of 1964 and married him that summer. Following James Allen's death while serving in the U.S. Senate, Governor George Wallace appointed Maryon Allen to fill the vacancy, with the understanding that hers would be an interim appointment, ending when another person was elected in the fall. Instead, she announced her candidacy to complete the unexpired term. When a newspaper article quoted Maryon Allen criticizing Governor Wallace and his wife, her support dwindled, despite her contention that her comments had been distorted. Allen won more votes than any of the other primary candidates but not a large enough percentage of votes cast to win the primary. She lost in the runoff election.

Born in Meridian, Mississippi, Allen attended the University of Alabama from 1944 to 1947 and the International Institute of Interior Design in 1970. After serving in Congress, Allen wrote a column for the *Washington Post* from 1978 to 1981. She returned to Birmingham in 1993 and opened Cliff House, a clothing restoration and design company.

See also Congress, Women in

References *New York Times*, 6 March 1971; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Allred, Gloria Rachel (b. 1941)

Feminist lawyer Gloria Allred serves as an advocate for women through her work in the courtroom. She has argued family law, sexual harassment, employment discrimination, and sex discrimination cases. Some of her cases have been considered trivial—for example, one challenging the higher rates that dry cleaners charged for laundering women's shirts than for men's—but she notes that she has never had a case dismissed for being frivolous or without merit.

Founder and president of the Women's Equal Rights Legal Defense and Education Fund, Allred became an activist lawyer as a result of personal experience. She explained that it developed from "being married as a teenager, giving birth to a child, getting divorced, not receiving child support, basically having to raise a child by myself, getting paid less than a man in my first job for what I consider to be equal work and equal experience, having been raped, having to have an abortion when abortion was illegal and unsafe, almost dying from it."

Although Allred has generally used litigation as the method for seeking justice, she has also used other techniques. She once gave a chastity

belt to a California state senator who supported a constitutional amendment to outlaw abortions, and she led a group of women who hung diapers in a governor's office to impress upon him the importance of a bill to allow payroll deductions to enforce child support. On another occasion, she organized a picket outside a courthouse after a judge made a sexist comment during a rape trial.

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Allred received her bachelor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1963, her master's degree from New York University in 1966, and her law degree from Loyola University in 1974.

References Evory and Gareffa, eds., *Contemporary Newsmakers, 1985* (1985); Klapper, "Activist Lawyer" (1985).

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority

Founded at Howard University in 1908, Alpha Kappa Alpha (AKA) was the first African American women's Greek letter society. Begun by nine women, it has grown into an organization of over 140,000 members in 750 chapters in the United States, West Africa, the Bahamas, Germany, and the Virgin Islands.

During the Depression of the 1930s, AKA entered into an era of social action, developing plans for teacher education, lobbying to end lynching, and working with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It also established a program to address health problems on the Mississippi Delta, where people suffered from malnutrition, diphtheria, smallpox, and syphilis and other venereal diseases. Beginning in 1935 and continuing for eight years, AKA sponsored mobile health units staffed by doctors and nurses that traveled throughout Holmes County, Mississippi, providing medical services. Known as the Mississippi Health Project, it received national attention for its contributions to public health.

Working with other groups in the 1940s, AKA's political agenda included the elimination of discrimination, ending disenfranchisement, supporting antilynching legislation, establishing a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, and ending racial inequities in federal programs. During World War II, the sorority also worked with the National Council of Negro Women to convince the Navy to admit African American women into the newly formed Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service (WAVES) and to end discrimination and segregation in the Women's Army Corps (WAC).

Providing educational and employment opportunities, making grants for medical research and education, honoring black families, and supporting black businesses are among the many areas in which AKA has

provided leadership in the United States. On the international level, it has helped improve life in several African nations by providing training, improved water supplies, assistance to refugee children, and relief.

See also Antilynching Movement; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; National Council of Negro Women

References Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (1982); Hine, ed., *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (1993).

Alpha Suffrage Club

Organized in 1913 by writer and activist Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Alpha Suffrage Club of Chicago worked to politicize black women and to support woman suffrage. Wells-Barnett formed the club out of her commitment to woman suffrage and because the dominant woman suffrage organization, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, held racist views and excluded African American women. Members registered voters, offered political education programs, and organized voters. Their most visible success came with Oscar DePriest's 1915 election as the first black alderman in Chicago.

See also National American Woman Suffrage Association; Suffrage; Wells-Barnett, Ida Bell

References Hine, ed., *Black Women in America* (1993).

Alvarez, Aida (b. 1949)

A member of President Bill Clinton's cabinet, Aida Alvarez was appointed administrator of the Small Business Administration in 1997. Alvarez is the first Hispanic woman and the first person of Puerto Rican heritage to hold a position in a president's cabinet. As head of the Small Business Administration, Alvarez shapes the policies for federal programs that provide financial and business development assistance to entrepreneurs. Alvarez's priorities include improving access to capital and credit for a diverse population. She said: "Small business is the heart and soul of the American economy. It has always been, and it will always be."

Born in Aguadilla, Puerto Rico, Alvarez earned her bachelor's degree from Harvard University in 1971. A television and print journalist from 1973 to 1984, she worked for the New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation from 1984 to 1985 and was an investment banker in San Francisco and New York from 1986 to 1993. Appointed the first director of the Office of Federal Housing Enterprise Oversight in 1993, she established regulatory oversight of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, the nation's two largest housing finance corporations.



Aida Alvarez (left), administrator for the Small Business Administration, with Hillary Clinton (right) during a meeting of the National Council of La Raza, 1998 (Associated Press AP)

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References www.sba.gov/alvarez/.

American Association of University Women

The American Association of University Women (AAUW) promotes equity for all women and girls, lifelong education, and positive societal change. With 160,000 members, it is the oldest and largest national organization working for equity and the advancement of women through education. Founded in 1881 by seventeen college women who wanted to form a national organization of women college graduates, AAUW was originally known as the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA), which merged with the Western Association of College Alumnae and finally with Southern Association of College Women in 1921 to form AAUW.

The early purposes of ACA members were to help other women obtain higher education and to help educated women fit into their communities. So few women held college degrees in the nineteenth century that several myths surrounded educated women and the effect their education had on them. In addition to society scorning women who sought higher education, some people thought that women who obtained college degrees would become infertile or lose their minds. These questions led the association to begin its long tradition of research related to women and women's education. One of the organization's first studies, in 1885, investigated the effects of a college degree on women and resulted in the conclusions that women with college degrees could bear children and did not lose their minds.

The organization's 1992 study, *The AAUW Report: How Schools Shortchange Girls*, showed that systemic sex discrimination or gender bias has placed schoolgirls at a disadvantage in the classroom. A subsequent study, *Girls in the Middle: Working to Succeed in School* (1996), focused on girls in middle school and the strategies they have used to meet the challenges of adolescence. Through its research, AAUW also identified the prevalence of sexual harassment in schools, which prompted the publication of *Hostile Hallways: The AAUW Survey on Sexual Harassment in America's Schools* (1993).

In addition to conducting research, AAUW has lobbied Congress and state legislatures. As a charter member of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee in 1920, AAUW helped pass the Sheppard-Towner Act, the Cable Act, and several other measures. In the decades since, AAUW has supported the appointment of women to public offices, environmental conservation and protection, public broadcasting, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974, consumer protection, accessibility to housing, drug abuse prevention, and many other issues. AAUW, along with several other women's organizations, initially opposed adding the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution, was neutral on the amendment in the 1950s and 1960s, but in 1971 became a strong and committed supporter of ERA.

AAUW's current public policy goals include promoting educational and economic equity and expanding and defending civil rights. In the area of educational equity, AAUW supports adequate and equitable funding for public education, increased support for and access to higher education, enforcement of Title IX, and education for women and girls for career preparation. AAUW opposes using public funds for nonpublic elementary and secondary education. In the area of economic equity, AAUW supports equitable access and advancement in employment; enforcement of employment antidiscrimination laws; fairness in compensation; access to high-quality, affordable dependent care; and programs that provide women with education, training, and support for success in the workforce. Its civil and constitutional rights priorities include freedom from violence in homes, schools, workplaces, and communities and expansion of women's health care rights.

Because of the emerging power of far-right politicians who opposed much of AAUW's public policy agenda, it has worked to elect candidates who support its views. For example, AAUW's 1996 Voter Education Campaign distributed voter guides and other policy information material, contacted nearly 1 million women who had not voted in 1994, and conducted get-out-the-vote drives. In addition to participating in elections, AAUW has a paid lobbyist whose work focuses on influencing members

of Congress. The lobbyist's work is supported by AAUW members, who also lobby their members of Congress in person, through the mail, and with faxes and e-mail. AAUW keeps its members informed of congressional activities through its print and electronic publications.

AAUW provides financial support to women through the Educational Foundation and the Legal Advocacy Fund. The Educational Foundation uses money raised by local and state branches to support fellowships for advanced study and research grants. It awards over \$2.5 million a year to women for graduate education, community projects, and international academic exchanges. The Legal Advocacy Fund helps women in higher education fight discrimination and harassment.

See also Abortion; Cable Acts; Domestic Violence; Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX; Education, Women and; Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendment; Pay Equity; Sexual Harassment; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921; Women's Joint Congressional Committee

References Chipley, comp., *AAUW: Historic Principles 1881–1989* (1989); "Election '96: Deciding the Vote" (1997); Levine, *Degrees of Equality: The American Association of University Women and the Challenge of Twentieth-Century Feminism* (1995); www.aauw.org.

American Civil Liberties Union

Founded in 1920, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is a non-partisan public interest organization dedicated to protecting the basic civil liberties of all Americans and extending them to those who have been denied them. The ACLU's mission is to safeguard First Amendment rights, equal protection of the law, due process of law, and the right to privacy. In addition to litigating cases and supporting other groups litigating issues in which it believes civil rights are involved, the ACLU lobbies Congress.

The ACLU has national projects that focus on a specific area, including acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), arts censorship, capital punishment, children's rights, education reform, lesbian and gay rights, immigrants' rights, reproductive freedom, and women's rights. The Women's Rights Project, which seeks full equality for women, provides an example of the work done by these special projects. It took the sex discrimination case *Reed v. Reed* (1971) to the U.S. Supreme Court, and for the first time the Court held that a classification based on sex was unconstitutional. The Women's Rights Project has also been involved in cases related to pregnancy, employment, pay equity, and insurance benefits.

See also Abortion; *Craig v. Boren*; *Frontiero v. Richardson*; Ginsburg, Ruth Joan Bader; Lesbian Rights; *Reed v. Reed*; *Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld*

References www.aclu.org.

American Life League, Inc.

Founded by Judie Brown in 1979, the American Life League (ALL), first known as the American Life Lobby, has 300,000 supporters and a network of 5,000 activists. ALL works to educate its members and the public about abortion, using the group's interpretations of biblical writings. ALL opposes abortion without any exceptions, including rape, incest, and fetal deformity. ALL also opposes the use of most contraceptives, including birth control pills, intrauterine devices (IUDs), RU-486, and other chemical contraceptives, arguing that these contraceptive methods are abortifacients, which means they cause abortions. ALL opposes using public funds, facilities, or employees to perform abortions; providing abortion coverage in public employees' health insurance plans; and using fetal tissue transplants from induced abortions in medical experiments.

ALL advocates passage of the Paramount Human Life Amendment, which states: "The paramount right to life is vested in each human being at fertilization." The organization supports passage of "fetal homicide" legislation and conscience clauses for doctors, health care workers, facilities, and police officers that would allow them to refuse to participate in abortions or abortion-related activity. It supports crisis pregnancy centers that do not perform abortions or make referrals to abortion facilities.

See also Abortion; Brown, Judie

References www.all.org.

American Woman Suffrage Association

Founded in 1869, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) developed out of a division between two factions in the women's rights movement and in response to Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony's new organization, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), also founded in that year. Conflicts had appeared three years earlier between those who insisted that any constitutional amendments related to citizenship and voting rights for freed slaves must also include women and those who believed that the post-Civil War years demanded those rights for former slaves, even if the provisions did not include women. Other events exacerbated the differences, leading to the creation of the NWSA.

AWSA members, led by Lucy Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell, supported the Fifteenth Amendment, which granted suffrage to all males regardless of color and advocated state amendments for woman suffrage rather than a federal amendment. AWSA, the more conservative of the two groups, limited its focus to woman suffrage and avoided other controversial topics embraced by NWSA, such as divorce or critiques of organized religion.

By the late 1880s, AWSA's more conservative views better reflected the nation's conservatism than NWSA, but NWSA had organized more affiliates. The necessary components for uniting the two groups existed, needing only a leader to help bring them together. In 1887, Alice Stone Blackwell, daughter of Stone and Blackwell, and Harriot Eaton Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, began the process of uniting the two groups in negotiations that took more than two years. In 1890, the AWSA and NWSA became the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

See also Anthony, Susan Brownell; Blackwell, Alice Stone; Blatch, Harriot Eaton Stanton; Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman Suffrage Association; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Stone, Lucy

References Flexner and Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (1996).

Ames, Jessie Harriet Daniel (1883–1972)

Founder of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL), Jessie Daniel Ames worked to end lynching by dispelling the myths surrounding it. Ames's central arguments were that lynching was not in retaliation for black men raping white women but was a form of racial control and a means of perpetuating sexual exploitation of women, the arguments that African American women had earlier articulated. Ames contributed to the antilynching cause by bringing white women into the crusade.

Born in Palestine, Texas, Ames graduated from Southwestern University in 1902. Married in 1905, she had three children before she became a widow. To support her family, she managed a local telephone company that her mother owned.

Ames became involved in politics through the suffrage movement in 1916, organized a county suffrage association, and became treasurer of the Texas Equal Suffrage Association in 1918. Through her writing and speaking on behalf of the cause, she helped make Texas the first southern state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment granting women voting rights. In 1919, Ames organized and became the founding president of the Texas League of Women Voters and through it organized citizenship schools. She also worked to give women equal rights to custody of their children, to ensure married women's property rights, and to expand educational opportunities for girls.

As Ames pursued an agenda for women's rights, she concluded that fundamental barriers to achieving her goals were the power of racism and the domination of the Ku Klux Klan in southern politics. During the time she was developing these ideas, she attended a meeting hosted by the

Council on Interracial Cooperation (CIC). The CIC had been formed to help ease the racial tension that had developed after World War I, with an emphasis on addressing the tragedy of lynching. In 1924, Ames became a CIC fieldworker in Texas, conducted an educational and legislative campaign against lynching, and investigated lynchings. In 1929, Ames moved to Atlanta, Georgia, where she became director of women's work for CIC.

In 1930, with financial support from CIC, Ames founded the ASWPL, which organized white women through existing groups, particularly Protestant missionary societies. For many traditional southern women, involvement in politics was seen as degrading, but Ames's approach permitted them to become political under the guise of their churches. Her primary strategy was to convince women that lynchings did not occur in response to attacks on or rapes of white women. Instead, she demonstrated that mob violence and racial hatred motivated the crimes. In addition, she attacked the paternalism of chivalry, which asserted that white women needed white men's protection from the threat of sexual violence from black men. Ames argued that these distortions of the motives behind lynching served to keep women submissive.

ASWPL members circulated antilynching pledges, obtaining more than 43,000 signatures. They also publicized their findings, printed pamphlets, organized speaking tours, and intervened to prevent lynching in their own communities. By 1935, there were affiliates in all of the former Confederate states plus Kentucky and Oklahoma.

Ames eventually became estranged from other leading antilynching advocates because she insisted that the states must be responsible for stopping mob violence and lynching and opposed any federal measure, which many other leaders supported. Although an antilynching law passed the House in 1921, the Senate refused to act upon it and no federal measure against lynching ever became law. In 1942, ASWPL closed its doors, and Ames returned to her work with CIC, retiring in 1944.

See also American Association of University Women; Antilynching Movement; Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching; League of Women Voters; Suffrage

References Hall, *Revolt against Chivalry* (1979).

Anderson, Eugenie Moore (1909–1997)

Democrat Eugenie Moore Anderson served as U.S. ambassador to Denmark from 1949 to 1953 and to Bulgaria from 1962 to 1964. She was first female U.S. ambassador and the first woman to sign a treaty between the United States and another nation. Her interest in international issues developed during a trip to Germany in 1937 that exposed her to the country's

totalitarian government and prompted her to speak on foreign affairs when she returned to the United States. As a representative of the League of Women Voters, Anderson spoke against isolationist policies and changed her party affiliation from Republican to Democrat because of her opposition to the isolationist views of people living in her area. Anderson helped Hubert H. Humphrey remove a Communist faction in Minnesota's Democratic Party and helped form the Democratic-Farmer Labor Party in 1944. She became Democratic national committeewoman for Minnesota in 1948, the same year she helped Harry S. Truman win the state for his presidential candidacy.

When Truman appointed her ambassador, she said: "I know that he intended my appointment to signify to all women that he recognizes our growing assumption of mature responsible citizenship, our work for the public good, not simply as women and mothers, but as citizens and as people." In order to facilitate her work as ambassador, Anderson learned Danish and traveled throughout Denmark. Through her work, Anderson helped reach an agreement in the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation in 1951 and negotiated an arrangement with Denmark that brought Greenland into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) defense authority. She also negotiated the creation and maintenance of U.S. military bases in Greenland. When Truman's term ended in 1953, Anderson returned to the United States. She ran for the U.S. Senate in 1958 but lost in the primary.

President John F. Kennedy appointed her head of the U.S. delegation to Bulgaria in 1962, an assignment very different from her previous one. A strong anti-Communist, Anderson found the censorship and surveillance there difficult to accept. She negotiated the settlement of World War II claims and related matters, but repeated demonstrations at the U.S. embassy protesting U.S. espionage activities led Anderson to resign in 1964.

Anderson was U.S. representative to the United Nations General Assembly from 1965 to 1967, served on the United Nations Trusteeship Council from 1965 to 1968, and then was a special assistant to the secretary of state.

Born in Adair, Iowa, Anderson taught piano lessons in 1926 and 1927 and worked for Northwestern Bell Telephone Company to pay for her college tuition. She attended Stephens College, Simpson College, Carleton College, and Julliard School.

References *New York Times*, 3 April 1997; Stineman, *American Political Women* (1980).

Anderson, Marian (1902–1993)

A classical vocalist, Marian Anderson became a symbol for the civil rights movement in the 1930s and an inspiration to other African American musicians. Despite her artistic accomplishments, Anderson suffered the full range of racism's indignities, including being denied admission to a music school and the use of performance halls, experiencing the insults of being refused service at white restaurants, and being refused lodging in white hotels. By focusing on her art, however, Anderson brought attention to the problems of racism in the United States.

Born in Philadelphia, Marian Anderson began singing in church choirs when she was six years old and offering solo performances when she was eight. She studied music under several teachers until 1925, when she entered a New York Philharmonic Orchestra voice competition, making her debut with that orchestra the same year. Over the next several years, she continued her studies and toured the United States, particularly the South, where segregation laws significantly complicated her travels and performances.

Wanting to expand her skills and seeking new performance opportunities, Anderson went to Europe in 1930, where she was warmly received. In 1935, she returned to the United States at the encouragement of her manager, impresario Sol Hurok, who created performance opportunities for her and shielded her from some of the more blatant expressions of racism.

Hurok, however, could not protect Anderson from the Daughters of the American Revolution's (DAR) racial prejudice in an incident that made her a national civil rights figure. When Hurok attempted to schedule a concert at the DAR's Constitution Hall, he was told that all dates were taken. Convinced that racism was the true problem, Hurok took the matter to the public. In response, Eleanor Roosevelt resigned from the DAR, and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes offered the Lincoln Memorial on Easter Sunday, 1939, for a concert site. More than 75,000 people attended the concert, and millions more listened to it on the radio. In addition, newspapers and other publications printed pictures of Anderson singing in front of Abraham Lincoln's statue, an image that became a symbol for the civil rights movement. At the invitation of the DAR, Anderson sang at Constitution Hall in December 1942 and on subsequent occasions.

The first African American to sing with the New York Metropolitan Opera, Anderson debuted with the opera company in 1955, an event that received front-page coverage in the *New York Times* for its significance in race relations. Anderson sang at inaugurations for President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1957 and President John F. Kennedy in 1961. Eisenhower

appointed her an alternative representative in the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Human Rights Committee in the late 1950s.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Roosevelt, Eleanor

References Anderson, *My Lord, What a Morning* (1956); *New York Times*, 14 April 1993.

Anderson, Mary (1872–1964)

Head of the federal Women's Bureau from 1920 to 1944, Mary Anderson began her working life as a laborer, developed organizational skills as a union recruiter, and became a powerful advocate for protective labor legislation. As an advocate for improving women's working conditions, Anderson opposed the Equal Rights Amendment, believing that it would make protective labor legislation unconstitutional and leave working women vulnerable to unsafe and harmful working conditions.

Born near Lidköping, Sweden, Anderson and one of her sisters migrated to the United States in 1889. Upon her arrival, she worked as a dishwasher, as a domestic, in a garment factory, and in a shoe factory. In 1899, she joined the International Boot and Shoe Workers Union and was elected president of the women's stitchers' local union the next year. She served on the union's national executive board from 1906 to 1919 and became active in the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL). In 1910, she became a full-time organizer for the WTUL and also developed expertise as an industrial arbitrator, preventing and ending wildcat strikes.

Anderson began her career in public service in 1918, when she joined the staff of the Women in Industry Service, a temporary agency in the Department of Labor established to monitor women's employment during World War I. Anderson crusaded for equal pay for women but formulating an enforceable policy eluded her and others committed to the concept. She did, however, contribute to eliminating one form of pay discrimination and opening more employment opportunities to women. Under civil service rules, women were prohibited from taking 60 percent of the exams, and women's entry-level pay was lower than men's. Negotiating with the Civil Service Commission, Anderson reached an agreement in which all civil service exams were opened to women in 1919. When qualifications and salaries were established for federal jobs, Anderson successfully worked to establish pay grades that did not discriminate on the basis of sex or age.

After World War I, women active in the labor movement pressured Congress to make the agency permanent. In 1920, Congress created the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, and President Woodrow Wilson appointed Anderson to head it. The bureau's primary tasks

included researching women's status as workers, reporting the research, coordinating efforts on behalf of women workers, and serving as their advocate. Anderson's background in the labor movement made her a devoted supporter of protective labor legislation for women and an equally strong opponent of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Anderson viewed the ERA as an "absurd theoretical pronouncement." Her antipathy to the amendment emerged from her belief, one shared by amendment supporters and opponents, that it would void protective labor legislation for women.

During World War II, Anderson believed that her biggest challenge was to convince employers that women could competently perform a wide range of jobs. Anderson retired from public life in 1944, when she left the Women's Bureau.

See also Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendment; National Committee to Defeat the Unequal Rights Amendment; Protective Legislation; Women's Bureau

References Anderson, *Woman at Work* (1951); Harrison, *On Account of Sex* (1988).

Andrews, (Leslie) Elizabeth Bullock (b. 1911)

Democrat Elizabeth Andrews of Alabama served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 4 April 1972 to 3 January 1973. Andrews first entered politics in 1944, when her husband George Andrews ran for Congress while serving in the Navy, and she campaigned as his surrogate. Following Congressman George Andrews's death, the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee selected Elizabeth Andrews to be the party's nominee to fill the vacancy. She did not have a Republican opponent in the special election. During her nine months in office, she introduced amendments to protect medical and Social Security benefits and cosponsored a bill to make Tuskegee Institute a national historical park. She did not run for a full term in 1972.

Born in Geneva, Alabama, Andrews earned her bachelor of science degree at Montevallo College in 1932 and then taught home economics.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Angelou, Maya (b. 1928)

Teacher, poet, dancer, writer, actress, and civil rights organizer Maya Angelou has revealed the life experiences of one African American woman through the volumes of her autobiography. In 1960, Angelou cowrote the



stage production *Cabaret for Freedom*, which was produced in New York City to raise funds for civil rights activities in the South. Following her work with the cabaret, she became increasingly involved with civil rights activists, among them Martin Luther King, Jr. At his request, Angelou served as northern coordinator for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from 1959 to 1960.

Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Maya Angelou, who was first named Marguerite Johnson, studied dance and drama. Angelou began performing as an actor, singer, and dancer in the 1950s and toured with the U.S. State Department production of *Porgy and Bess*.

Angelou's books include *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1970); *Just Give Me a Cool Drink of Water 'Fore I Die* (1971); *On the Pulse of Morning: The Inaugural Poem* (1992), which she wrote for and read at President Bill Clinton's 1993 inauguration; and *Lessons in Living* (1993). Since 1981, she has been the Reynolds Professor of American Studies, a lifetime appointment, at Wake Forest University.

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook*, 1974 (1974).

Maya Angelou read her poem "On the Pulse of Morning" at President Bill Clinton's inauguration, 1993 (Corbis/Leif Skoogfors)

Anthony, Susan Brownell (1820–1906)

A charismatic leader, Susan B. Anthony used her organizational ability and her political acumen to help gain suffrage and other rights for women. With her political partner Elizabeth Cady Stanton, she carried the

women's rights message across the country, educated women about the legal and constitutional barriers to their full citizenship, and organized the National Woman Suffrage Association.

Born in Adams, Massachusetts, Anthony, a Quaker, attended Deborah Moulson's Seminary for Females when she was seventeen years old. After teaching and serving as a headmistress at other schools for several years in her twenties, she left teaching to manage her family's farm in 1849. Her parents had created a gathering place for temperance activists and abolitionists, including Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips. In addition, her parents and younger sister had attended the 1848 women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York.

Anthony entered politics through the temperance movement, making her first speech as president of the local Daughters of Temperance in 1849. It was through her temperance work that Anthony met Amelia Bloomer in 1851 and through her, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had helped organize the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention. At a Sons of Temperance meeting in 1852, Anthony stood up to speak but was told that women were supposed to listen and learn and was denied permission to speak. When she walked out of the meeting, it was her first spontaneous protest action. In response, she organized the Woman's State Temperance Society, with Stanton serving as president.

Anthony attended her first women's rights convention in 1852 in Syracuse, New York, where she became convinced that without the right to vote or to independently own property, women had virtually no political power. She had found the issue to which she devoted the rest of her life, women's rights.

Anthony and Stanton began their cooperative reform efforts in 1854, working to expand married women's legal rights. They sought to secure for married women the rights to own their wages and to have guardianship of their children in cases of divorce. Anthony organized door-to-door campaigns throughout New York, soliciting signatures on petitions for these causes. The Married Women's Property Act, passed in 1860, gave a married woman control over her wages, the right to sue, and the same rights to her husband's estate as he had to hers.

The partnership that developed between Anthony and Stanton resulted in some ways from their personal circumstances and strengths. Stanton, who was married and had children, had little freedom to travel and organize, but she could develop arguments to support women's rights and write speeches and articles. Anthony, who was single, did not have the same responsibilities, and her strengths included organizing and publicity. Through their work, the two women challenged the assumptions that confined women to the private sphere. They argued that women's sex did



not limit their ability to think, that women were not made to serve men, and that women and men should receive the same education in coeducational settings.

In addition to working for women's rights, Anthony was active in the abolitionist movement. By 1856, Anthony was the principal agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society in the state of New York. With the creation of the Republican Party, Anthony began advocating the inclusion of a plank in the party platform for the immediate emancipation of slaves, a proposal that provoked angry responses. Lecture halls she had reserved were denied to her, effigies of her were burned, and violent mobs threatened her. To further the cause of emancipation, Anthony and Stanton founded the Woman's National Loyal League in 1863, advocating the freedom of all slaves and constitutional guarantees for their rights. Under the auspices of the league, Anthony led a national petition drive for emancipation, getting 400,000 signatures in support of the cause. After Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1865, the Woman's National Loyal League disbanded.

After the Civil War, Anthony opposed the wording of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which guaranteed citizenship to the newly freed slaves. Her objection to the amendment was

Susan B. Anthony, who worked for more than forty years to gain suffrage for women, in her study in Rochester, New York, 1900 (Library of Congress)

that it used the word *male* in connection with citizenship, raising the question of whether or not women were citizens. Anthony and Stanton recognized that passage of the Fourteenth Amendment as it was drafted would require another constitutional amendment to give women the vote in federal elections. Both women pledged to oppose the amendment if it did not include women. Abolitionist and Republican leaders, who had long worked with them in the abolitionist and women's rights causes, however, were committed to the amendment with the word *male* in it, saying that it was "the Negro's hour" and that freed slaves needed the protections created by it. Anthony and Stanton were outraged by what they considered a betrayal by their colleagues. In 1866, the two women joined abolitionists and other Republicans in organizing the American Equal Rights Association to work for universal suffrage rights, but the association ultimately decided to work for the Fourteenth Amendment with the word *male* in it, and Anthony and Stanton left the association.

In 1867, Anthony and Stanton went to Kansas, where referenda on African American and woman suffrage amendments were being held. Republican leaders supported African American suffrage but were silent on woman suffrage, which convinced Anthony and Stanton that the party would not promote the woman suffrage measure. During the campaign, Anthony and Stanton met George Francis Train, an eccentric, wealthy Democrat, whose racist and proslavery views were well known. Train campaigned for woman suffrage and against the measure for blacks, often appearing onstage with Anthony. Her alliance with Train created a scandal among Republicans and abolitionists, who ridiculed and discredited Anthony as a woman suffrage leader. Kansas voters defeated both amendments.

Anthony's involvement with Train continued, however, when he offered to finance a newspaper for woman suffrage, and Anthony and Stanton accepted it. In 1868, Anthony published the first issue of *The Revolution*, but Train's financial support ended when he left for Europe and abandoned the financial commitment he had made. Anthony continued publishing the paper until 1870, when its indebtedness made continuing it impractical. She turned the paper over to another woman and worked as a lecturer for several years to pay the debts she had incurred publishing it.

A constitutional amendment for woman suffrage was introduced in Congress for the first time in 1868, as was the proposed Fifteenth Amendment, which granted suffrage to male former slaves, but not to women. The next year, Anthony and Stanton organized the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) to develop support for the woman suffrage amendment and opposition to the Fifteenth Amendment as long as it excluded women. In addition to its call for woman suffrage, NWSA advocated

divorce reform and working women's rights. In response, two other suffrage leaders, Lucy Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell, organized the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), which supported the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment and advocated working for state woman suffrage amendments. The two groups competed for more than twenty years.

Seeking alternative strategies for voting rights, Anthony and other suffragists began reconsidering the Fourteenth Amendment as a route to the voting booth. Some suffragists believed that the amendment's identification of citizens as male and the Fifteenth Amendment's provision that citizens were voters combined to exclude women from voting. Other suffragists argued that the Constitution permitted states to define the qualifications for voting. Anthony concluded that she was a citizen and that the Constitution did not specifically prohibit women from voting. She cast her ballot in the 1872 presidential election in New York state. Fifteen other women joined her, and all of them were arrested. Charges were dropped against all but Anthony. Her trial was scheduled for early in 1873, time she used to travel the state of New York, lecturing on the reasons that she believed women could legally vote. Using the Declaration of Independence, the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution, and the Fourteenth Amendment, she argued:

It was we, the people, not we, the white, male citizens, nor we the male citizens; but we, the whole people who formed this Union. 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. It is downright mockery to talk to women of their enjoyment of the blessings of liberty while they are denied the only means of securing them provided by the democratic-republican government—the ballot.

She continued her argument by asserting that women were people, people were citizens, and citizens could vote. Convicted and fined \$100, she refused to pay, but she was not ordered to jail and the matter died. The judge's decision to drop the matter denied her the opportunity to appeal the decision in a higher court.

Anthony continued to campaign for woman suffrage, speaking on the topic, organizing supporters, and working for bills in state legislatures and in campaigns for state constitutional amendments. She traveled the country for more than thirty years on behalf of woman suffrage. She also joined the effort to record the events in which she had played such a significant part. With Matilda Joslyn Gage, Anthony and Stanton wrote *History of*

Woman Suffrage, a three-volume work that was published over several years, the first volume in 1881 and the last in 1886. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper published a fourth volume in 1902 and Harper published two additional volumes in 1922.

In 1890, Anthony helped with the merger of the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association into the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Stanton served as NAWSA's first president from 1890 to 1892. Anthony was vice-president-at-large those years and succeeded Stanton as president from 1892 until 1900. Anthony made her last public statement in 1906, at a gathering of suffragists celebrating her eighty-sixth birthday. After expressing her appreciation to her friends and colleagues and after noting that suffrage had not been won, she said, "with such women consecrating their lives, failure is impossible." Her declaration, "failure is impossible," became a motto for suffragists and for feminists who followed later in the twentieth century. The Nineteenth Amendment granting women the vote was ratified in 1920, fourteen years after Anthony's death.

In 1979, Anthony's leadership was recognized with the issuance of the Susan B. Anthony dollar coin, the first coin intended for general circulation with the image of an American woman on it.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the; American Woman Suffrage Association; Bloomer, Amelia Jenks; Douglass, Frederick; Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; Gage, Matilda Joslyn; Married Women's Property Acts; *Minor v. Happersett*; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman Suffrage Association; Nineteenth Amendment; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Stone, Lucy; Suffrage; Temperance Movement, Women in the; Woodhull, Victoria Claflin

References Barry, *Susan B. Anthony: A Biography of a Singular Feminist* (1988).

Antilynching Movement

In the 1890s, African American women organized efforts to focus national attention on the crime of lynching and the racial hatred and mob violence that surrounded it. The crime most frequently occurred in the South, its victims were most frequently African American men, and its perpetrators were most frequently white men. The dominant myth surrounding lynching was that it was a form of vigilante justice exacted to punish a black man who had raped a white woman. Through the efforts of African American women, the myth was exposed and the truth that lynching and rape were unrelated was revealed.

African American journalist Ida B. Wells-Barnett, for example, researched the circumstances of more than 700 lynchings and publicized the lies and distortions used to justify the crime. Wells-Barnett's work,

combined with that of Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Mary B. Talbert, Mary Church Terrell, and others, resulted in a decline in lynching that began in 1893 and continued for several years.

In 1921, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a federal anti-lynching bill, but the U.S. Senate refused to act on the measure. Talbert organized the Anti-Lynching Crusaders in 1922, an effort sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), to involve 1 million women and raise \$1 million. They did not reach their goals, but the publicity generated by the campaign may have contributed to the reduction in the number of lynchings after 1924.

For decades, African American women had tried to enlist white women in the crusade against lynching, but their pleas went largely unheeded. In 1930, however, Texan Jessie Daniel Ames emerged as a leader in the crusade. Her arguments against lynching echoed those that Wells-Barnett had made more than thirty years earlier. Ames explained that mob violence and lynching were not in retaliation for a black man raping a white woman but were an expression of racial hatred. Ames founded the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, mobilizing southern women in the campaign. Unlike African American women, however, Ames opposed federal antilynching measures. Although a federal antilynching law was not passed, the efforts of these groups significantly altered public opinion. A 1942 Gallup poll showed that whites in the North and the South supported making lynching a federal crime.

See also Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; Ames, Jessie Harriet Daniel; Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching; National Association of Colored Women; Ruffin, Josephine St. Pierre; Terrell, Mary Eliza Church; Wells-Barnett, Ida Bell

References Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (1984).

Armstrong, Anne Legendre (b. 1927)

Republican feminist Anne Armstrong served as the first woman counselor to the president from 1973 to 1974, a cabinet-level position in President Richard Nixon's administration. Armstrong established the first White House Office of Women's Programs, which served as a liaison between the Nixon administration and women's organizations and recruited women to high-level positions in the federal government. Armstrong also chaired the Federal Property Council, a group that reviewed policies regarding federal property and conflicting land use claims. She served on the Council on Wage and Price Stability and on the Domestic Council.

Born in New Orleans, Louisiana, Anne Armstrong earned her bachelor's degree from Vassar College in 1949, majoring in English. Following

college, she worked for *Harper's Bazaar* as an assistant editor. She left the magazine when she married Tobin Armstrong, a Texas rancher.

Armstrong entered politics to support Democrat Harry Truman's 1948 presidential campaign and became a Republican after her marriage. She served as vice chair of the Texas Republican Party in 1966 and as national committeewoman for Texas from 1968 to 1973. In 1971, she became the Republican National Committee's first female cochair, a position she used to encourage other feminists to become active in the party. At the party's 1972 national convention, she and other feminists obtained an agreement with the party that it would work to increase the number of women delegates to the 1976 Republican National Convention.

As the Watergate scandal developed in 1973 and 1974, Armstrong staunchly defended President Nixon. Only after the most incriminating evidence regarding Nixon's involvement in the cover-up became public did Armstrong join Senator Barry Goldwater in encouraging Nixon to resign. Armstrong retained her position when President Gerald Ford took office, but she resigned in December 1974 because of family health problems and returned to Texas. From 1976 to 1977, Armstrong was U.S. ambassador to the United Kingdom and chaired the president's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board from 1981 to 1990.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential; Equal Rights Amendment; Republican Party, Women in the

References *New York Times*, 6 January 1976; Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Nixon/Ford Years* (1979); Stineman, *American Political Women* (1980); www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/ford/library/faintro/armstro1.htm.

Ashbrook, (Emily) Jean Spencer (b. 1934)

Republican Jean Ashbrook of Ohio served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 29 June 1982 to 3 January 1983. Her husband, John M. Ashbrook, had served eleven terms in the U.S. House when he died in April 1982. At the request of Ohio governor James M. Rhodes, Jean Ashbrook entered the special primary to complete her husband's term and won the primary and general elections. Because reapportionment and redistricting following the 1980 census eliminated the district, Jean Ashbrook did not run for reelection.

Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Jean Ashbrook earned her bachelor of science degree at Ohio State University in 1956.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching

Founded by Jessie Daniel Ames in 1930, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL) linked mob violence and racial hatred to the concerns of women and helped reduce occurrences of the crime. The ASWPL emerged from and was financed by the Council on Interracial Cooperation, a group that worked to end lynching. The crime had declined until 1929, but had escalated in 1930.

In November 1930, twenty-six women representing several civic and religious organizations from seven southern states met to discuss the resurgence of lynching and ways that women could end the crime. Eleven of the women agreed on the following statement: “Lynching is an indefensible crime, destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved. Though lynchings are not confined to any section of the United States, we [Southerners] are aroused by the record which discloses our heavy responsibility for the presence of this crime in our country.”

The ASWPL had two primary strategies. One involved disseminating facts and information about lynching, particularly to refute the myth that the crime was committed in retribution for an attack on a white woman, especially rape. The ASWPL also sought pledges from private citizens, governors, sheriffs, and other government officials that they opposed lynching and would act against it. The 37,267 people who had signed cards by 1937 provided notice to potential lynchers that the crime would no longer be ignored. In addition, when ASWPL members learned of a potential lynching, they notified public officials and members in the area with the hope of preventing the crime.

The southern women who endeavored to stop lynching worked in a culture that accepted lynching and rejected women’s political activism. Jessie Daniel Ames sidestepped these obstacles by developing the ASWPL through traditional women’s organizations, particularly Protestant missionary societies. By involving women in this way, the ASWPL provided a path for southern women’s political activism in an era when many southerners considered it degrading for women to be openly political.

Ames refused to support federal antilynching legislation, which was seen as one of the most direct approaches to ending lynching. A strong states’ rights advocate, Ames believed moral suasion was the preferred approach. Her adamant stand on the issue separated the ASWPL from African American organizations working to end lynching. Some ASWPL state affiliates, however, supported a federal measure. Although no federal measure was ever signed into law, lynching decreased in the 1940s, and ASWPL dissolved in 1942.

See also Ames, Jessie Harriet Daniel; Antilynching Movement

References Miller, "The Ladies and the Lynchers: A Look at the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching" (1978).

Atkinson, Ti-Grace (b. 1939)

In the 1960s and 1970s, radical feminist theorist Ti-Grace Atkinson repeatedly challenged feminists to structure organizations and to conduct themselves in ways that did not perpetuate women's oppression of other women. A leader in the National Organization for Women (NOW), a founder of the Feminists, and an active member of other feminist groups, she resigned from them when she concluded that they were not fulfilling feminist goals.

Born in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Atkinson grew up in an affluent family that traveled extensively. As a result of her family's mobility, she attended more than fifteen different schools in the United States and Europe by the time she married at the age of seventeen. When her husband entered military service, Atkinson enrolled at the University of Pennsylvania, where she earned her bachelor of fine arts degree. She became a critic for *Art News* and, in 1964, a founder and the first director of the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia.

Having read Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* in 1962, she sought to expand her understanding of the ideas offered in it. She wrote to de Beauvoir, who suggested she contact Betty Friedan, who had published *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963. With Friedan's encouragement, Atkinson joined NOW in 1967, serving as president of the New York chapter and as fund-raiser for the national organization. Her insistence that NOW discuss the controversial issues of abortion and the inequalities in marriage made members uncomfortable. In 1968, Atkinson left NOW when the New York group refused to accept her recommendations for reorganizing its structure. She announced that some feminists wanted to create the opportunity to become oppressors, whereas others wanted to end oppression.

Later in 1968, Atkinson helped found the Feminists, a radical group that shared her belief in sharing skills and rotating creative and routine assignments. In 1971, however, the group decided that individual members should not speak to the press without consent from all the members. In protest, Atkinson resigned from the Feminists.

Atkinson published *Amazon Odyssey* in 1974. The collection of speeches and essays included her thoughts on abortion, the myth of vaginal orgasm, lesbianism, feminism, prostitution, pornography, and violence. By then, the radical feminist movement in the United States was suffering from internal dissension and had begun to splinter.

Atkinson taught women's studies at Western Washington University from 1976 to 1978 and then for a year at the University of Washington. Next she taught at Parsons School of Design for ten years. Atkinson has written about 200 papers and has worked with other women on a project collecting material on radical feminism.

See also Beauvoir, Simone Lucie Ernestine Marie Bertrand de; *The Feminine Mystique*; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; National Organization for Women

References DeLeon, ed., *Leaders from the 1960s: A Biographical Sourcebook of American Activism* (1994).

B

Baca, Pauline Celia (Polly) (b. 1941)

Hispanic American civil rights activist Pauline Baca has served as special assistant to President Bill Clinton, director of the U.S. Office of Consumer Affairs from 1993 to 1994, and regional administrator of the General Services Administration, Rocky Mountain Region VII, from 1994 to 1998. Baca entered politics in 1967 as public information officer for the Interagency Committee on Mexican Americans, the first cabinet-level committee on opportunities for Spanish-speaking people. From 1968 to 1970, Baca served as director of research services and information for the Southwest Council of La Raza, which later became the National Council of La Raza. She next worked as the first director of the Democratic National Committee's Division of Spanish-Speaking Affairs and special assistant to the party's chair.

Baca won a seat in the Colorado House of Representatives in 1974 and served until 1979. She introduced and passed legislation related to housing, consumer protection, bilingual and bicultural education, child abuse, and other areas. She became the first Hispanic American elected to the Colorado State Senate in 1978, where she served until 1987, and when she was elected chair of the Colorado Senate Democratic Caucus, she became the first Hispanic woman to serve in a leadership position in any state senate in the United States. In 1980, she was also the first Hispanic woman nominated by a major party for the U.S. House of Representatives, but she lost that election as well as one in 1986. She served on the Democratic National Committee (DNC) from 1973 to 1989 and was vice chair of the DNC from 1981 to 1989.

Born in La Salle, Colorado, Baca was orphaned when she was a teenager, leaving her to raise her three younger brothers alone. With the help of a scholarship, she earned her bachelor's degree from Colorado State University in 1962 and did postgraduate work at American University from 1966 to 1967.

See also Democratic Party, Women in the; State Legislatures, Women in

References Baca, "Seasons of a Life" (1998); Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993).

Bachur v. Democratic National Committee (1987)

Beginning in the late 1960s, the Democratic Party sought ways to encourage more women to become delegates to its national conventions and established guidelines for affirmative action to accomplish the goal. Several commissions studied the problem of women's underrepresentation at the national conventions, resulting in the adoption of the Equal Division Rule at the 1976 Democratic National Convention to promote affirmative action in the selection of delegates for the 1980 national convention. The same rules applied for the selection of delegates for the 1984 and 1988 conventions.

Maryland Democrat Nicholas Bachur challenged the rule in 1987, saying that its requirement that he allocate his votes based on the candidates' sex infringed on his fundamental right to vote. The district court that heard the case agreed with Bachur and placed an injunction on the implementation of the rule. The appeals court, however, decided that the rule did not unconstitutionally infringe on the right to vote for delegates, saying that the Equal Division Rule had a rational purpose—to broaden the base of the party.

See also Affirmative Action; Democratic Party, Women in the

References *Bachur v. Democratic National Committee*, 836 F.2d 837 (4th Cir. 1987); Boyle, "Affirmative Action in the Democratic Party: An Analysis of the Equal Division Rule" (1991).

Baker, Ella Josephine (1903–1986)

African American civil rights organizer Ella Baker played key roles in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). Throughout her years of activism, Baker envisioned the development of civil rights organizations that arose from the grass roots and became mass organizations without a structured hierarchy. She protested the moderate, charismatic, and male leadership of



NAACP and SCLC, believing it limited the ability of poor people, women, and youth to influence those organizations. She saw an opportunity in 1960 to create a grassroots democratic organization and guided the founding of SNCC.

Born in Norfolk, Virginia, the granddaughter of slaves, Ella Baker earned her bachelor's degree from Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1927. Baker's commitment to grassroots organizations emerged from her work as a writer on and teacher of consumer issues and as a founder of the Young Negroes Cooperative League in the early 1930s. Working in the New Deal's Works Progress Administration in New York, Baker encountered a wide range of radical ideas, reinforcing her belief in achieving social change through organizing people to solve their problems for themselves.

In 1938 she joined the NAACP as an assistant field secretary, traveling thousands of miles a year, primarily in the South, where she encountered the indignities of segregation, particularly when she traveled on trains. She believed that by working together, African Americans could improve their lives; told local NAACP branches that they needed to focus their efforts on local issues; and suggested that they form neighborhood units in order to take NAACP's message closer to the people for whom it was intended. Director of all of NAACP's branches from 1943 to 1946, she resigned out of frustration with NAACP's refusal to transform its hierarchical structure into a more democratic one. She also felt that the organization fell short of

Ella Baker (next to the door) with Amy Spingarn, wife of Arthur Spingarn, who founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other civil rights activists, 1930s (Corbis)

its potential and that the staff's abilities were not adequately used, including her own. Baker continued her work speaking at NAACP branch meetings, working for school desegregation, and raising money for the Urban League and the Salvation Army.

In 1956, Baker went to Montgomery, Alabama, to help with the bus boycott and saw the opportunity to make further progress toward the end of racial injustice. Calling on southern black leaders to expand their desegregation efforts, she convinced such leaders as Martin Luther King, Jr., to participate in the development of the SCLC, which was founded in 1957 in large part due to her efforts. She hoped to create a mass organization and was disappointed when there were not leadership roles in it for women, even those who had been leaders and organizers in the bus boycott. Baker became acting executive director of SCLC in 1959, a post she held until 1961.

Early in 1960, when students at several traditionally black colleges protested segregation through sit-ins, Baker saw an opportunity to organize them and called a meeting of the student leaders to help coordinate their efforts. The meeting led to the formation of SNCC, a grassroots, democratic, decentralized organization based on the principles she had advocated for almost three decades. She explained her philosophy: "Most of the youngsters had been trained to believe in or to follow adults if they could. I felt they ought to have a chance to learn to think things through and to make decisions." Serving as mentor and teacher, Baker worked to develop new leaders from the local populace, organizing workshops, study groups, and training institutes. When SNCC activists were jailed and refused bail, Baker made sure they had necessities such as toothbrushes and that they had told their parents where they were.

As the 1964 Democratic National Convention approached, members of SNCC, Baker, Fannie Lou Hamer, and other civil rights leaders formed the MFDP to counter Mississippi's all-white delegation to the convention. Confronting the Democratic Party with the discrimination evident in the white delegation, Baker and others urged the party to replace the all-white delegation with the MFDP group. Although unsuccessful at the convention, their efforts contributed to the Democratic Party's subsequent reforms in its delegate selection process. She described her role: "You didn't see me on television, you didn't see news stories about me. The kind of role that I tried to play was to pick up the pieces or put together pieces out of which I hoped organization might come. My theory is, strong people don't need strong leaders." In the 1970s, SNCC slowly withered away as its activists grew tired from the intense work they had done for years. Baker remained active in social justice issues, particularly prison reform.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Hamer, Fannie Lou Townsend; Parks, Rosa Louise McCauley

References Grant, *Ella Baker: Freedom Bound* (1998).

Baker, Irene Bailey (1901–1994)

Republican Irene Baker of Tennessee served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 10 March 1964 to 3 January 1965. She entered politics by working in her husband Howard Baker's congressional campaigns. In 1960, she became the Republican National Committeewoman for Tennessee, serving until 1964. Following her husband's death, Baker won the special election to fill the vacancy. Congresswoman Baker advocated cost-of-living increases for Social Security recipients and criticized Democratic spending policies, arguing that they risked causing inflation. She did not run for reelection. After leaving Congress, Irene Baker moved to Knoxville, Tennessee, where she was director of public welfare from 1965 to 1971.

Born in Sevierville, Tennessee, Baker attended public schools and studied music. She was first deputy county court clerk and then deputy clerk for Sevier County, Tennessee, from 1918 to 1924.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Balch, Emily Greene (1867–1961)

Emily Greene Balch's careers included social work, a position teaching economics at the college level, and international political leadership. She opposed the use of force and proposed nonviolent ways to resolve conflicts. She proposed replacing traditional governments with authorities, as she called them, to administer international waterways, the polar regions, defense bases, and other territories and facilities. In recognition of her efforts, she was one of two cowinners of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946.

Born in Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, Balch earned her bachelor's degree from Bryn Mawr College in 1889 and then studied economics and the French social welfare system in Paris. A social worker with the Children's Aid Society in Boston for a short time, Balch cofounded Boston's Denison House Settlement in 1892, was a founder of the Women's Trade Union League, worked with the National Consumers League, and helped draft the first minimum wage bill ever presented to a U.S. legislature.

In the 1900s and 1910s, Balch taught economics, political science, and social science at Wellesley College. She was dismissed for her opposition to World War I, defense of conscientious objectors' civil liberties, and other antiwar activities. Balch viewed World War I as "a tragic interruption of what seemed to me the real business of our times—the realization

of a more satisfactory economic order. . . . Now all the world was at war, one hardly knew for what—for reasons of ambition, prestige, mutual fear, of frontiers and colonies.” In 1915, she joined Jane Addams in calling a conference that resulted in the creation of the Woman’s Peace Party, which later became the U.S. affiliate of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). She also went to a meeting of European and American women at The Hague to discuss options for mediating a peaceful settlement of the war. Balch was a member of one of the two delegations that called on leaders of both neutral and belligerent nations to ask if they wanted a mediated settlement of the war.

A leader in the creation of the WILPF in 1919 and its first secretary-treasurer, she developed many of WILPF’s initial priorities and guidelines. Through WILPF, she influenced the development of the League of Nations. After retiring in 1922, Balch continued to be involved in peace issues as a volunteer, traveling, speaking, writing, serving on committees, organizing conferences, and accompanying international missions investigating conflicts. She was president of the U.S. section of WILPF from 1928 to 1933.

As World War II developed in Europe, Balch’s responses were somewhat different than they had been to World War I. Her work with Jewish refugees convinced her that German leader Adolf Hitler needed to be stopped. She later explained: “When the war broke out in its full fury in 1939, and especially when, after the disaster at Pearl Harbor, the U.S.A. became a belligerent, I went through a long and painful mental struggle, and never felt that I had reached a clear and consistent conclusion.” She thought that any government “would have found it impossible to refuse to fight” after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and believed that the answer would have been to have an effective “technique for constructive nonviolent *action*, such as Gandhi aimed at.”

Balch’s writings include *Public Assistance of the Poor in France* (1893); *A Study of Conditions of City Life, with Special References to Boston* (1903); *Our Slavic Fellow-Citizens* (1910); *Approaches to the Great Settlement* (1918); and *The Miracle of Living* (1941).

See also Addams, Jane; National Consumers League; Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom; Women’s Trade Union League

References Alonso, “Nobel Peace Laureates, Jane Addams and Emily Greene Balch” (1995); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography 1947* (1947); Randall, *Beyond Nationalism: The Social Thought of Emily Greene Balch* (1972).

Baldwin, Tammy (b. 1962)

Democrat Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1999. She is the first woman elected to Congress

who has publicly stated that she is a lesbian, and she was the only one of four lesbians running for Congress in 1998 who won. Baldwin's congressional priorities include health insurance coverage for all children; a patient's bill of rights that health insurance companies and health maintenance organizations (HMOs) would be required to follow; strengthening enforcement of equal pay laws; and education, including nutrition programs, expansion of Head Start, and increased use of computer technology.

Born in Madison, Wisconsin, Baldwin earned her bachelor's degree from Smith College in 1984 and her law degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1989. A member of the Dane County Board of Supervisors from 1987 to 1993, she established and chaired the Dane County Task Force on acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). Baldwin served in the Wisconsin legislature from 1993 until her election to Congress.

See also Congress, Women in; Lesbian Rights; State Legislatures, Women in

References "Tammy Baldwin" (1998); www.tammybaldwin.com.



Representative Tammy Baldwin (D-WI), the first open lesbian and the first woman from Wisconsin elected to Congress, 1998 (Associated Press AP)

Banuelos, Romana Acosta (b. 1925)

Appointed by President Richard Nixon in 1971, Romana Banuelos was the first Mexican American to serve as treasurer of the United States. The highest-ranking Mexican American in the Nixon administration, she held the position until 1974.

Born in Miami, Arizona, Romana Banuelos was the daughter of undocumented Mexican citizens who were forced to return to Mexico in 1931. Banuelos returned to the United States when she was nineteen years old. In 1949, she started a tortilla factory in Los Angeles with \$400 and developed it into a business with annual sales of \$12 million. She helped establish the Pan American National Bank in 1965, and served as chair of its board of directors.

References Telgen and Kamp, eds., *Notable Hispanic American Women* (1993).

Barnard, Catherine (Kate) Ann (1875–1930)

Corrections reformer and advocate for Native Americans Catherine Barnard is often identified as the first woman elected to statewide office in the nation, but that distinction belongs to Laura J. Eisenhuth of North Dakota, who was the state superintendent of public instruction in the 1890s. Barnard served as Oklahoma commissioner of charities and corrections from 1908 to 1912.

Barnard entered the political arena in 1903, working as assistant to the chief clerk of the Democratic caucus of the Oklahoma territorial legislature. Through her job, she came to know many of the territory's leading politicians and learned the legislative and political processes, knowledge that later helped her influence the development of the Oklahoma state constitution.

In 1904, Barnard was the hostess and secretary for the territory's pavilion at the St. Louis World's Fair, an experience that exposed her to the problems of urbanization, including child labor and unsafe working conditions. As Oklahoma territory prepared to write its state constitution, Barnard saw an opportunity to protect children and workers through the new document. She worked with social reformers and unions to include mandatory school attendance and prohibitions against child and convict labor. In 1906, she organized the Oklahoma City Child Labor League, as well as similar groups in other communities, to create a broad base of support for the constitutional agenda. With this informal coalition of reformers, unions, and child labor groups, Barnard coordinated a campaign to obtain pledges of support from candidates seeking to be constitutional convention delegates. Barnard's coalition succeeded in electing their candidates, with seventy of the 112 convention delegates supporting their agenda. The proposed constitution included the prohibition against child labor as well as provisions sought by unions.

Barnard also successfully lobbied for the inclusion of an elected commissioner of charities and corrections in the proposed constitution. In 1907, when Oklahoma women could not vote, Barnard sought the position, campaigned for it, and won it in the general election.

As commissioner, Barnard investigated the treatment of Oklahoma convicts who were incarcerated in Kansas and reported the appalling conditions in which they lived, resulting in prison reform in Kansas and the construction of prisons in Oklahoma. Barnard also investigated reports that Native American orphans had been defrauded by their white guardians, resulting in the return of \$950,000 to 1,361 minors. Her success in such a politically unpopular endeavor cost her significant support

and essentially ended her political career. Her political friends deserted her, and the legislature reduced the appropriations to her agency. During her two terms in office, Barnard also instituted reforms in mental health care, widows' pensions, union blacklisting, labor legislation, prison reform, and compulsory education. She did not run for a third term. Despite her successes as a candidate and politician, Barnard did not support woman suffrage, arguing that she had not needed it to accomplish her goals.

Born in Geneva, Nebraska, Catherine Barnard graduated from St. Joseph's Academy, a parochial high school in Oklahoma City, and later took a business course.

References Bryant, "Kate Barnard, Organized Labor, and Social Justice in Oklahoma during the Progressive Era" (1969); Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993).

Barshefsky, Charlene (b. 1949)

President Bill Clinton appointed Charlene Barshefsky U.S. trade representative (USTR) in 1997. She holds the rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary and is a member of President Clinton's cabinet. She had earlier served as deputy U.S. trade representative in 1993 and as acting trade representative from 1996 to 1997. A key policymaker in and negotiator of an agreement with Japan to increase U.S. business opportunities



U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky greeted trade ministers from Canada, Japan, and the European Commission prior to the Quadrilateral Trade Ministers meeting, 1999 (Corbis/AFP)

in that country, Barshefsky also negotiated landmark intellectual property rights agreements with China that required it to close illegal compact disc and software factories. In addition, she opened markets for U.S. agricultural products, boosting beef exports to South Korea and fresh produce exports to Japan and China. Barshefsky has also worked to increase world trade in technology.

Born in Chicago, Charlene Barshefsky graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1972 and received her law degree from the Columbus School of Law at Catholic University in 1975. Barshefsky specialized in international trade law and policy for eighteen years while working for a private law firm.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References www.ustr.gov/people/Ambassador/barshefsky.html.

Bass, Charlotta Spears (1880–1969)

Newspaperwoman Charlotta Spears Bass was the first African American woman candidate for vice president of the United States, running on the Progressive Party ticket in 1952. Bass entered politics in the 1910s as a civil rights advocate in Los Angeles, crusading through the pages of *The California Eagle*, the newspaper that she was managing editor for and her husband Joseph Bass edited. She battled against the movie *Birth of a Nation*, the Ku Klux Klan, employment discrimination, and housing restrictions that prohibited African Americans from living in certain neighborhoods. She supported a permanent fair employment practices committee, and efforts to organize waterfront workers. She also supported the nine African American boys accused of raping two white girls in 1931 in Scottsboro, Alabama. One girl later said that she had not been raped, but trials, appeals, and retrials lasted from 1931 to 1937 and prompted protests across the nation.

An active Republican, she unsuccessfully ran as an independent for the Los Angeles City Council in 1945. As racial violence erupted after World War II, Bass concluded that neither of the two major parties intended to effectively address racial issues, and in 1948, she joined Henry A. Wallace's Progressive Party as a founding member. She unsuccessfully ran for Congress on the Progressive ticket in 1950 and was the party's vice presidential nominee. In the campaign in 1952, she advocated the end of the Cold War, a cease-fire in Korea, equal rights for minorities, and ending poverty in the United States.

Born in Sumter, South Carolina, Bass wrote her autobiography, *Forty Years: Memoirs from the Pages of a Newspaper*, in 1960.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; President and Vice President, Women Candidates for

Bates, Daisy Lee Gatson (b. 1920)

African American Daisy Bates became a national figure in the 1950s as she worked to integrate the Little Rock, Arkansas, public schools. Her courage and leadership helped sustain nine high school students and their families as white segregationist mobs attempted to defy the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 directive in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, to integrate public schools. Despite violent episodes that continued for years, Bates and the students ultimately prevailed and integrated the city's schools.

Born in Huttig, Arkansas, Daisy Bates attended segregated public schools and as an adult attended Shorter College and Philander Smith College. After she married L. C. Bates, the couple founded and edited a weekly newspaper, *Arkansas State Press*, in Little Rock in 1941. The next year, a police officer murdered an African American soldier from a nearby military base, and Daisy Bates reported the story and challenged local authorities to investigate it. Displeased with the article, white business owners withdrew their advertising from the newspaper, but Daisy Bates persisted, and the paper continued to expose police brutality. She added other issues to her list of objections to the community's racism, including muddy streets, slum housing, menial job opportunities, and injustice in the courtroom. The crusade resulted in the city's hiring of black police officers to patrol black neighborhoods and a reduction in police brutality. As the African American community came to realize that it had a voice in the newspaper, readership grew, and the paper survived.

Elected president of the Arkansas State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1952, Bates became involved in integration efforts in Little Rock following the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision making public school segregation illegal. The school board delayed implementation of integration plans but finally approved a three-phase plan that would first integrate high schools and then junior high schools, followed by elementary schools. The school district selected high school students to enroll in Central High School in the fall of 1957. To prepare them to attend an integrated school, Bates met with the students throughout the summer.

As the date for enrolling the students neared, racial tension in Little Rock increased. On 22 August 1957, a rock was thrown through the Bateses' living room window with a note saying: "STONE THIS TIME. DYNAMITE NEXT." The following week, a court granted a temporary injunction to stop the proposed integration plan, but a higher court overturned the injunction.

Arkansas governor Orval Faubus created the next obstacle to integration when he ordered the Arkansas National Guard to surround Central High on 2 September 1957, announcing that African American students were prohibited from entering it. On 3 September 1957, with a mob of white segregationists gathered at the school, white students entered Central High, but with the National Guard barring their entrance, the nine black students did not. Later in the day, a federal district judge ruled that desegregation would begin the next day. The presence of the mobs, however, alarmed Bates and others, who became even more concerned when school officials told the children's parents that they could not accompany their children to school. Fearing for the students' safety, Bates enlisted the help of area ministers, asking them to escort the students. Some ministers declined out of fear for their own safety, but two white and two black ministers agreed to help, even though they, too, were fearful. The plan was that the students would meet at the Bateses' home and then go to the school with the ministers. After the arrangements were finalized late at night, Bates called the students' parents, but Elizabeth Eckford's family did not have a phone. Bates planned to go to her home early in the morning, but other complications kept her from making the trip.

In the morning, eight of the students gathered, but Elizabeth Eckford, who did not know about the arrangements, went directly to Central High. A mob of 500 white segregationists surrounded her, yelling racist epithets at her and threatening her. Her dignity and courage camouflaged the intense fear she felt as she looked for an entrance through the line of National Guardsmen. Seeing some white students make their way through the line of guards, Eckford tried that route, but the guards held up their bayonets and prevented her from entering the grounds. As she sought refuge elsewhere, the mob surrounded her and continued to threaten her. A reporter helped her escape to a city bus. The other eight students accompanied by the ministers were also refused entrance.

On 20 September, the National Guard left Central High. On 23 September, the nine students met at the Bateses' home accompanied by the Little Rock police, who got the children into Central High. When the mob of 1,000 people that had once again gathered attacked the building, the children locked themselves in a schoolroom until they could safely leave. The mob spread throughout the city and randomly attacked any African American they found. With reporters and others, the Bateses waited out the night at their home, armed to protect themselves. On 24 September, President Dwight D. Eisenhower federalized the Arkansas National Guard to protect the children, accompany them from the Bateses' home to Central High, and return them to the Bateses' home after school. The guard remained on duty protecting the children until the spring of 1958. On 27

May 1958, one of the boys Daisy Bates had shepherded became the first African American to graduate from Central High.

Racists continued to harass and threaten Daisy and L. C. Bates, burning crosses in their yard and bombing their home. In addition, on 31 October 1957, the Little Rock City Council had ordered the arrest of Daisy Bates and other NAACP officials for their refusal to relinquish the organization's membership lists. Convicted, Bates appealed her case, and in 1960 the U.S. Supreme Court overturned her conviction in *Bates v. Little Rock*. The problems also extended to the Bateses' newspaper: their carriers were harassed and advertisers were threatened with violence. When white businesses refused to advertise in it, the Bateses closed their newspaper in 1959.

Bates continued her civil rights work, focusing on voter registration. In 1972, she founded "Bootstraps," which built a sewage system and improved health and educational services in Mitchelville, Arkansas. In 1984, Bates resumed publishing the *Arkansas State Press*, selling it in 1988.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the

References Bates, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock* (1962).

***Beal v. Doe* (1977)**

In *Beal v. Doe*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that Pennsylvania's Medicaid program did not have to pay for nontherapeutic abortions, explaining that the program did not require the payments as a condition of participating in it. The Court noted that the state has a strong interest in encouraging normal childbirth and that it is reasonable for the state to further that interest by covering childbirth expenses and discouraging nontherapeutic abortions by refusing to cover them in the program. It also said that when Congress created Medicaid, nontherapeutic abortions were illegal in most states, thus refuting the idea that Congress intended to require states to pay for them.

See also Abortion; *Harris v. McRae*

References *Beal v. Doe*, 432 U.S. 438 (1977).

Beauvoir, Simone Lucie Ernestine Marie Bertrand de (1908–1986)

French existentialist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir inspired the modern international feminist movement with her 1949 book, *The Second Sex*. Translated into seventeen languages, the book made her the most widely read feminist author in the world and brought her both acclaim and condemnation for its challenges to accepted roles for women. Published in the United States in 1953, *The Second Sex* had its greatest influence among U.S. feminists. A member of the French intellectual elite, de Beauvoir wrote: "One is not born, but rather becomes a woman. No biological, psy-

chological or economic fate determines the figure that the human female presents in society; it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature, intermediate between male and eunuch, which is described as feminine.” Arguing that men saw themselves as the subject and were the actors in their own lives and that women were objects and acted upon, she identified men as the normative human beings, “the One,” and women as “the Other,” or the second sex.

Although de Beauvoir’s work did not spark the modern U.S. feminist movement, it influenced several U.S. feminists, including Kate Millett, Ti-Grace Atkinson, Gloria Steinem, and Betty Friedan. Widely read and debated at the time of its publication, *The Second Sex* did not attain its position as a fundamental feminist work for several years, when it became a basic text for women’s studies programs.

Born in Paris, France, de Beauvoir graduated from the Sorbonne and then taught philosophy at French educational institutions. She left teaching in 1943 to write, producing both fiction and nonfiction. De Beauvoir and French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre were lifelong partners in their personal lives, although they never married, and in their intellectual pursuits.

See also Atkinson, Ti-Grace; Feminist Movement; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; Millett, Katherine (Kate) Murray; Steinem, Gloria Marie

References Francis and Gontier, *Simone de Beauvoir* (1987); *New York Times*, 2 June 1974, 6 May 1984, 15 April 1986.

Bellamy, Carol (b. 1942)

Director of the Peace Corps from 1993 to 1995, Carol Bellamy was the first returned volunteer to head the corps. Bellamy became executive director of the United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) in 1995, holding the rank of undersecretary-general. She restructured the organization for greater efficiency and cost-effectiveness the year she began serving as director of UNICEF.

Born in Plainfield, New Jersey, Bellamy received her bachelor’s degree from Gettysburg College in 1963. A member of the Peace Corps from 1963 to 1965, she volunteered in Guatemala. While there, she decided she wanted to become involved in government and that she needed credentials, which led her to earning her law degree from New York University in 1968. Following law school, she became a corporate finance attorney. Bellamy served in the New York State Senate from 1973 to 1977 and was New York City Council president from 1978 to 1985, when she returned to the private sector.

See also State Legislatures, Women in

References *New York Times*, 20 September 1977, 15 October 1993.

***Bellotti v. Baird* (1976, 1979)**

Both *Bellotti v. Baird* decisions center on the state of Massachusetts's attempts to find a constitutionally acceptable avenue for requiring unmarried minor women to obtain parental consent before obtaining an abortion. In the first *Bellotti v. Baird* (1976), the U.S. Supreme Court decided that the district court had erred in ruling on the constitutionality of the Massachusetts law requiring parental consent because it should have waited until the state court had interpreted the law. The Court said that, in some circumstances, states may require a minor woman to obtain parental consent before having an abortion.

In the second *Bellotti v. Baird* (1979), the U.S. Supreme Court considered a Massachusetts law requiring an unmarried woman under the age of eighteen to obtain parental consent before she could have an abortion. If one or both parents refused, she could request an order from a superior court judge "for good cause shown." The Court said that the abortion decision differs from other decisions minors face and that the state needs to be particularly sensitive when it legislates parental involvement in the decision. The Court rejected the law. Four justices said it was not constitutional because a minor found to be mature and fully competent to make the decision independently could still be denied judicial authorization for an abortion and because the law required parental consultation or notification, whether or not it was in the minor's best interests. Four other justices rejected the law because no minor, regardless of her maturity and ability to make decisions, could obtain an abortion without the consent of either both parents or a judge, "thus making the minor's abortion decision subject in every instance to an absolute third-party veto."

See also Abortion; *Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*

References *Bellotti v. Baird*, 428 U.S. 132 (1976); *Bellotti v. Baird*, 443 U.S. 622 (1979).

Belmont, Alva Erskine Smith Vanderbilt (1853–1933)

President of the National Woman's Party (NWP) from its founding in 1921 until her death in 1933, Alva Belmont was a wealthy socialite who joined the suffrage movement in 1909 after hearing Anna Howard Shaw speak at a tea party. Two years later, she donated a house for the use of suffrage speakers and provided a building that allowed the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) to move its headquarters from Ohio to New York City, a better location for a national political campaign. In addition, she made other substantial financial contributions to woman suffrage. Her homes in New York and Newport, Rhode Island, became centers of suffrage activity, the sites of meetings and planning retreats.

Introduced to the Congressional Union (CU) by Crystal Eastman, Belmont found the militant organization more suited to her personality than the NAWSA, joined the CU, and provided it with financial support. When the CU began its campaign to send women to suffrage states to organize women to vote against Democratic candidates in 1914, Belmont donated \$5,000 to carry it out. In all, Belmont contributed over \$1 million to the woman suffrage campaign.

After ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, Belmont continued her commitment to women's rights through the NWP, the successor to the CU. Elected the first president of the NWP, Belmont held the position the rest of her life. She purchased a mansion for the National Woman's Party's headquarters in Washington, D.C. Later named for her, it is now a national historic site.

Born in Mobile, Alabama, Belmont received most of her education in private schools in France.

See also Congressional Union; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman's Party; Nineteenth Amendment; Paul, Alice; Suffrage

References Buell, "Alva Belmont: From Socialite to Feminist" (1990).

Bentley, Helen Delich (b. 1923)

Republican Helen Bentley of Maryland served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1985 to 3 January 1995. She entered politics as an adviser on maritime issues to 1968 Republican presidential candidate Richard Nixon. After his election, Nixon appointed Bentley chair of the Federal Maritime Commission, making her the highest-ranking woman in the Nixon administration at the time of her appointment. She held the chair until 1975, when she resigned and became a shipping company executive.

In 1980 and again in 1982, she unsuccessfully ran for the U.S. House of Representatives on the Republican ticket, and then in 1984 she won. Congresswoman Bentley began her tenure in office emphasizing trade issues and the need for harbor dredging, especially to deepen Baltimore's harbor. In 1989, she volunteered her services as a mediator during a difficult strike at the Baltimore port and succeeded in helping resolve the differences between waterfront management and dockworkers.

In the late 1980s, Bentley became an adamant critic of Japan's trading practices, regularly lambasting that country. Blaming the loss of factory and harbor jobs on Japan's policies, she expressed frustration over the flood of Japanese imports. Her targets included the 1989 purchase of Columbia Pictures by Sony Corporation and the Japanese purchase of Pebble Beach golf course. In the early 1990s, Bentley, the daughter of Yugoslav immigrants, became an advocate for Serbia, her parents' native land. In

1991, she helped form SerbNet, a pro-Serb lobbying group, and served as its president until 1992. She did not run for reelection in 1994 but instead was a candidate for governor of Maryland. She was defeated in the Republican primary.

Born in Ruth, Nevada, Bentley wanted to be a lawyer, but the years of education seemed too long, and she chose her second interest, journalism. She attended the University of Nevada from 1941 to 1942, George Washington University in 1943, and received her bachelor's degree in journalism from the University of Missouri in 1944. Throughout high school and college, she gained experience in her field, working for various newspapers and United Press International.

In June 1945, she went to work for the *Baltimore Sun*, covering maritime, transportation, and labor stories. In addition to her newspaper work in the 1950s and 1960s, she produced weekly local television shows with maritime themes in Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1971* (1972); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Treese, ed., *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774–1996* (1997).

Berkley, Shelley (b. 1951)

Democrat Shelley Berkley of Nevada entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1999. Her congressional priorities include opposition to increased regulation or taxation of the gaming industry and to the proposed nuclear waste storage facility in Nevada. She will also seek federal support for transportation projects and school construction to deal with the rapid population growth in Las Vegas. She supports expanded medical services for senior citizens, improvements in nursing home quality, and full medical services for qualified veterans.

Born in New York, New York, Berkley earned her bachelor's degree at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas in 1972 and her law degree at the University of San Diego in 1976. She was deputy director of the Nevada State Commerce Department and vice president of government and legal affairs for the Sands Hotel. She served in the Nevada legislature from 1983 to 1985. Appointed to the University and Community College System of Nevada Board of Regents in 1990, she served for two full terms, completing her last term in 1998.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References "Shelley Berkley" (1998); www.shelleyberkley.com.

Berry, Mary Frances (b. 1938)

The first African American woman to serve as chief educational officer of the United States, Berry has protested legal and extralegal forms of racism, war, and racial, gender, and disability discrimination. A devoted advocate of social justice, she has offered thoughtfully reasoned and carefully articulated analyses of it.

Born in Nashville, Tennessee, Berry once described her early years as something close to a horror story, having spent part of her youth in an orphanage where she experienced cruelty and racial prejudice. A high school teacher who became her mentor prodded her to achieve, however, and Berry worked her way through college, often without any financial assistance. She earned her bachelor's degree in 1961 and her master's degree in 1962, both from Howard University. She received her doctoral degree in 1966 and her law degree in 1970, both from the University of Michigan.

Berry held teaching positions at Eastern Michigan University, the University of Michigan, and the University of Maryland, where she was acting director of the Afro-American studies programs from 1970 to 1972. She became the first African American woman to serve as president or chancellor of a major research university in 1976 when she became chancellor of the University of Colorado. Berry's research and writing reflect her academic interests. Her published works include *Black Resistance, White Law: A History of Constitutional Racism in America* (1971); *Military Necessity and Civil Rights Policy: Black Citizenship and the Constitution, 1861–1868* (1977); *Stability, Security, and Continuity: Mr. Justice Burton and Decision-Making in the Supreme Court, 1945–1958* (1978); and *Why ERA Failed: Politics, Women's Rights, and the Amending Process of the Constitution* (1986).

In 1977, Berry became the first African American woman to serve as assistant secretary for education in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. She advocated the creation of a separate department of education, created the Graduate and Professional Opportunities Program to expand opportunities for minorities and women, increased the budget for education of persons with disabilities, and implemented policies to enhance historically black colleges and universities.

In 1980, President Jimmy Carter appointed Berry to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, where she served as vice chair from 1980 to 1982. Four years later, President Ronald Reagan attempted to remove Berry and two other commissioners whose viewpoints were in conflict with his. Berry argued that Reagan wanted to change the commission from a "watchdog of civil rights" to "a lapdog for the administration." She explained: "Our job is to investigate and make recommendations to Con-

gress and the President on what should be done to move us toward real economic opportunity. . . . The Commission is the conscience of the nation on civil rights.” She believed that the president had “destroyed” the commission and that “they have taken it over so that they could use the wreckage for their own ends—to do studies that will prove that Blacks are to blame for our social and economic problems, that government has no role to play and that racial discrimination is insignificant.” Berry successfully sued in federal court to retain her appointment to the commission. In 1993, President Bill Clinton appointed Berry chair of the Civil Rights Commission.

With other civil rights activists, Berry cofounded the Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) in 1984. On the day before Thanksgiving that year, she participated in an antiapartheid demonstration outside the South African embassy and was arrested. Every day for the next year, a picket line that included celebrities formed in front of the embassy, arrests were occasionally made, and a press conference followed. The organization spread across the country, and colleges, universities, and cities divested themselves of holdings in companies that did business in South Africa. Apartheid ended in that country in the 1990s.

From 1980 until 1989, Berry was a professor of history and law at Howard University. President of the Organization of American Historians from 1990 to 1991, she became the Geraldine R. Segal Professor of Social Thought and professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania in 1991.

Berry’s book *The Politics of Parenthood: Child Care, Women’s Rights, and the Myth of the Good Mother* (1993) explores the history of families and child care responsibilities. She wrote: “The issue of child care is really an issue of power, resources and control among adults; it is not a battle over who is more suited to care.” She argues that, historically, child care was not the sole responsibility of mothers. The central civil rights message Berry worked to articulate is that until mothers are freed from the primary responsibility of raising children, they will not be able to pursue their own economic or other interests.

Berry’s deep commitment to social justice can be heard in her statement: “When it comes to the cause of justice, I take no prisoners and I don’t believe in compromising.”

See also Affirmative Action; Child Day Care

References Barthel, “Mary Frances Berry” (1987); DeLeon, ed., *Leaders from the 1960s* (1994); Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993); www.usccr.gov.

Bethune, Mary Jane McLeod (1875–1955)

One of the most influential African American women of her time, Mary McLeod Bethune founded the National Council of Negro Women, the Federal Council on Negro Affairs, and Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute, which later became Bethune-Cookman College. In 1936, she became the first black woman to head a federal agency, serving in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration.

Born near Mayesville, South Carolina, Mary McLeod Bethune did not attend school until she was about nine years old because there were no schools in the area for African American children. In addition, her parents, who were former slaves, did not read or write. She attended the Presbyterian Mission School, about five miles from her home, until she was twelve, when she left home to study at Scotia Seminary, graduating in 1894. When she completed her studies, she entered the Moody Bible Institute for Home and Foreign Missions in Chicago, Illinois, to prepare to be a missionary. For reasons that are unclear, she was denied an assignment to a mission, but racism may have played a role. The denomination may have had an unwritten policy of not sending African American missionaries to Africa. Instead, Bethune taught at schools in Georgia and Florida.

In 1904, she moved to Daytona Beach, Florida, which had a large black population and no public education for black students. With only \$1.50 to start the school, she raised the money needed to open a private school for African American girls by speaking at churches and other gatherings. The Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute for Negro Girls opened on 3 October 1904 with five girls. Within two years, 250 students attended the college and adult evening classes that the school offered. A high school was added later. Bethune supported the school through public appearances and by soliciting funds from friends and philanthropists. As she described it: "I rang doorbells and tackled cold prospects without a lead. I wrote articles for whoever would print them, distributed leaflets, rode interminable miles of dusty roads on my old bicycle; invaded churches, clubs, lodges, chambers of commerce."

In 1923, the school merged with the all-male Cookman Institute and became the Daytona Cookman Collegiate Institute. In 1924, a junior college curriculum was added, which was accredited in 1932. In 1933, the school became Bethune-Cookman College, adding a four-year degree program in 1943, which received accreditation in 1948. Bethune served as president until 1942 and from 1946 to 1947.

In addition to providing educational opportunities for African Americans, Bethune was actively involved in civil rights issues. She was a



Mary McLeod
Bethune, founder
of the National
Council of Negro
Women, protested
segregation
(Courtesy:
Moorland-Spingarn
Research Center,
Howard University)

founder of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in 1919, and after the passage of woman suffrage in 1920, she headed a voter registration drive despite threats from the Ku Klux Klan.

President of the Florida Federation of Colored Women from 1917 to 1924, the state affiliate of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), Bethune founded and was president of the Southeastern Federation of Colored Women in 1920 and was president of the NACW from 1924 to 1928. In 1935, she founded the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), a coalition of twenty-nine black women's organizations. As president of the organization, Bethune testified before congressional committees regarding federal aid to education, the Fair Employment Practices Act, the General Housing Act, and agricultural policies. The organization addressed women's issues, education, health, and international relations. NCNW worked for the integration of black women in the Women's Army Corps during World War II and held employment clinics to address the needs of black women in defense industries. The group held a war bond drive to finance a Liberty ship named for abolitionist Harriet Tubman. Bethune retired from the presidency in 1949. President of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History from 1936 to 1951, Bethune organized a Museum-Archives Department in the NCNW in 1938. From 1940 to 1944, Bethune was vice president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the National Urban League.

At a meeting of the National Council of Women of the United States, Bethune met Eleanor Roosevelt and began a long friendship with her and President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The friendship that developed between the two women became increasingly important as Bethune entered public service during President Roosevelt's administration. Bethune regularly called upon Eleanor Roosevelt to use her influence on the president and on other administration officials on behalf of programs and projects for which Bethune needed support.

Through Eleanor Roosevelt's influence, President Roosevelt appointed Bethune to serve on the National Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration (NYA) in 1935. Roosevelt appointed her director of the Division of Negro Affairs in the NYA in 1936, making her the only African American woman in Roosevelt's administration and the first to hold a major federal appointment. She served until the National Youth Administration disbanded in 1944. One of the highest-placed African Americans in the Roosevelt administration, Bethune held considerable power and influence.

Through the Federal Council on Negro Affairs, which she founded in 1936, black government officials worked to advance African Americans in government jobs, secure job training funds, and advise the government on racial issues, including support for antilynching legislation and voting

rights legislation. Known as the Black Cabinet, it provided a conduit for information between African Americans and the Roosevelt administration and influenced legislation. The group worked to end discrimination and segregation in the federal government and played an instrumental role in obtaining Roosevelt's 1941 executive order banning racial discrimination in government jobs and defense industries.

In 1937, Bethune organized the National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth at the Department of Labor. The conference, which brought together the NCNW, the Black Cabinet, and national leaders, called for a federal antilynching law, equal access to the ballot in federal elections, open housing, an equitable share of federal education funds, and an end to discrimination in the military. In 1941, she secured seats for African American women on the War Department's advisory council on women, and she served as a delegate to the founding conference of the United Nations in 1945.

Toward the end of her career, Bethune said: "The drums of Africa still beat in my heart. They will not let me rest while there is still a single Negro boy or girl without a chance to prove his worth."

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; National Association of Colored Women; National Council of Negro Women; Tubman, Harriet

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography 1942* (1942); Perkins, "The Pragmatic Idealism of Mary McLeod Bethune" (1988); www.ncnw.com.

Biggert, Judith Borg (b. 1936)

Republican Judy Biggert of Illinois entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1999. Biggert served in the Illinois House of Representatives from 1993 until she won her congressional race in 1998. While in the Illinois House, Biggert passed the Sex Offender Notification Act, a bill creating boot camps for juvenile and youthful offenders, a measure requiring convicts to pay for their medical expenses while in prison, and another measure that strengthened domestic violence laws. She also sponsored successful bills to reform welfare, protect the environment, and improve education, the business climate, and health care. While in the Illinois House, Biggert became known for her abilities to negotiate and create consensus.

Born in Chicago, Illinois, Judy Biggert earned her bachelor's degree from Stanford University in 1959 and her law degree from Northwestern University in 1963. She entered politics by serving on the Hinsdale Township High School Board of Education in the mid-1980s.

See also Congress, Women in

References "Judy Biggert" (1998); www.biggert.com.

Blackwell, Alice Stone (1857–1950)

Suffragist Alice Stone Blackwell helped unite two major organizations of the woman suffrage movement, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890. Two competing groups had formed in 1869 because of strategy differences between Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell and their followers and Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and their followers. Largely through the efforts of Harriot Eaton Stanton Blatch, Stanton's daughter, and of Blackwell, the two groups merged and became the NAWSA. Blackwell served as its recording secretary for most of the next twenty years.

Born in East Orange, New Jersey, Alice Stone Blackwell graduated from Boston College in 1881. The daughter of abolitionist and suffrage leaders Lucy Stone and Henry Brown Blackwell, Alice Stone Blackwell grew up in the center of the suffrage movement. Her parents established the AWSA in 1869 and published its paper, the *Woman's Journal*. Following graduation from college, she became a writer for the *Woman's Journal*, eventually accepting responsibility for the newspaper.

Following ratification of the woman suffrage amendment in 1920, Blackwell helped found the Massachusetts affiliate of the League of Women Voters. Blackwell wrote a biography of her mother, *Lucy Stone: Pioneer in Woman's Rights* (1930), as well as *The Division of Labor* (1906), *Woman and School Vote* (1908), and *Why Should Women Vote?* (1910), among other works.

Alice Stone Blackwell continued publication of Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell's (her parents') suffrage newspaper, the Woman's Journal; photo dated between 1905 and 1917 (Library of Congress)



See also American Woman Suffrage Association; Anthony, Susan Brownell; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman Suffrage Association; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Stone, Lucy; Suffrage

References James, ed., *Notable American Women 1607–1950* (1971); Whitman, ed., *American Reformers* (1985).

Blair, Emily Newell (1877–1951)

The first female vice chair of the Democratic National Committee and the second chair of the party's Women's Division, Emily Newell Blair was introduced to politics by her husband, Harry Wallace Blair. She campaigned for some county candidates, but it appears her interest at that time was brief. She began writing short stories that were published in *Cosmopolitan*, *Harper's Magazine*, *Women's Home Companion*, and other magazines. In the 1910s, she became involved in Missouri suffrage efforts, using her writing skills as the press and publicity chair of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association and as editor of *Missouri Woman*, a monthly suffrage publication.

During World War I, she was vice chair of the Missouri Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, a civilian agency, and gained recognition that led to an appointment on the executive committee of the Women's Division of the council. She was also an aid to Ida Tarbell, again working in the areas of news and publicity. After the war, she wrote the official history of the Missouri Woman's Committee.

As ratification of the woman suffrage amendment appeared certain in the summer of 1920, the Democratic Party changed its rules to give each state two representatives on its national committee, a national committeeman and a national committeewoman. Blair was in the first group of women to serve on the Democratic National Committee, and in 1921, the committee elected her to be its first female vice chair. The next year, she became the second woman to chair the party's Women's Division and the highest-ranking woman in the party's leadership. Over the next two years, she made more than 200 speeches in twenty-two states and organized more than 2,000 Democratic Women's Clubs. She also helped found the Woman's National Democratic Club, serving as its secretary from 1922 to 1926 and its president in 1928. Throughout those years, she focused on educating women voters through her speeches and the booklets and pamphlets that she wrote.

Blair published several articles in *Woman Citizen* and *Woman's Journal* on feminist issues and the need for women to be active in politics. One of the founders of the League of Women Voters, she later argued that the organization's nonpartisan philosophy did not contribute to the effective use of voting rights and that to develop political power, women needed to

be active in one of the political parties. In a 1931 *Woman's Journal* article she wrote: "There are two ways, and only two ways by which women may become a power in politics, always excepting those who work by the old method of working on and through a man. One is by holding office and the other is becoming effective in political organizations." She insisted that more women needed to run for public office and that other women needed to support their candidacies. She argued that "a new organization of feminists devoted to the task of getting women into politics" might "stir women to action." Forty years later, another generation of women formed an organization with the purposes Blair had in mind, the National Women's Political Caucus.

Blair was appointed to the Consumer Advisory Board under the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933 and chaired it in 1935. During World War II, she was public relations director of the Women's Army Corps. Throughout the years of her active political life, she also continued her work as a writer. A contributing editor to *Good Housekeeping* from 1925 to 1933, she wrote monthly articles on books and reading. She also wrote *Creation of a Home* (1930) on decorating; *The Letters of a Contented Wife* (1931); and *A Woman of Courage* (1931), a novel.

Born in Joplin, Missouri, Emily Blair enrolled in the Women's College of Baltimore and attended classes at the University of Missouri but did not graduate from either school because of family financial difficulties.

See also Democratic Party, Women in the; League of Women Voters; National Women's Political Caucus; Suffrage

References Anderson, "Practicing Feminist Politics: Emily Newell Blair and U.S. Women's Political Choices in the Early Twentieth Century" (1997); Blair, "Putting Women into Politics" (1931).

Blatch, Harriot Eaton Stanton (1856–1940)

The daughter of women's rights and woman suffrage crusader Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Harriot Blatch fought for the same causes, helped unite the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), and worked for the Equal Rights Amendment. Blatch made her first contribution to the suffrage movement in the early 1880s, helping her mother, Susan B. Anthony, and Ida Husted Harper compile their *History of Woman Suffrage*, six volumes published between 1881 and 1922. She wrote the section recounting the 1869 split that had resulted in two woman suffrage organizations, the AWSA and the NWSA. Her interpretation of the events eased the merger of the two groups into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890.

Blatch married British businessman William Henry Blatch in 1882, and the two lived near London, England, for the next twenty years. During those years, Harriot Blatch became deeply involved in the British woman suffrage movement. When the couple moved to New York City in 1902, she concluded that the U.S. movement had become lethargic, saying: “It bored its adherents and repelled its opponents.” Seeking ways to reinvigorate it, Blatch began working in New York City’s Lower East Side and discovered unexpected support for suffrage among employed women. In 1907, Blatch organized labor and professional women into the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, which sponsored the first testimony by wage-earning women in support of woman suffrage before the New York legislature.

Blatch continued to recruit working women to testify before legislative hearings, held open-air meetings, and organized parades to bring energy and attention to woman suffrage, gaining increased press attention for woman suffrage and reinforcing Blatch’s commitment to militant strategies. When efforts to hold a referendum on woman suffrage in New York succeeded in 1915, Blatch’s increasingly militant tactics prompted moderate suffragist Carrie Chapman Catt to form the Woman Suffrage Party. The referendum lost, at least in part as a result of the competing campaigns. When New York voters passed the amendment in 1917, Blatch was in England, settling the estate of her deceased husband.

When the United States entered World War I, Blatch turned her attention to supporting the war effort, serving as a director of the Woman’s Land Army and head of the Food Administration’s Speakers Bureau. She wrote *Mobilizing Woman Power* (1918), describing European women’s efforts in the war and encouraging American women to make comparable contributions. Her next book, *A Woman’s Point of View* (1920), described the devastation of war and the ways improved education for all and women’s participation in public policymaking could help avoid another war. With the passage of the suffrage amendment in 1920, Blatch supported the National Woman’s Party’s work for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Born in Seneca Falls, New York, Blatch earned her bachelor’s degree in 1878 and her master’s degree in 1894, both from Vassar College.

See also American Woman Suffrage Association; Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman; Congressional Union; Equal Rights Amendment; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman’s Party; Nineteenth Amendment; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage

References DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (1997).

Blitch, Iris Faircloth (1912–1993)

Democrat Iris Faircloth Blitch of Georgia served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1955 to 3 January 1963. In Congress, Blitch focused on agricultural issues, passing a measure supporting water conservation on small farms and land drainage programs and working for import limits on jute, which was grown in her area. An environmentalist, she worked to preserve the Okefenokee Swamp. Blitch opposed voting rights legislation and the Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, which outlawed racial segregation in public schools. Along with other southern members of Congress, she signed the Southern Manifesto, pledging to seek the reversal of the decision. She did not run for reelection in 1962.

Born near Vidalia, Georgia, Iris Blitch attended the University of Georgia for a short time before her marriage in 1929 and then in 1949 attended South Georgia College. She was active in the Democratic Party in the mid-1930s, serving in the Georgia House of Representatives from 1949 to 1950 and in the state senate from 1947 to 1948 and from 1953 to 1954. While in the Georgia Senate, she passed a bill to permit women to serve on juries. Blitch served as Democratic national committeewoman for Georgia from 1948 to 1956. She changed her party affiliation from Democrat to Republican in 1964.

See also Congress, Women in; Democratic Party, Women in the; State Legislatures, Women in

References Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Tolchin, *Women in Congress: 1917–1976* (1976).

Bloomer, Amelia Jenks (1818–1894)

Temperance advocate and suffragist Amelia Jenks Bloomer founded and edited the first newspaper owned, edited, and published by a woman in the United States, *The Lily: A Ladies Journal Devoted to Temperance and Literature*. First published in 1849, *The Lily* was also the first newspaper in the United States to espouse women's rights. Bloomer's name was also attached to the alternative clothing she advocated during the nineteenth century. Bloomer entered the public arena as a temperance advocate and expanded her work to include woman suffrage in the hope that women would use their votes to prohibit the sale and consumption of alcohol.

Born in Homer, New York, Bloomer received her education at home and in the local public schools. She began teaching when she was seventeen years old and was a governess from 1837 to 1840, when she married Dexter Bloomer, a young Quaker lawyer. He was a partner in *The Seneca County Courier*, a newspaper in Seneca Falls, New York, to

which Amelia Bloomer contributed articles. She also wrote for local temperance newspapers.

Bloomer began publishing *The Lily* to provide a voice for the temperance movement, but within a short time, she began to publish articles on the need for improvements in women's education and on the benefits of physical exercise for women. Bloomer had attended the 1848 Seneca Falls convention organized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others, but had not met Stanton until the day in 1849 that Stanton went to Bloomer's office and offered to write for *The Lily*. Although Bloomer and Stanton differed on some issues (Stanton was an abolitionist, but Bloomer felt temperance was the more important issue), Stanton began contributing articles.

Early in 1851, dress reform became a topic in Seneca Falls, and Bloomer became an advocate for it after seeing Stanton wearing the outfit of a knee-length tunic over Turkish pantaloons, which was considerably less confining than the whalebone corsets, layers of underskirts, and voluminous skirts that women usually wore. Newspapers across the country picked up the story from *The Lily* in which Bloomer reported she was wearing it and recommended it for other women. Within a short time, the apparel bore Bloomer's name. Lampooned by cartoonists, criticized by clergy, and mocked by editorial writers, the clothing made Bloomer a celebrity. She published a description of it in *The Lily* in response to requests for directions for making it. She dressed in the apparel until some time after 1855.

Bloomer introduced Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in 1851. Although Bloomer and Anthony shared a commitment to temperance work, the relationship between Anthony and Stanton would become a political partnership for women's rights that lasted for decades. Although Bloomer supported women's rights, temperance continued to be her first priority.

In 1853, the Bloomers moved to Ohio, where Amelia Bloomer continued publishing *The Lily*. Two years later, when they planned a move to Council Bluffs, Iowa, Amelia Bloomer found that she could not safely transport her newspaper equipment and sold *The Lily*. The couple moved to Council Bluffs, Iowa, in 1855.

Amelia Bloomer continued to work for woman suffrage in Iowa, becoming the first woman to publicly speak on suffrage in the state in 1855. A member of the Nebraska territorial legislature invited her to address that body in 1856. The legislator later introduced a woman suffrage bill that passed the House but was not voted on in the Senate.

After the Civil War, Bloomer renewed her efforts for woman suffrage, serving as vice president in 1870 and president of the Iowa Woman Suffrage Society in 1871. Conflicts within the Iowa suffrage movement ended Bloomer's leadership in the society, but she remained an active advocate for woman suffrage.

See also Anthony, Susan Brownell; Seneca Falls Convention; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage

References Noun, “Amelia Bloomer, A Biography: Part I, the Lily of Seneca Falls” (1985), “Amelia Bloomer: Part II, The Suffragist of Council Bluffs” (1985).

Bloor, Ella Reeve Ware Cohen Omholt (Mother Bloor) (1862–1951)

Suffragist, labor organizer, and journalist Ella Bloor was a leader in the Socialist Party and a founder of the U.S. Communist Party. Born on Staten Island, New York, she attended Ivy Hall Seminary, a finishing school, for a year when she was fourteen and the University of Pennsylvania in 1895–1896. She entered the public arena in the 1880s, working in the women’s rights and temperance movements. After learning in the late 1890s that women in the weaving trade earned one-quarter of the wages that men earned, she joined the weavers’ union so that she could organize women weavers.

Bloor joined the Social Democratic Party of America in 1897, but after a disagreement over the party’s future, she switched to the Socialist Labor Party in 1898. Then in 1902, she joined the newly organized Socialist Party, becoming the organization’s state labor organizer in Pennsylvania and later in Connecticut. In 1908, Bloor unsuccessfully ran for Connecticut secretary of state. In 1910, she helped create the National Women’s Committee in the Socialist Party. After helping to organize the U.S. Communist Party in 1919, she served on its central committee from 1932 to 1948.

In the 1930s, as regional secretary for the National Relief Conference, Bloor focused on the needs of farmers in Iowa, Nebraska, Montana, and the Dakotas. She was also active in the American League Against War and Fascism. She headed the U.S. delegation to the Women’s International Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Paris in 1934. Bloor unsuccessfully ran on the Communist Party ticket for governor of Pennsylvania in 1938. That same year, she wrote *Women in the Soviet Union* (1938); *We Are Many* was published in 1940.

References Whitman, ed., *American Reformers* (1985).

Boggs, Marie Corinne Morrison Claiborne (Lindy) (b. 1916)

Democrat Lindy Boggs of Louisiana served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 20 March 1973 to 3 January 1991. Lindy Boggs became involved in politics through her husband Hale Boggs’s political career, managing his congressional campaigns and working in his congressional office as a paid aide. She was president of the Women’s National Democratic Club from 1958 to 1959, the Democratic Wives’ Forum in 1962, and the



Congressional Club from 1971 to 1972, and she cochaired President John F. Kennedy's 1961 inaugural committee and President Lyndon Johnson's 1965 inaugural committee.

In October 1972, Hale Boggs was on a campaign trip in Alaska when his plane disappeared. Ever hopeful that rescuers would find her husband, Lindy Boggs refused suggestions that she run for his seat until it was declared vacant following the opening of Congress in January 1973. She ran for office intending to complete her husband's agenda, including international trade, housing, taxes, civil rights, and equal rights.

Congresswoman Boggs advocated economic equality for women, a commitment that developed after her husband's death. Formerly unaware of discrimination against women, she had difficulty getting a credit card in her own name, despite her considerable personal wealth and public visibility. As a member of Congress and as a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, she worked to guarantee women access to credit through the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974, which specifically barred discrimination on the basis of sex and marital status. She also worked for equal economic rights for women in small business loans, home ownership, and banking. In related areas, Boggs sought better jobs for women in government, equal opportunities to secure government contracts, increased opportunities for women in the workplace, and equal opportunities in higher education.

President Gerald Ford signed the Women's Equality Day Bill with onlookers (left to right) Betty Ford and Representatives Marjorie S. Holt (R-NH), Leonor K. Sullivan (D-MO), Cardiss Collins (D-IL), Corrine "Lindy" Boggs (D-LA), Margaret H. Heckler (R-KS), and Bella Abzug (D-NY), 1974 (Corbis/Bettmann)

Boggs also worked to give women educational opportunities in science and math and to provide early childhood education for children in public housing developments. With Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), Boggs developed a domestic and family violence bill, seeking to provide assistance to rape and domestic violence victims. She worked to protect Louisiana gas and oil interests, improve the port of New Orleans, and support Mississippi River transportation. She helped create the Congresswoman's Caucus, the National Museum of African Art, and the position of Office of Historian in the House of Representatives. She passed a resolution making the rose the official flower of the United States. In 1984, she passed a measure to defer student loan payments for people in the health professions. Boggs passed legislation to fund the Jean Lafitte Park, a bayou preserve near New Orleans.

Lindy Boggs became the first woman to preside over a major party's national convention when she chaired the Democratic National Convention in 1976. She retired from Congress in 1991. In 1997, President Bill Clinton appointed Boggs ambassador to the Vatican.

Born at Brunswick Plantation, Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana, Lindy Boggs earned her bachelor's degree from Sophie Newcomb College of Tulane University in 1935 and then taught high school history and coached the girls' basketball team. Her autobiography, *Washington Through a Purple Veil: Memoirs of a Southern Woman*, was published in 1994.

See also Congress, Women in; Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues; Democratic Party, Women in the; Domestic Violence; Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX; Education, Women and; Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974; Mikulski, Barbara Ann

References Boggs, *Washington Through a Purple Veil: Memoirs of a Southern Woman* (1994); Kaptur, *Women of Congress: A Twentieth Century Odyssey* (1996); Lamson, *In the Vanguard: Six American Women in Public Life* (1979).

Boland, Veronica Grace (1899–1982)

Democrat Veronica Boland of Pennsylvania served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 19 November 1942 to 3 January 1943. Boland ran for office to fill the vacancy created by the death of her husband, Patrick J. Boland. She did not run for reelection. Following her term in office, she worked for a Pennsylvania manufacturing company as its executive secretary until her retirement in 1957.

Born in Scranton, Pennsylvania, Veronica Boland attended Scranton Technical High School.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1991* (1991).

Bolton, Frances Payne Bingham (1885–1977)

Republican Frances Bolton of Ohio served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 27 February 1940 to 3 January 1969. Both Frances Bolton and her husband Chester Bolton were active in the Republican Party: she served on the Ohio Republican State Central Committee from 1937 to 1940, and he served in Congress. After his death, Frances Bolton won the special election to fill the vacancy.

Frances Bolton began her congressional career as a critic of New Deal policies and an isolationist, but following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, she supported the war effort and focused her attention on the need for nurses in the military. She helped pass the Bolton Act of 1943, establishing the U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps, which trained nurses in exchange for their pledges to serve in the armed forces. Bolton opposed gender and racial discrimination, called for the end of racial and sexual segregation in military nursing units, and supported drafting women. She opposed the poll tax, which discriminated against African Americans, and fought to include women in antidiscrimination legislation.

As a member and chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, she traveled extensively and became familiar with the challenges facing post–World War II Europe, especially the Soviet Union and the Middle East. She advocated independence for colonial Africa in the late 1940s. In 1953, she became the first woman appointed as a congressional delegate to the United Nations General Assembly. For three terms, her son Oliver Bolton also served in Congress, making them the only mother-son team in the House.

The daughter of a wealthy Cleveland banker and industrialist, Frances Bolton received most of her education from private tutors. Through the Cleveland debutante club, she volunteered with visiting nurses in the city's tenements, leading to her lifelong interest in nursing and nursing education. Her philanthropy in 1923 contributed to the founding of the Frances Payne Bolton School of Nursing at Western Reserve University, the first college-level nursing program in the United States. She also helped purchase 485 acres of land near George Washington's Mount Vernon residence in order to preserve the view from it.

See also Congress, Women in; Sex Discrimination

References Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); Kaptur, *Women of Congress: A Twentieth Century Odyssey* (1996); Tolchin, *Women in Congress: 1917–1976* (1976).

Bona Fide Occupational Qualification

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of race, religion, national origin, and sex. The law permits employers to discriminate on the basis of sex, if sex is a bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ), for example, for a clothing model. Employers have the burden of proving that the requirements for a job exclude all members of one sex as candidates, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and the courts have narrowly interpreted the attributes that comprise a BFOQ.

The EEOC and the courts have rejected several sex-based job qualifications as BFOQs, including limits on the amount of weight that women could lift (*Bowe v. Colgate-Palmolive Company* and *Weeks v. Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company*), limits on the number of hours in a day women could work, and limits on their working during night hours. Refusing to hire a woman based on the preferences of coworkers, clients, customers, or the employer was also found to be in violation of Title VII. Height and weight requirements that do not have the intention of discriminating are unlawful if statistical evidence shows that the standards exclude most women. Maximum age limits for airline stewardesses were rejected as BFOQs; sex is also not a legal BFOQ for airline attendants (*Diaz v. Pan American World Airways, Inc.*), stenographers, lifeguards, bartenders, race car drivers, card dealers, hunting guides, and several other positions.

See also *Bowe v. Colgate-Palmolive Company*; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; *Diaz v. Pan American World Airways, Inc.*; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; *Weeks v. Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company*

References *American Jurisprudence*, 2nd ed., vol. 15 (1976).

Bonney, Mary Lucinda (1816–1900)

Mary Bonney led the first popular movement to reform the U.S. federal government's Native American policies. Bonney first became involved in Native American issues in the early 1850s when she helped found the Women's Home Missionary Committee of First Baptist Church, a group that assisted Native Americans and provided financial assistance to women studying to become missionaries. She also served as an officer of the Philadelphia branch of the Woman's Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands.

Newspaper reports in 1879 of congressional proposals to permit whites to settle in Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) outraged Bonney, who believed the federal government should honor its treaties. Bonney and a friend, Amelia Stone Quinton, began circulating petitions

to arouse public opinion and to convince Congress to pass legislation favorable to Native Americans. In February 1880, Bonney presented 13,000 signatures on a 300-foot roll to President Rutherford B. Hayes. Bonney and Quinton then organized the Central Indian Committee, which gathered an additional 50,000 signatures. The second petition was presented to the U.S. Senate in 1881 by Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, who had become a leader in Native American reform efforts. Bonney and Quinton organized auxiliary groups in other states and changed the name of their organization to the Indian Treaty-Keeping and Protective Association. The next year, the group presented 100,000 signatures on a petition calling for the allotment of tribal lands to individual Native Americans.

The group changed its name to the Indian Treaty-Keeping and Protective Association in 1881 and later to the National Indian Association, which became the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA). In 1883, Bonney became president of the WNIA and held the office until the next year. The WNIA expanded its mission to provide training and educational programs for Native American women; establish libraries, schools, and missions; build homes; and offer loans. In 1886, the organization had eighty-three affiliates in twenty-seven states. In 1887, the ideas of individual landownership of tribal lands presented by Bonney and WNIA became part of the Dawes Act, which continued to be the official policy of the U.S. government for almost fifty years.

Born in Hamilton, New York, Mary Bonney graduated from Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary in 1835. She taught school from 1835 to 1850, when she opened a secondary school for girls in Philadelphia. She moved the school to Ogontz, Pennsylvania, in 1883, and served as its principal until her retirement in 1888.

See also Quinton, Amelia Stone

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993); James, ed., *Notable American Women 1607–1950* (1971); Whitman, ed., *American Reformers* (1985).

Bonnin, Gertrude Simmons (a.k.a. Zitkala-Ša and Red Bird) (1876–1938)

Native American Gertrude Simmons Bonnin lobbied Congress for citizenship for Native Americans and helped expose corruption in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. She consistently advocated and worked for equal educational opportunities for Native Americans while steadfastly endeavoring to preserve Native American culture. Bonnin entered politics in the 1910s through the Society of American Indians (SAI), a lobbying organization that sought political equality for Native Americans, worked to preserve na-

*Gertrude Bonnin
(Zitkala-Ša),
president of the
National Council
of American Indians,
worked for
understanding
between her people
and the American
government, 1930
(Courtesy:
Washington State
University Libraries)*



tive history and culture, and sought employment for Native Americans. In 1916, she became secretary of SAI, lectured nationally, lobbied Congress, and worked with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). From 1918 to 1919, she was editor of the organization's publication, *American Indian Magazine*.

Bonnin became involved with the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1920, seeking their support for improved education and health care for Native Americans and enlisting their help to expose corruption at the BIA. She persuaded the federation to establish the Indian Welfare Committee, which, with other groups, sponsored an investigation that Bonnin led of the government's treatment of Native Americans in Oklahoma. Bonnin was the primary author of the 1924 report, *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians: An Orgy of Graft and Exploitation*, a description of corruption in the BIA and its brutal treatment of Native Americans. The document persuaded President Herbert Hoover to appoint the Meriam Commission, which reported in 1928 on the conditions among Native Americans, leading to the appointment of members of the Indian Rights Association to the top two positions in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Bonnin organized the National Council of American Indians in 1926 and served as its founding president. Through the council, Bonnin lectured across the country, lobbied Congress, and testified before congressional committees. She succeeded in attaining many of her goals. Health care improved through the Indian New Deal, limited reforms were made in tribal self-government, and Native Americans gained access to better educational and vocational facilities. In 1924, Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act, a measure that made all Indians born in the United States citizens of the United States. While Congress declared Indians' status as citizens through legislation, the status did not include voting rights. Since there was never a constitutional amendment for the enfranchisement of Native Americans, as with former slaves in the Fifteenth Amendment and women in the Nineteenth Amendment, the qualifications for voters remained within the purview of individual states. Native Americans have primarily gained voting rights through federal court decisions that continued into the 1990s.

Born at Yankton Sioux Agency, South Dakota, Gertrude Bonnin took the name Zitkala-Ša, or Red Bird, later in her life. When she was about eight years old, she left the reservation to attend White's Indiana Manual Institute. She then studied from 1895 to 1897 at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, to become a teacher. An essay she wrote explaining Native Americans' resentment over the disruption created in their lives by whites and the desire of some Native Americans to learn about white culture won second place in the 1896 Indiana State Oratorical Contest.

Bonnin taught at Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania from 1897

to 1899 and then studied at the New England Conservatory of Music. In the early 1900s, she began writing short stories and autobiographical essays that appeared in *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's Magazine*, and other periodicals, making her one of the first Native Americans to present their perspectives to white audiences. Bonnin also wrote *Old Indian Legends* (1901) and *American Indian Stories* (1921). She taught and served on Indian reservations as a clerk.

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993); Johnson and Wilson, "Gertrude Simmons Bonnin" (1988); Whitman, ed., *American Reformers* (1985).



Representative Mary Bono (R-CA), who took her famous husband's seat after he was killed in a skiing accident, was reelected to a second term in 1998 (Archive Photos)

congressional races. Vice president of Sonny Bono Enterprises, she had also worked with him in his restaurants.

See also Congress, Women in

References Birtel, "New Member Profile: Mary Bono" (1998); www.rci.rutgers.edu/cawp

Bono, Mary Whitaker (b. 1961)

Republican Mary Bono of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 21 April 1998. She ran in the special election to fill the vacancy created by the death of her husband, Sonny Bono, in a skiing accident. In her campaign, she pledged to continue the work her husband had begun, including obtaining the funding to restore the Salton Sea, a polluted desert lake. Mary Bono favors small government, supports abortion rights, and opposes government funding of abortion. Bono owns a gun, but she supports the assault weapons ban.

Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Bono received her bachelor of fine arts degree from the University of Southern California in 1984. Mary Bono worked with her husband Sonny Bono on his mayoral and

Bosone, Reva Zilpha Beck (1895–1983)

Democrat Reva Bosone of Utah served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1949 to 3 January 1953. Bosone began her political career in the Utah House of Representatives, where she served from 1933

to 1935, becoming the first woman to serve in that body. She gained national recognition for her role in passing a minimum wage—and–hours law for women and children and for her contribution to Utah’s ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, even though the amendment to limit children’s participation in the labor force failed.

Elected a city judge for Salt Lake City in 1936, Bosone heard traffic violations, which was notable because she imposed extraordinarily high fines for drunken driving (\$300) and reckless driving (\$200). As she heard the cases, she became increasingly concerned about alcoholism and its effects on individuals and the community. She focused the public’s attention on the disease, helped establish recovery programs for alcoholics, and from 1947 to 1948, served as the first director of the Utah State Board for Education on Alcoholism. She ended her tenure as city judge when she won her race for Congress in 1948. Another woman, Ivy Baker Priest, challenged Bosone in the 1950 general election, which Bosone won.

As a member of Congress, Bosone developed a Small Water Projects bill that would have created a revolving plan for land reclamation but did not succeed in passing it. Acutely aware of the need for a national water program from her life in Utah, she unsuccessfully worked for other water projects and land management programs. She ran for a third term in 1952 and again in 1954 but was unsuccessful both times.

Following her defeat, she resumed private law practice until 1957, when she became legal counsel to a U.S. House of Representatives subcommittee. From 1961 to 1968, Bosone was judicial officer and chair of the Post Office Board of Appeals. She retired in 1968.

Born in American Fork, Utah, Reva Bosone graduated from Westminster Junior College in 1917 and received her bachelor’s degree from the University of California at Berkeley in 1919. She taught high school for seven years, becoming the head of the public speaking, debating, and dramatic arts department. She left teaching in 1927 to read law at the University of Utah, receiving her law degree in 1929. She had a private law practice in Helper, Utah, from 1931 to 1933 and in Salt Lake City from 1933 to 1936.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook: Who’s New and Why, 1949* (1949); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Tolchin, *Women in Congress: 1917–1976* (1976).

Bowe v. Colgate-Palmolive Company (1969)

In *Bowe v. Colgate-Palmolive Company*, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals decided that employers could not exclude women from holding a

job that required them to lift more than 35 pounds. Colgate-Palmolive, the employer in the case, argued that the weight limit was a bona fide occupational qualification, but Thelma Bowe argued that the policy violated Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The court agreed with Bowe, saying that Colgate-Palmolive could retain its 35-pound weight-lifting limit as long as it applied to both men and women, notified employees of the condition for holding certain jobs, gave all employees a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate their ability to meet the job qualification, and permitted all employees who met the test to apply for the position.

See also Bona Fide Occupational Qualification; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII

References *Bowe v. Colgate-Palmolive Company*, 416 F.2d 711 (1969).

Bowers v. Hardwick (1986)

In 1982, an adult male, Hardwick, was in the bedroom of his home with another adult male engaging in an act of sodomy, when he was charged with violating a Georgia law that criminalized the act. After his conviction, Hardwick challenged the statute, but the U.S. Supreme Court found the law constitutional on the grounds that the Constitution does not grant homosexuals a fundamental right to engage in sodomy. The Court said that prior cases relating to procreation, family relationships, or marriage did not “bear any resemblance” to the right asserted by Hardwick, and the fact that the act occurred in the privacy of the home did not affect the result.

In 1998, the Georgia Supreme Court ruled that the law violated the right to privacy guaranteed by the state’s constitution.

See also Lesbian Rights

References *Bowers v. Hardwick*, 478 U.S. 186 (1986).

Bowring, Eva Kelly (1892–1985)

Republican Eva Bowring of Nebraska served in the U.S. Senate from 16 April 1954 to 7 November 1954. Vice chair of the Nebraska Republican Central Committee and director of the state party’s Women’s Division from 1946 to 1954, Bowring was appointed to fill the vacancy created by the death of U.S. Senator Dwight Griswold. The period for which she was appointed ended at the next general election in the fall of 1954. While in office, Bowring worked for flood control projects in Nebraska. Bowring did not run in the race for the two-month balance of the term, which Hazel Hempel Abel won.

Following her retirement from the U.S. Senate, Bowring served on the national advisory council of the National Institutes of Health from

1954 to 1958 and from 1960 to 1961. She served on the board of parole of the Department of Justice from 1956 to 1964.

Born in Nevada, Missouri, Eva Bowring moved to the Sandhill country of Nebraska when she married her second husband in 1928. While in Nebraska, Eva Bowring became active in the cattle growers association and the local Republican Party.

See also Abel, Hazel Pearl Hempel; Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Boxer, Barbara Levy (b. 1940)

Democrat Barbara Boxer of California served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1983 to 3 January 1993. She entered the U.S. Senate on 3 January 1993 and held the leadership position of Senate deputy majority whip in the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), and Senate deputy minority whip in the 106th Congress (1999–2000).

Boxer began her political career in 1974 working on the district staff of her congressman. Two years later, she ran for a seat on the Marin County Board of Supervisors, where she served from 1976 to 1984. Supervisor Boxer actively supported child care centers and programs for the elderly and opposed the movement of nuclear materials through the county. When the congressman for whom she had earlier worked decided to retire, Boxer announced her candidacy for the seat.

During her first term in Congress, Boxer led the fight against military waste, citing a spare part that cost \$850 and coffeepots for cargo planes that cost \$7,622. Working with other members of Congress, she cosponsored legislation that opened bidding opportunities and created competitive bidding for spare parts. By 1994, it was estimated that \$1 billion had been saved. She has also consistently fought increases in defense spending, repeatedly offering measures to cut it by as much as \$6 billion. In 1986, Boxer passed legislation preventing Pentagon officials from working for defense contractors for two years following their departure from government service. She also fought to tie military aid to Guatemala with freedom for human rights groups working in that country. Boxer began her Senate career by introducing legislation to create a “conversion clearinghouse” to assist communities near closed military bases and to make the bases environmentally clean. The measure was particularly important in California, where several military bases were closed. Boxer has also focused on a number of other issues important to her state, including wetlands restoration, improved enforcement of immigration laws, and federal reimbursement to border states for the costs of illegal immigration.



Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA) was reelected to a second term in the U.S. Senate in 1998 (Archive Photos)

Gender issues have been an important area of concern for Boxer from the time she entered the House of Representatives. For example, the Speaker of the House made frequent references to the “men in Congress.” Boxer asked him to say “men and women,” a request he granted. She also joined other women in Congress in their objections to the gym to which women were assigned. Although congressmen had a fully equipped gym, congresswomen had only a Ping-Pong table and old-fashioned hood hair dryers in theirs. In protest, the women wrote a humorous song to present their objections and won access to the men’s gym.

Boxer wrote the House’s Violence Against Women Act in 1991 and, as a senator, worked for its passage, which was accomplished in 1994. She also worked for federal funding for abortions resulting from rape or incest and drafted legislation to punish brokers who arranged surrogate mother agreements, equating it with selling babies.

In 1991, Boxer was one of seven congresswomen who marched to the Senate in an effort to convince that body to delay the confirmation of Clarence Thomas as U.S. Supreme Court justice until hearings could be held on charges of his alleged sexual harassment of Anita Hill. Boxer had been the victim of sexual harassment during her college years and sym-

pathized with Hill. A strong supporter of reproductive rights, Boxer was a leader in the passage of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994 and has supported legalizing the abortion drug RU-486. She has worked to increase federal funding for breast cancer research and prevention and to fight acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS).

Born in Brooklyn, New York, Barbara Boxer received a bachelor's degree in economics from Brooklyn College in 1962. A stockbroker from 1962 to 1965 and a journalist from 1972 to 1974, she began her public life helping organize a program to counsel high school dropouts, a successful program that the county school system took over.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; Feinstein, Dianne Goldman; Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994; Hill, Anita Faye; RU-486 (Mifepristone); Sexual Harassment; Violence Against Women Act of 1994; Women's Health Equity Act

References Boxer, *Stranger in the Senate* (1994); Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994: The 103rd Congress* (1993); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1994* (1994); *New York Times*, 4 June 1992; www.senate.gov/boxer/~#alphbio/committees.

Bradwell, Myra Colby (1831–1894)

Myra Colby Bradwell passed the Illinois bar exam in 1869, but the Illinois Supreme Court denied her petition to practice on the grounds that she was a married woman. Bradwell took her case to the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld the lower court decision.

Born in Manchester, Vermont, Bradwell attended finishing school in Kenosha, Wisconsin, and from 1851 to 1852 attended Elgin Female Seminary in Illinois. In 1852, she married James Bradwell, who was admitted to the Illinois bar in 1855. Myra Bradwell studied the law in order to be able to help her husband in his practice. The Civil War interrupted her law studies, delaying her passage of the Illinois bar until 1869. After the Illinois Supreme Court denied her petition to practice, she pursued the matter through the U.S. Supreme Court, which decided against her, finding that women could be legally excluded from some occupations.

In 1868, Myra Bradwell had founded the *Chicago Legal News* (CLN), the mostly widely circulated legal newspaper in the country. Because of the common law policy of coverture, married women could not conduct business in their own names. In order to overcome the legal disability created by this tradition, Myra Bradwell had sought and received a special charter from the State of Illinois permitting her to conduct the legal business related to CLN. Although the newspaper was not visibly feminist and her purpose was unstated, Bradwell published it to advocate for women's rights. From its beginnings, the CLN crusaded to open the legal profession to women.

Bradwell's efforts on behalf of women also had more visible aspects to them. In 1869, she helped organized the first woman suffrage convention in the Midwest, and she later held offices in the American Woman Suffrage Association. In addition, Bradwell took her cause to the Illinois state legislature, drafting, lobbying for, and gaining passage of several bills. One gave mothers equal rights in child custody and guardianship (passed in 1871); others were the married women's earnings act (1872) and the married women's property act (1872). She also drafted and lobbied for legislation related to women's employment, including a bill opening all occupations and professions to anyone regardless of sex, which directly addressed the limitation she had encountered in her failed attempt to gain admission to the Illinois bar. The bill passed the Illinois legislature in 1872, but Bradwell did not reapply for admission to the bar. In 1890, however, the Illinois Supreme Court admitted her. Bradwell's other employment-related legislation, passed in 1873, opened all of the offices in the Illinois public school system to women, and another law making married and single women eligible for appointment as notaries public passed in 1875.

Bradwell is sometimes referred to as the first woman lawyer in America, but that distinction belongs to Englishwoman Margaret Brent, who was a lawyer when she settled in Maryland in 1638. Arabella Babb Mansfield, an Iowa woman, was the first U.S. woman admitted to the bar (in 1869), although she never practiced law.

See also American Woman Suffrage Association; *Bradwell v. Illinois*; Brent, Margaret; Coverture; Employment Discrimination; Married Women's Property Acts

References Friedman, *America's First Woman Lawyer: The Biography of Myra Bradwell* (1993).

***Bradwell v. Illinois* (1873)**

In *Bradwell v. Illinois*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in 1873 that a married woman could be refused admission to the bar. Myra Bradwell passed the Illinois bar examination in 1869 but was denied admission to the state's bar because she was a married woman. Common law defined a married woman as subject to her husband, and at the time a married woman could not conduct business on her own behalf. Bradwell had earlier encountered the limitation in her profession as founder, chief editor, and president of the *Chicago Legal News*, one of the most important legal publications west of the Allegheny Mountains. To overcome these limits, the State of Illinois had earlier granted her a special charter to conduct the legal aspects of her business.

Claiming that her civil rights had been abridged under the Four-

teenth Amendment, she took her case to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court said that the Fourteenth Amendment did not protect career choices and described the family as a “divine ordinance” that mandated that woman’s place was in the home. In addition, it stated: “The harmony, not to say identity, of interest and views which belong or should belong to the family institution, is repugnant to the idea of a woman adopting a distinct and independent career from that of her husband.”

Bradwell lost, but in 1872, the year before the Court decided her case, the Illinois legislature had passed a law that made it illegal to deny access to a profession on the basis of sex. Bradwell did not reapply for admission to the Illinois bar, but in 1890 the state’s supreme court admitted her.

See also Coverture; Employment Discrimination; Fourteenth Amendment

References Johnson, *Historic U.S. Court Cases 1690–1990* (1992).

Brady, Sarah Jane Kemp (b. 1942)

Sarah Brady’s dedicated lobbying for gun control resulted in the passage of state and federal gun control laws, including the Brady Bill. In March 1981, her husband James Brady, press secretary to President Ronald Reagan, was wounded in an assassination attempt on the president. Reagan recovered fully from the attempt, but James Brady was left with impaired speech and was unable to walk. As tragic as that event was, it took an incident with her young son who found a handgun and, thinking it was a toy, aimed at Sarah Brady, to launch her lobbying career.

When Brady learned that Congress was considering a bill to repeal some provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968, she joined Handgun Control, Inc., and began a public relations and lobbying campaign for a seven-day waiting period for handgun purchasers. She became a member of the board of directors in 1985 and president in 1989.

The measure for the waiting period between applying for a handgun and receiving it became known as the Brady Bill. The primary opposition to the bill came from the National Rifle Association, a powerful lobbying group, but Brady lobbied members of Congress, made speeches across the country, and campaigned for congressional candidates who supported her organization’s agenda. During the years she worked for the bill, she expressed her scorn for some members of Congress, calling some of them “gutless.” She explained: “My disdain is for the people who don’t have the guts to stand up for what’s right. We’re going to get rid of them.”

The U.S. House of Representatives debated and defeated the Brady Bill in 1988. James Brady, who was officially press secretary to Ronald Reagan until 1989, remained silent during his wife’s early work. When President Reagan left office in 1989, James Brady joined his wife in her

campaign for handgun control. The bill received a substantial boost in 1991, when Reagan spoke in its favor. In 1992, the House passed a bill mandating a five-day waiting period, but the Senate filibustered it.

In 1993, President Bill Clinton included support for the bill in his State of the Union message, and later that year, Congress passed the bill with a waiting period of five working days, which serves as both a cooling-off period for impetuous buyers and time to check the purchaser's background. The act raised licensing fees for gun dealers and requires them to notify police of multiple gun purchases and checks on the person applying to buy a gun. Between February 1994 and December 1997, the Brady Handgun Violence Protection Act stopped 242,000 purchases, or 2.3 percent of handgun purchases. Sarah Brady continues to lobby for the registration of all handgun transfers and other measures. Brady also worked on the 1994 assault weapons ban, which prohibits the manufacture and importation of nineteen types of semiautomatic assault weapons and high-capacity ammunition magazines.

Born in Kirksville, Missouri, Brady received her bachelor's degree in education from the College of William and Mary in 1964. She was assistant to the campaign director of the National Republican Congressional Committee from 1968 to 1970 and a congressional aide from 1970 to 1974. Then she served as director of administration and coordinator of field services for the Republican National Committee from 1974 to 1978.

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 103rd Congress, 1st Session . . . 1993* (1994); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1996* (1996); *New York Times*, 25 May 1990.

Bravo, Ellen (b. 1944)

Ellen Bravo became executive director of 9to5, National Association of Working Women, in 1993. In 1982, she and several other women had formed the Milwaukee chapter of 9to5. She became an advocate for flexible work schedules and family leave laws and gained regional and national attention as a spokesperson for workers' rights.

Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Ellen Bravo earned her bachelor's degree from Cornell University in 1968, studied at Cambridge University in England and McGill University in Canada, and earned her master's degree in 1971. She taught women's studies at colleges. By 1981, Bravo was married, had two sons, and was working when the problems of managing a home, a family, and a job confronted her, leading to her activism in 9to5.

In 1992, Bravo coauthored *The 9to5 Guide to Combating Sexual Harassment: Candid Advice from 9to5, the National Association of Working Women*. The authors explained: "It [sexual harassment] is an exercise of

power belonging in the same category of sexual behavior that includes assault and rape.”

In 1995, Bravo wrote *The Job/Family Challenge: Not for Women Only*, a guide for managing a job and parenthood that explains worker’s rights under the Family and Medical Leave Act, offers suggestions for finding quality child care, and includes strategies for convincing employers to implement policies sympathetic to families.

See also Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; 9to5, National Association of Working Women; Sexual Harassment

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook*, 1997 (1997).

Bray v. Alexandria Clinic (1993)

In *Bray v. Alexandria Clinic*, the clinic had sought an injunction against Operation Rescue’s antiabortion demonstrations at abortion clinics in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. In the demonstrations, Operation Rescue participants trespassed on the premises of the abortion clinics and obstructed the entrances to them. The question before the U.S. Supreme Court was whether the Civil Rights Act of 1871 included actions in front of abortion clinics. The clinics argued that Operation Rescue’s opposition to abortion constituted sex discrimination, but the Court disagreed. The Court said that the federal civil rights law under which the clinics sought to enjoin Operation Rescue from demonstrations did not apply to abortion clinics.

See also Abortion; *NOW v. Scheidler*

References *Bray v. Alexandria Clinic*, 506 U.S. 263 (1993).

Brent, Margaret (ca. 1607–ca. 1671)

The first female lawyer in America, Margaret Brent may have been the first woman in the American colonies to seek to vote. Born in England, Brent was a lawyer in 1638 when she settled in Maryland. An astute businesswoman, she received a small land grant that she expanded into thousands of acres. Her strong litigation and negotiating skills served her well as legal counsel to Governor Leonard Calvert. As a freeholder and attorney to the governor, in 1648 she sought two votes in Maryland’s House of Burgesses, but the House refused her both votes. Brent then attempted to invalidate the actions the House had taken since the time she had made her request and again failed in her attempt.

Brent’s influence in the colony, however, becomes apparent from her roles in two related events in Maryland. Calvert went to England for a time, and when he returned, he found that the government had been taken over. Brent helped Calvert raise a group of soldiers to retake the government and

restore his power, but he died soon after that. Before his death Governor Calvert had named Brent executor of his estate. The soldiers, who had not been paid for their services, formed a mob and threatened violence, overwhelming the new governor, who asked Brent to intercede. She negotiated with the soldiers, paying them with food. A severe corn shortage prompted Brent to import corn from Virginia, and she slaughtered some of her own cattle as additional compensation, satisfying the soldiers. The Maryland assembly praised her for preventing a mutiny and protecting public safety.

Brent and the rest of her family moved to Virginia in 1650, where she lived until her death.

See also Bradwell, Myra Colby; *Bradwell v. Illinois*

References Berry, *The 50 Most Influential Women in American Law* (1996).

Brown, Corrine (b. 1946)

Democrat Corrine Brown of Florida entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1993. Brown's campaign slogan for her 1992 race for the U.S. House of Representatives was "Corrine Fights, Corrine Works, Corrine Delivers, Corrine Makes It Happen." Her congressional priorities have included the treatment of Haitian refugees in the United States, job creation in Florida, economic development, education, senior citizens' rights, health care, corrections, veterans' issues, and women's issues. She supports expanding reproductive rights, families' access to child care, and health care for young children. Brown voted against the North American Free Trade Agreement, concerned that it would result in the loss of jobs to

*Representative
Corrine Brown
(D-FL) joined the
Reverend R. B.
Holmes at a rally
regarding redistricting
in Tallahassee,
Florida, 1996
(Associated Press AP)*



Mexico. Among the areas in which her influence was felt during her first term were the treatment of Haitian refugees and job creation in Florida.

Defending affirmative action programs, Brown said: “Affirmative action is a thin slice—four percent [of the population]. To tell you the truth, we ought to be going after the other 96 percent.” She opposed the many welfare reform bills introduced during the 104th Congress (1995–1997), saying: “Republicans are in a hurry to pay for the tax breaks for the rich at the expense of hungry children, the elderly and veterans.”

Born in Jacksonville, Florida, African American Corrine Brown earned her bachelor of science degree in 1969 and her M.A. degree in 1971, both from Florida A&M University, and her specialist in education degree from the University of Florida in 1974. From 1977 to 1982, Brown was a college counselor and professor at Florida Community College. From 1983 to 1993, she served in the Florida House of Representatives.

See also Abortion; Affirmative Action; Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995), *Politics in America 1998* (1997); Gill, *African American Women in Congress* (1997).

Brown, Elaine (b. 1943)

A member of the Black Panther Party, Elaine Brown served as the party’s chair from 1974 to 1977. During that time, Brown brought more women into the management of the party, increased its resources, and eliminated much of the intraparty violence. Forced out of the party’s leadership, she felt vulnerable to the renewed intraparty violence she had worked to end and left the party.

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Elaine Brown attended Temple University and the Philadelphia Conservatory of Music in 1961. She moved to California in 1965 and taught piano to African American girls in the Watts section of Los Angeles. The experience brought back images from her own youth, as she wrote in her memoir *A Taste of Power*: “I recoiled when I beheld their little faces, the blankness in their eyes. It was a look from long ago I knew well. . . . It was me I saw. There was my face, my pain, my nothing-little-nigger-girl expression lingering on their faces and in their eyes.”

Brown became active in the Los Angeles Black Congress in 1967 and worked on its newspaper, which led to her involvement with the Black Panther Party (BPP) the next year. Brown’s early work with the party included serving as its Los Angeles minister of information, organizing new chapters, leading voter registration drives, and assisting with the party’s free breakfast program.

In 1974, she became chairperson of the party, second in command to Huey P. Newton, making her the highest-ranking woman in it. Following Newton's arrest later that year and his subsequent escape to Cuba, he selected Brown as the party's functional leader. Within the party's ranks, the selection became a source of strife because some male party members objected to women's increasing power in the party and to Brown's power in particular. It was a difficult time for her, she explained: "If a black woman assumed a role of leadership, she was said to be eroding black manhood, to be hindering the progress of the black race. She was an enemy of the black people. . . . I knew I had to muster something mighty to manage the Black Panther Party."

As chair, Brown expanded the party's programs to include electoral politics, education of black youth, civic issues, and the continued elevation of women in the party. In 1975, she unsuccessfully ran for a seat on the Oakland City Council, but that effort further propelled the party into the city's power structure. The voter registration program she organized registered nearly 100,000 new voters and helped elect an African American to the county board of supervisors and African American Lionel Wilson as mayor of Oakland in 1977. She negotiated an agreement with city and state officials to build a freeway extension that helped revitalize Oakland's downtown and created hundreds of jobs. During Brown's tenure, the California State Assembly commended the Panthers for their work in education at their Oakland Community Learning Center.

Brown later recollected: "I loved the commitment. I mean, we were not being paid; here was absolute commitment. I loved the fact that we took it to the wall and that we were willing to die for everything that we said and that some of us did die. Certainly, there were many, many flaws. But this was a group of heroic people, and I was part of a very heroic effort."

When Huey Newton returned to active involvement in the party in 1977, Brown saw that the party's loyalty to her had ended and had returned to Newton. In addition, several male party members pressured him to retake control of the party, particularly from powerful women like Brown. After learning that Newton had sanctioned the beating of a woman who was an associate of Brown's, Brown felt threatened. She left Oakland later that year, eventually moving to France. Brown published her autobiography, *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story*, in 1992.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the

References Brown, *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story* (1992); *New York Times*, 31 January 1993.

Brown, Judie (b. 1944)

Founder of the American Life League (formerly the American Life Lobby) in 1979, Judie Brown became involved in the prolife movement in 1969, fighting a referendum in Washington state to provide greater access to abortions. She moved to Washington, D.C., with her husband Paul Brown in 1976 and volunteered at the National Right to Life Committee as its office manager.

Through the American Life League, Judie Brown worked to pass a federal constitutional amendment to make all abortions illegal. In addition, Brown opposed all forms of birth control other than abstinence.

Born in Los Angeles, California, Judie Brown received her undergraduate degree from the University of California at Los Angeles.

See also Abortion; American Life League, Inc.

References www.all.org.

Brown, Rita Mae (b. 1944)

Author, radical feminist, and lesbian rights activist Rita Mae Brown was a founder of Redstockings and Radicalesbians, and a member of the Furies. She contributed to Radicalesbians' "The Woman-Identified Woman." Her novel *Rubyfruit Jungle*, the story of a lesbian's coming-of-age with hints of autobiography, was first published by a small women's press in 1973 and then was issued by a major publisher and sold more than a million copies.

Born in Hanover, Pennsylvania, Brown grew up in Florida, the adopted daughter of an Amish father. She attended the University of Florida but was dismissed during her sophomore year for her civil rights activism. She earned her bachelor's degree from New York University in 1968 and received a certificate in cinematography the same year from the School of Visual Arts in Manhattan.

See also Lesbian Rights; Radicalesbians; Redstockings; Women's Liberation Movement

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1986* (1986).

Browner, Carol (b. 1955)

In 1993, Carol Browner became administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, a cabinet-level position in President Bill Clinton's administration. Browner's priorities include food safety protection, restoring toxic waste sites, and reducing the risks to children's health caused by environmental hazards.

She began her political career as an aide in the Florida House of Representatives in 1980, became associate director for the environmental lobbying group Citizen Action in 1983, and entered the national political

scene as an aide to U.S. senator Lawton Chiles from 1986 to 1989. After serving as legislative director for U.S. senator Al Gore beginning in 1989, she returned to Florida in 1991 to serve as newly elected governor Lawton Chiles's secretary of the Florida Department of Environmental Regulations. She negotiated an agreement leading to the restoration of the Florida Everglades, a \$1 billion project, and a landmark agreement with the Walt Disney Company, allowing them to develop 400 acres of wetlands in exchange for \$40 million to purchase and protect 8,500 acres of wetlands in central Florida.

As administrator for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Browner works to prevent pollution, improve coordination with other federal regulatory agencies to create more consistent policies, and encourage states to develop their own environmental protection plans. She has sought ways to convince both environmentalists and the business community that economic growth and environmental protection can coexist and has received praise and criticism from both groups. Through her leadership, Browner has collected the largest environmental fines in history while offering new levels of compliance assistance to business owners.

Born in South Miami, Florida, Browner received her bachelor's degree in English in 1977 and her law degree in 1979, both from the University of Florida.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook*, 1994 (1994).

Buchanan, Vera Daerr (1902–1955)

Democrat Vera Buchanan of Pennsylvania served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 24 July 1951 until her death on 26 November 1955. Following the death of her husband, Congressman Frank Buchanan, Vera Buchanan was elected to complete his term and then twice won reelection. She introduced bills to combat inflation, increase railroad retirement benefits, provide housing for low-income elderly people, and protect consumers. Her other interests included flood control, labor unions, and laborers' rights.

Born in Wilson, Pennsylvania, Vera Buchanan operated a beauty shop in McKeesport, Pennsylvania.

See also Congress, Women in

References Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); Tolchin, *Women in Congress: 1917–1976* (1976).

Burdick, Jocelyn Birch (b. 1922)

Democrat Jocelyn Burdick of North Dakota served in the U.S. Senate from 12 September 1992 to 14 December 1992. Following the death of her husband, U.S. senator Quentin Burdick, Jocelyn Burdick accepted an interim appointment to the U.S. Senate, which she held until a successor was elected.

Born in Fargo, North Dakota, Jocelyn Burdick is the great-granddaughter of suffragist Matilda Joslyn Gage. She attended Principia College and earned her bachelor's degree from Northwestern University in 1943.

See also Congress, Women in; Gage, Matilda Joslyn

References *Minot, North Dakota Daily News*, 13 September 1992.

Burke, Perle Yvonne Watson Brathwaite (b. 1932)

Democrat Yvonne Burke of California served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1973 to 3 January 1979. She served in the California Assembly from 1967 to 1973, the first black woman elected to that body, concentrating on child care, prison reform, equal job opportunities for women, and education funding. In the summer of 1972, she served as vice chairperson of the Democratic National Convention, a sometimes unruly event that gave Burke opportunities to demonstrate her ability. The presiding officer of the convention during the debate over the party platform, Burke deftly led the delegates through twenty-one votes in the longest session in U.S. political history, eleven hours.

When California's electoral districts were reapportioned in 1972, a new congressional district was created, and Burke ran to represent it and won. In November 1973, when her daughter Autumn was born, Burke became the first member of Congress to give birth while in office. In 1976, Burke became the first woman to chair the congressional Black Caucus.

Burke sponsored and passed a measure requiring that contracts for the construction of the Alaskan pipeline be awarded on an affirmative action basis. As Burke continued to place amendments that required any project receiving federal funding to implement an affirmative action plan, the measures became known as the Burke Amendment. She passed a measure in 1978 to make displaced homemakers eligible for training and services provided through the Comprehensive Education and Training Act. Burke worked for increases in federal funding for community nutrition programs and funding to help Vietnamese refugee resettlement and fought efforts to increase the price of food stamps. She worked to restrict foreign aid to nations that violated human rights. Civil rights and housing were other areas on which she focused.

She declined to run for a fourth term in 1978, choosing instead to be

a candidate for California state attorney general, but she lost that race. She was appointed to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors and served from June 1979 to December 1980, when she resigned and resumed her legal practice. She won election to the board of supervisors in 1992 and won reelection in 1996.

Born in Los Angeles, California, Yvonne Burke received her associate's degree from the University of California at Berkeley in 1951, her bachelor's degree in political science from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1953, and her law degree from the University of Southern California School of Law in 1956. She entered private practice, specializing in civil, probate, and real estate law.

See also Affirmative Action; Congress, Women in; Democratic Party, Women in the; Displaced Homemakers; State Legislatures, Women in

References Gill, *African American Women in Congress* (1997); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1975* (1975); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Burton, Sala Galante (1925–1987)

Democrat Sala Burton of California served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 21 June 1983 until her death on 1 February 1987. Following her husband's death, Sala Burton ran to complete his term and then won two full terms. In Congress, Burton advocated social welfare programs, child nutrition assistance, bilingual education, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

Following her reelection in 1986, Burton's health began a rapid decline. Suffering from the effects of surgery for colon cancer, she was unable to attend swearing-in ceremonies on January 6 and was given the oath of office at home the next day. She died on 1 February 1987.

Born in Bialystok, Poland, Sala Burton fled the country with her parents just before the Nazi invasion. She attended San Francisco University, leaving before graduation to marry Phillip Burton. Her interest in politics developed when she was a teenager. She explained: "I saw and felt what happened in Western Europe when the Nazis were moving. You learn that politics is everybody's business."

From 1948 to 1950, she was associate director of the California Public Affairs Institute. During the years that her husband Philip Burton held offices in the California State Assembly and in Congress, Sala Burton developed her own political skills. She was an organizer of the California Democratic Council and its vice president from 1951 to 1954, worked for the California Public Affairs Institute, served on San Francisco's fair housing board, and chaired the Democratic Women's Forum from 1957 to 1959. She also worked with the National Association for the Advancement



of Colored People to end job and housing discrimination. After the couple moved to Washington, D.C., Sala Burton served on the advisory boards of the National Security Committee and the National Council on Soviet Jewry and was legislative chair of the Women's National Democratic Club.

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Rights Amendment

References *New York Times*, 3 February 1987; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

First Lady Barbara Bush, with President George Bush and disability rights activists, celebrated the signing of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), 1990 (UPI/Corbis)

Bush, Barbara Pierce (b. 1925)

Barbara Bush was first lady from 1989 to 1993. During the years her husband served as vice president (1981 to 1989) and president (1989 to 1993), Barbara Bush focused on increasing adult literacy. By participating in hundreds of literacy events, she brought national attention to the issue.

Born in Rye, New York, Barbara Bush attended Smith College from 1943 to 1944, when she married George Bush, whom she had first met when she was a teenager. While George Bush pursued careers in business and politics, Barbara Bush raised their family and made a home for them. She served as hostess when he was ambassador to the United Nations and chief of the U.S. Liaison Office to the People's Republic of China.

When George Bush became vice president, Barbara Bush sought ways to raise money to support literacy programs and decided to write

C. Fred's Story (1984), a collection of stories about the Bushes' late cocker spaniel; later, she wrote *Millie's Book* (1990) about another family dog. Barbara Bush donated the proceeds to literacy organizations, including Literacy Volunteers of America and Laubach Literary Action. In 1989, she established the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy, a private organization that solicits private and public funds for literacy programs. She served as honorary chair or honorary board member in several literacy organizations, cancer organizations, and children's health groups.

With her white hair, string of pearls, and motherly figure, Barbara Bush endeared herself to Americans, who appreciated her wit, candor, and compassion. For example, she stressed that her husband held the offices and the power that accompanied them, but she would smile as she indicated that she influenced him.

References Bush, *Barbara Bush: A Memoir* (1994).

Bushfield, Vera Cahalan (1889–1976)

Republican Vera Bushfield of South Dakota served in the U.S. Senate from 6 October 1948 to 26 December 1948. She was appointed to fill the vacancy created by the death of her husband, Harlan J. Bushfield. At the time of her appointment, Congress had recessed, and Vera Bushfield stayed in South Dakota during her brief time in office and worked on constituent services. She did not take part in debate or receive committee assignments, and she did not run for a full term.

Born in Miller, South Dakota, Vera Bushfield attended Dakota Wesleyan University and the University of Minnesota. She graduated from the Stout Institute in Menominee, Wisconsin, in 1912.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Business and Professional Women/USA

Founded in 1919, Business and Professional Women/USA (BPW/USA) promotes equity for women in the workplace through education, information, and advocacy. With 70,000 members in more than 2,000 local groups, BPW/USA has effectively lobbied Congress and state legislatures since its beginning, providing leadership in the passage of several measures.

BPW has its roots in World War I, when the federal government wanted to organize professional women for the war effort. The War Department called on the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) to create the National Business Women's Committee and provided a grant of \$65,000 to finance the organization. The YWCA's executives provided the

initial leadership and helped guide the formation of a permanent organization with state federations.

In its first year, BPW formed twenty-five state federations as well as the New England federation. Its initial legislative agenda in 1919 included ending sex discrimination in civil service appointments and establishing officer rank for army nurses and permanent federal and state employment agencies. The next year, it added support for the woman suffrage amendment and the maternal and infancy health bill, known as the Sheppard-Towner Act. Other BPW priorities in the 1920s included uniform marriage and divorce laws, creation of federal departments of education and health, ratification of the child labor amendment, and the Cable Acts, which gave women independent citizenship.

One of the first mainstream women's organizations to endorse the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), BPW/USA has supported it since 1937 and opened an office in Washington, D.C., to lobby for the amendment in 1947. The organization took a leading role in gaining congressional approval for it, particularly when Congress considered it in the early 1970s and passed it in 1972. When it appeared that ratification of the amendment would not be as speedy as supporters had initially believed, BPW hired a national political consulting firm to evaluate campaign strategies. At the consultant's recommendation, BPW helped organize an umbrella association comprising groups that supported the amendment. Founded in 1976, ERAmerica eventually included more than 200 organizations in the ERA campaign. The amendment, however, failed to be ratified by the necessary thirty-eight states before the deadline established by Congress.

BPW has been involved in passing several landmark women's and civil rights bills, including the Equal Pay Act of 1963; the Civil Rights Act of 1964; the Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX; the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974; the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974; the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; and the Violence Against Women Act of 1994. The organization's legislative agenda includes affirmative action, economic equity, reproductive rights, research in women's health care needs, civil rights, pension reform, financial solvency for Social Security, and the elimination of sexual harassment and violence against women. The Fair Pay Act has been a BPW/USA priority for several years. The Fair Pay Act would seek to eliminate wage discrimination based on sex, race, or national origin by requiring employers to provide equal pay for work of equivalent value. Equivalent value is defined as a composite of skills, effort, responsibility, and working conditions.

In 1980, the organization changed its bylaws to permit men to become members.

See also Abortion; Affirmative Action; Cable Acts; Child Labor Amendment; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX; Education, Women and; Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendment; ERAmerica; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; Pay Equity; Reproductive Rights; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921; Violence Against Women Act of 1994; Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974; Women's Health, Office of Research on

References Lemons, *The Woman Citizen* (1973); www.bpwusa.org.

Byrne, Jane Margaret Burke (b. 1934)

Democrat Jane Byrne was mayor of Chicago from 1979 to 1983. She was the first woman to lead the nation's second-largest city. Byrne entered politics as a diversion from her grief following the death of her husband, a Marine pilot. Her sister had become involved in John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign and encouraged Byrne to join her. Byrne refused until she heard Kennedy giving a speech offering sympathy for the families of service members who died in accidents, prompting her to volunteer in Kennedy's campaign. After Kennedy won the election, he invited Byrne to White House events, where she met Chicago mayor Richard Daley.

Daley appointed Byrne to his cabinet, became her political mentor, and appointed her to posts within the Cook County Democratic Party and in Chicago government. Following Daley's death in 1976, Michael A. Bilandic became mayor. After engaging in several public battles with him, Byrne decided to run for mayor in 1979. Although Bilandic had the support of the party, Byrne attracted the support of women, minorities, ethnics, and liberals and won the election.

Born in Chicago, Jane Byrne earned her bachelor's degree in chemistry and biology from Barat College of the Sacred Heart in 1955.

See also Public Offices, Women Elected to

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1980* (1980).

Byrne, Leslie Larkin (b. 1946)

Democrat Leslie Byrne of Virginia served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1993 to 3 January 1995. Congresswoman Byrne concentrated on transportation, job growth, and family leave policy. A reproductive rights supporter, she also favored a waiting period for handgun purchases. Byrne did not run for a second term. In 1996, she became director of the U.S. Office of Consumer Affairs.

Before her election, Byrne was president of a business consulting firm, active in the community, and president of the local League of Women Voters. She served in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1985 to 1992, where she focused her attention on transportation issues.

Born in Salt Lake City, Utah, Leslie Byrne attended the University of Utah from 1964 to 1965.

See also Abortion, Congress, Women in; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; State Legislatures, Women in

References Duncan, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); Treese, ed., *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774–1996* (1997).

Byron, Beverly Barton Butcher (b. 1932)

Democrat Beverly Byron of Maryland served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1979 to 3 January 1993. She became involved in politics in 1962, working for her husband Goodloe Byron's campaign for the Maryland legislature, and remained involved as he moved to the U.S. House of Representatives. When Goodloe Byron died a month before the 1978 elections, Beverly Byron ran for and won his seat. Almost forty years earlier, her mother-in-law, Katharine Edgar Byron, had succeed her husband following his death. In contrast to her mother-in-law, Beverly Byron won six subsequent elections.

The daughter of an aide to General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Beverly Byron supported the military, opposed the nuclear weapons freeze, worked for funds for a new antitank fighter, and attempted to preserve the Army's veterinarian corps. She went on several test flights of new military planes. A member of the Armed Services Committee and the first woman to chair one of its subcommittees (personnel), she fought for assistance to personnel involuntarily released from the service. She also worked for increased benefits for military personnel, especially those who served in the Gulf War. At one time opposed to women in combat, she supported a measure allowing women to volunteer for air combat duty after she saw women soldiers' accomplishments in the Gulf War.

Beverly Byron succeeded in passing measures to ban federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) inspections if state authorities had visited the same workplace in the preceding six months and another to ban routine OSHA inspections in certain industries with fewer than ten employees. She lost her bid for reelection in 1992.

Chair of the Maryland Commission on Physical Fitness from 1979 to 1989, she promoted physical fitness and supported hiking trails. From 1980 to 1987, she served on the U.S. Air Force Academy Board of Visitors and was appointed to the U.S. Naval Academy Board of Visitors in 1995. She also served as a commissioner of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission, beginning in 1993, in addition to other defense-related panels.

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Beverly Byron attended Hood College from 1963 to 1964.

See also Byron, Katharine Edgar; Congress, Women in; Military, Women in the
References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), *Politics in America: The 100th Congress* (1987); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Byron, Katharine Edgar (1903–1976)

Democrat Katharine Byron of Maryland served in the U.S. House from 27 May 1941 to 3 January 1943. Following the death of her husband, Congressman William Byron, in an airplane crash, Katharine Byron won the election to complete his term. Both during her campaign and in office, she supported U.S. assistance to countries fighting against the Nazis and worked for U.S. military preparedness. Byron did not run for reelection.

Born in Detroit, Michigan, Katharine Byron moved to Williamsport, Maryland, in 1922, where she was president of the local parent-teachers' association in 1935, chair of the local Red Cross flood disaster committee, and a town commissioner from 1938 to 1940.

See also Byron, Beverly Barton Butcher; Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Cabinets, Women in Presidential

Frances Perkins, appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933, was the first woman to hold a cabinet position. Democratic presidents have appointed thirteen women to their cabinets, including Perkins, and Republican presidents have appointed eight women. Since the Roosevelt administration, Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and Bill Clinton have appointed women to their cabinets. Presidents Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Richard Nixon did not appoint women to their cabinets. Five women, Madeleine K. Albright, Elizabeth Hanford Dole, Patricia Roberts Harris, Carla Anderson Hills, and Laura D'Andrea Tyson, have each held two cabinet positions. Patricia Roberts Harris was the first African American woman to hold a cabinet post.

Presidential cabinets have their roots in tradition and have neither statutory nor constitutional foundations. For this reason, presidents define cabinet-level positions in their administrations and can make any government official a member of the cabinet. For example, the position of United Nations ambassador was a cabinet-level position in Ronald Reagan's and Bill Clinton's administrations. During the Bush administration, the post of special trade representative was cabinet-level, as was the position of U.S. trade representative in the Clinton administration. Chair of the National Economic Council and administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency were cabinet-level positions in the Clinton administration.

Presidents have a variety of reasons for expanding their cabinets beyond the department secretaries. They may want to solicit the advice of specialists, call attention to an issue or an agency, or reward an agency or its head for its achievements. For cabinet members, the benefits include status, visibility, and access to the president.

The position, the women who have held it, their party affiliation, and the time they held the positions are listed below.

- Secretary of state: Madeleine Albright (D), appointed in 1997
- Attorney general: Janet Reno (D), appointed in 1993
- Secretary of commerce: Juanita Kreps (D) served from 1977 to 1979; Barbara H. Franklin (R) from 1992 to 1993
- Secretary of education: Shirley Mount Hufstедler (D) served from 1979 to 1981
- Secretary of energy: Hazel O'Leary served from 1993 to 1997
- Secretary of health, education, and welfare: Oveta Culp Hobby (R) served from 1953 to 1955
- Secretary of health and human services: Patricia Roberts Harris (D) served from 1979 to 1981; Margaret Heckler (R) served from 1983 to 1985; Donna Shalala appointed in 1993
- Secretary of housing and urban development: Carla Anderson Hills (R) served from 1975 to 1977; Patricia Roberts Harris (D) from 1977 to 1979
- Secretary of labor: Frances M. Perkins (D) served from 1933 to 1945; Ann Dore McLaughlin from 1987 to 1989; Elizabeth Hanford Dole (R) from 1989 to 1991; Lynn Morley Martin (R) from 1991 to 1993; Alexis Herman (D) appointed in 1997
- Secretary of transportation: Elizabeth Hanford Dole served from 1989 to 1991
- Special trade representative: Carla Anderson Hills (R) served from 1989 to 1993
- United States trade representative: Charlene Barshefsky (D) appointed in 1997
- United Nations ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick served from 1981 to 1985; Madeleine K. Albright (D) served from 1993 to 1997
- Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency: Carol M. Browner appointed in 1993
- Chair of the National Economic Council: Laura D'Andrea Tyson served from 1995 to 1997
- Director of the Office of Management and Budget: Alice Rivlin served from 1994 to 1996
- Chair of the Council of Economic Advisers: Laura D'Andrea Tyson served from 1993 to 1995; Janet Yellen was appointed in 1997

- Small Business Administration: Aida Alvarez appointed in 1997

See also: Albright, Madeleine Jana Korbel; Alvarez, Aida; Barshefsky, Charlene; Browner, Carol; Dole, (Mary) Elizabeth Hanford; Franklin, Barbara Hackman; Harris, Patricia Roberts; Heckler, Margaret Mary O'Shaughnessy; Herman, Alexis Margaret; Hills, Carla Helen Anderson; Hobby, Oveta Culp; Hufstедler, Shirley Ann Mount; Kirkpatrick, Jeane Duane Jordan; Kreps, Juanita Morris; Martin, Judith Lynn Morley; McLaughlin, Ann Dore Lauenstein; O'Leary, Hazel Rollins; Perkins, Frances (Fanny) Corlie; Reno, Janet; Rivlin, Alice Mitchell; Shalala, Donna Edna; Tyson, Laura D'Andrea; Yellen, Janet

References Congressional Quarterly, *Cabinets and Counselors: The President and the Executive Branch* (1997); Warshaw, *Powersharing: White House–Cabinet Relations in the Modern Presidency* (1996); www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/fed/cab97.html.

Cable Acts

The Cable Act of 1922 gave married women citizenship independent of their husband's citizenship. Until 1907, American women (other than Native American women), whether married or not, had independent citizenship, but a law passed that year withdrew the citizenship of women married to aliens, and the U.S. government assigned those women their husbands' nationality. In 1913, the Association of Women Lawyers began working to change the policy and was the only organization involved until 1920, when the League of Women Voters and the Women's Joint Congressional Committee (WJCC) joined the effort.

Passed in 1922, the Cable Act did not apply to all women or all women married to aliens. For example, a female American citizen who married an alien classified as ineligible for citizenship, that is a Chinese, Japanese, or East Indian immigrant, ceased to be an American citizen. If a woman married a man who could not become a naturalized citizen for any reason, she lost her citizenship and she could not seek repatriation until the termination of the marriage. Native American women did not gain citizenship under the Cable Act; they gained it under the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act. As these and other barriers to women's citizenship became apparent, WJCC persuaded Congress to amend the Cable Act, which it did in 1930, 1931, and 1934. Even after 1934, however, individual women found themselves in circumstances not addressed by the act or subject to interpretation and discovered that their citizenship was threatened.

See also League of Women Voters; Owen Rohde, Ruth Bryan; Women's Joint Congressional Committee

References Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship* (1998); Lemons, *The Woman Citizen* (1973).

Caldicott, Helen Broinowski (b. 1938)

Helen Caldicott's lectures, books, and leadership alerted citizens, from the local to the international level, to the threat of nuclear arms, facilities, and testing. Caldicott's exposure to the health consequences of nuclear testing convinced her that the nuclear weapons industry threatened life on the planet. Caldicott began her work in Australia, educating residents about the hazards posed by atmospheric nuclear tests on an island in the South Pacific. When she moved to the United States, she continued her crusade and became head of Physicians for Social Responsibility. She described herself as "an anti-nuclear bag lady—three cities a day—churches, ladies' clubs." She explained: "We created a revolution, from 1978, when everyone supported nuclear weapons, to 1983, when one study showed that 80 percent opposed them."

After the Cold War ended, Caldicott continued her crusade, arguing that scientists need to stop designing new weapons. In addition, she argued: "We're still spending billions on weapons and there's no enemy. The Pentagon's desperately seeking enemies. Now the government is giving away weapons, and companies want to keep building them. Using your tax dollars. That's obscene. They're giving away death."

Born in Melbourne, Australia, Helen Caldicott received her bachelor of medicine and bachelor of surgery degrees (equivalent to an M.D. degree in the United States) from the University of Adelaide Medical School in 1961.

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography 1983* (1983); *New York Times*, 31 October 1996.

California Federal Savings and Loan v. Guerra (1987)

In *California Federal Savings and Loan v. Guerra* (1987), the U.S. Supreme Court found that a California law requiring employers to provide leave and reinstatement to employees disabled by pregnancy did not conflict with the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (PDA). The PDA, an amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, defines discrimination on the basis of pregnancy as sex discrimination and consequently illegal. The PDA only forbade discrimination, while the California measure went further and required the provision of pregnancy leave and job reinstatement. After having a baby, Lillian Garland sought to return to her job at California Federal Savings and Loan but was told that her old job had been filled and there was not another opening available to her. Garland went to the California Department of Fair Employment and Housing to assert her right to a job, according to state law. The savings and loan filed suit in federal district court, claiming that Title VII preempted the state law because

the state law favored pregnant women by giving them preferential treatment. This preferential treatment, California Federal Savings and Loan argued, conflicts with the PDA's prohibition against treating pregnant employees differently than other disabled employees. The Court disagreed, asserting that the PDA and the California law had the same goals and that the PDA established a minimum treatment of pregnant employees, but that it did not establish a limit on the benefits that could be given them.

The case divided the feminist community. The National Organization for Women and the Women's Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union argued that the benefit should be extended to all workers disabled for four months or less. Betty Friedan, the International Ladies' Garment Worker's Union, 9to5, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, and other groups argued that although the law might violate formal equality, it should be permitted. The Supreme Court decided that the California law was permissible.

See also *Cleveland Board of Education v. LaFleur*; Coalition of Labor Union Women; Employment Discrimination; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; *Geduldig v. Aiello*; *General Electric v. Gilbert*; National Organization for Women; 9to5, National Association of Working Women; Planned Parenthood Federation of America; Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978

References Becker, "Prince Charming: Abstract Equality" (1988); *California Federal Savings and Loan Assn. v. Guerra*, 479 U.S. 272 (1987).

Cammermeyer, Margrethe (b. 1942)

Army nurse Margrethe Cammermeyer challenged her dismissal from the military for being a lesbian and won full reinstatement. While being considered for promotion to national chief nurse and general at the Army War College in 1992, she was asked her sexual preference. Her answer, "I am a lesbian," resulted in her dismissal, making her the highest-ranking officer dismissed on homosexuality charges. She filed a lawsuit challenging it, and a federal judge found the separation unconstitutional, with the ruling later becoming case law. Cammermeyer was reinstated to the National Guard in 1994 and served as chief nurse of the 164th mobile army surgical hospital (MASH) unit until May 1996. She retired from the military in 1997. In 1998, Cammermeyer was one of four openly lesbian

Retired Army colonel Margrethe Cammermeyer, who was discharged from service for saying she was lesbian, ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. House from the state of Washington, 1998 (Associated Press AP)



candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives. She lost in the general election.

Born in Norway, Margrethe Cammermeyer earned her bachelor of science degree in nursing from the University of Maryland in 1963. She completed her master's degree in 1976 and her doctoral degree in 1991, both from the University of Washington. She joined the Army in 1961, served as a military nurse in Vietnam from 1967 to 1968, and held other nursing positions in the military.

See also Lesbian Rights

References Collins and Speace, eds., *Newsmakers 1995 Cumulation* (1995).

Campbell, Bonnie Jean Pierce (b. 1948)

Director of the Justice Department's Violence Against Women Office since 1995, Democrat Bonnie Campbell coordinates federal, state, and local efforts to eliminate violence against women. Campbell heads the federal government's Interagency Working Group on Domestic Violence and she created a national group of law enforcement, health care, media, business, and academic leaders to advise the attorney general and the secretary of health and human services on domestic and sexual violence. She has worked to publicize the problems of domestic and sexual violence by speaking throughout the United States and by appearing on television news programs and working with the print media. Iowa's first woman attorney general, Campbell served from 1991 to 1995. During her term in office, she worked to prevent and end domestic violence, publicizing the problem through a statewide campaign. She convinced the legislature to strengthen Iowa's domestic abuse laws and worked to increase funding for victim compensation and for shelters for abuse victims. In 1992, she drafted the nation's first antistalking law. Campbell also used publicity to bring attention to parents who did not meet their child support responsibilities by listing their names in newspaper advertisements. She unsuccessfully ran for governor of Iowa in 1994.

Born in Norwich, New York, Bonnie Campbell earned her bachelor's degree in 1982 and her law degree in 1984, both from Drake University. She clerked for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development from 1965 to 1967 and for the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations from 1967 to 1969. A caseworker for U.S. senator Harold Hughes from 1969 to 1974, she served as field representative for U.S. Senator John Culver from 1974 to 1980. Campbell practiced law in Des Moines, Iowa, from 1984 to 1991 and was chair of the Iowa Democratic Party from 1987 to 1989.

See also Violence Against Women Act of 1994; Violence Against Women Office

References www.usdoj.gov/vawo/bcbio.htm.

Cantwell, Maria (b. 1958)

Democrat Maria Cantwell of Washington served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1993 to 3 January 1995. Congresswoman Cantwell focused on mass transit and supported reproductive rights, family leave, and notification of plant closings. She believed that a balance needed to be found between reducing the budget deficit and stimulating the economy with health care costs and access. Cantwell was defeated in her bid for a second term.

Born in Indianapolis, Indiana, Maria Cantwell received her bachelor's degree from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, in 1981. A political organizer for a Democratic presidential candidate in the early 1980s, Cantwell also built a political base for herself. She started a public relations firm and soon ran for office. She served in the Washington state House of Representatives from 1987 to 1993, passing legislation to manage the state's growth.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993).

Capps, Lois (b. 1938)

Democrat Lois Capps of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 10 March 1998. When her husband Walter Capps first ran for Congress in 1994, Lois Capps campaigned with him. During the 1996 campaign season, Walter Capps was hospitalized following an automobile accident, and Lois Capps campaigned as his surrogate. After his death from a heart attack in 1997, Lois Capps won the special election to fill the vacancy.

When campaigning for herself, Capps focused on early childhood education, housing at a local Air Force base, and other local issues. Capps opposes an increase in offshore oil drilling and school vouchers. She supports smaller class sizes, increased classroom access to the Internet and other computer technology, changes in health maintenance organizations that would require physicians to tell their patients about all treatment options, and extending health care coverage to half of the nation's uninsured children through federal legislation.

Born in Ladysmith, Wisconsin, Lois Capps earned her bachelor of science degree in nursing from Pacific Lutheran University in 1959, her master's degree in religion from Yale University in 1964, and her master's degree in education from the University of California at Santa Barbara in 1990. She was a school nurse for twenty years and was involved in community organizations.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in

References <http://fix.net/sldoc/lois-bio.html>; Lois Capps, D-California" (1998).

Caraway, Hattie Ophelia Wyatt (1878–1950)

Democrat Hattie Caraway of Arkansas served in the U.S. Senate from 13 November 1931 to 2 January 1945. After her husband Thaddeus Caraway died while serving in the U.S. Senate, Hattie Caraway was appointed to fill the vacancy until a special election could be held to elect a person to complete the term. She then won the special election, at least partially with the understanding that she would step down at the end of the term. Louisiana senator Huey Long, whom she had met in 1931 at a cotton conference, however, convinced her to run in the 1932 primary, which already had seven other candidates. In his role as adviser to Hattie Caraway, Long told her to wear black widow's clothing and the same hat throughout the campaign. Long also campaigned for her, using his own sound trucks and making thirty-nine speeches in thirty counties in nine days. Popular in Arkansas, Long attracted some of the largest political gatherings assembled in the state, with some communities planning other events in conjunction with his campaign stops. During his campaign speeches, Long described Caraway as the "little widow woman." Calling her "the true heir to the egalitarian philosophy" of her late husband, he added: "We've got to pull a lot of pot-bellied politicians off a little woman's neck."

When Caraway won in 1932, she became the first woman elected to the U.S. Senate. Rebecca Latimer Felton had served before Hattie Caraway but had been appointed and not elected. When the Senate assigned Caraway the same desk that Felton had used, Caraway wrote in her journal: "I guess they wanted as few of them [desks] contaminated as possible!"

In the Senate, Hattie Caraway supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs but seldom entered into debate. She said that she did not have the heart to "take a minute from the men. The poor dears love it so." Despite her resistance to engaging in debate, she passed several economic measures for Arkansas, including \$15 million for an aluminum plant, \$23 million for the Ozark Ordnance Works, and funds for new military training camps in Arkansas. A rural woman with a farm background, she took great interest in agricultural issues and served on the Agriculture Committee. Her other interests included Prohibition and flood control. Caraway opposed antilynching legislation and proposals to end the poll tax. She was the first woman to cosponsor the Equal Rights Amendment, first woman to chair a Senate committee, first woman senator to conduct Senate hearings, and first woman to preside over the Senate.

Hattie Caraway ran for reelection in 1944 but did not campaign, say-

ing that her Senate duties took first priority. Her decision cost her reelection. From 1945 to 1946, Caraway was a member of the U.S. Employees' Compensation Commission, and from 1946 to 1950, she was a member of the Employees' Compensation Appeal Board.

Born in Bakersville, Tennessee, Hattie Caraway graduated from Dickson Normal College in 1896. Following her marriage to Thaddeus Caraway, Hattie Caraway centered her life on raising her family.

See also Antilynching Movement; Congress, Women in; Equal Rights Amendment; Felton, Rebecca Ann Latimer

References Boxer, *Strangers in the Senate* (1994); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography 1945* (1946); Malone, *Hattie and Huey: An Arkansas Tour* (1989); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1991* (1991).

Carey v. Population Services International (1977)

In *Carey v. Population Services International*, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected New York laws that made it a crime to sell contraceptives to people under sixteen years old, for anyone other than a licensed pharmacist to distribute contraceptives to people sixteen years old and older, and for anyone to advertise contraceptives. Because the law covered nonprescription contraceptives, the Court said that the law was unconstitutional under the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

See also *Eisenstadt v. Baird*; *Griswold v. Connecticut*

References *Carey v. Population Services International*, 431 U.S. 678 (1977).

Carpenter, Mary Elizabeth (Liz) Sutherland (b. 1920)

Executive assistant to Lyndon Johnson when he was vice president and press secretary for Lady Bird Johnson, Liz Carpenter campaigned for the federal Equal Rights Amendment as cochair of ERAmerica. Carpenter entered politics in 1960 to campaign for Democratic presidential nominee John F. Kennedy and vice presidential nominee Lyndon B. Johnson. When fellow Texan Lyndon B. Johnson became vice president of the United States in 1961, Carpenter joined his staff as executive assistant, the first woman to hold the position. After President Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, Texas, in 1963, Carpenter knew that Johnson, who had just been sworn in as president of the United States, would be expected to speak to the press. She gained national attention with the words she wrote for Johnson to deliver at Andrews Air Force Base that day.

The first professional newswoman to hold the position of press secretary, Carpenter served as staff director and press secretary for Lady Bird

Johnson from 1963 to 1969, the years Johnson was first lady. As a member of the first lady's staff, Carpenter lobbied Congress for the highway beautification bill that was a priority of Lady Bird Johnson's.

A founding member of the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971, she traveled across the country campaigning for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment as cochair of ERAmerica from 1976 to 1981.

Born in Salado, Texas, Carpenter earned her bachelor's degree from the University of Texas in 1942. After graduating, she moved to Washington, D.C., with Leslie Carpenter, whom she later married. She worked for United Press International, and she and her husband later formed a Washington news bureau, for which she worked from 1945 to 1961.

See also Equal Rights Amendment; ERAmerica; Johnson, Claudia Alta (Lady Bird) Taylor; National Women's Political Caucus

References Crawford and Ragsdale, *Women in Texas* (1992).

Carson, Julia May Porter (b. 1938)

Democrat Julia Carson of Indiana entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1997. Carson began her political career in 1965 working for a member of Congress. She served in the Indiana House of Representatives from 1973 to 1977 and the state Senate from 1977 to 1991. While in the Indiana legislature, Carson promoted policies that encouraged in-home health care and that eased the collection of child support. A Marion County Center Township trustee from 1991 to 1997, Carson eliminated the \$20-million debt that the office had accumulated, lowered the number of people on relief through workfare and other programs, reduced taxes, and left the office with a balance. These accomplishments helped her win a seat in Congress.

Born in Louisville, Kentucky, African American Julia Carson attended Martin University from 1994 to 1995. As a member of Congress, Carson has worked to increase funding for schools, balance the federal budget, regulate managed health care, increase food safety, and block children's access to handguns.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/carson/bio1.htm.

Carson, Rachel Louise (1907–1964)

Biologist Rachel Carson's research and writings helped launch the modern environmental movement by transforming technical scientific material into words and images that lay readers could understand and enjoy. She imbued her writing with her appreciation of the natural world's com-

plexity, interconnectedness, and beauty. A U.S. Bureau of Fisheries employee, she wrote pamphlets, radio scripts, and other materials. Her first article for a popular magazine appeared in 1937, when *Atlantic Monthly* published her article “Undersea.” Impressed with her work, book publisher Simon and Schuster invited her to write a book-length manuscript, which was published as *Under the Sea-Wind: A Naturalist’s Picture of Ocean Life* in 1941.

She continued to work for the bureau, which merged with the Biological Survey and became the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, advancing from assistant aquatic biologist in 1942 to biologist and chief editor of publications and booklets, the position she held from 1949 to 1952.

Carson’s position at Fish and Wildlife gave her access to scientists, researchers, and explorers, whom she regularly consulted about her own research and writing. The exchange of ideas enhanced her understanding of contemporary research and helped her develop the themes presented in her work. These professionals sometimes also provided her with enriching experiences. For example, as she was writing *The Sea around Us*, she discussed her work with author and explorer William Beebe, who learned that she did not swim, which limited her research. Beebe arranged for her to use a diving helmet and go underwater off the coast of Florida. Although she went only 15 feet below the surface, she saw the colors, vistas, and activity of the sea from within for the first time. *The Sea around Us* (1951), which was on the best-seller list for eighty-six weeks, describes the oceans, their formation, their living creatures, and their contributions to sustaining life on Earth. The success of the book and support from a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship permitted Carson to leave her government job in 1952 and focus on her research and writing. Her next book, *The Edge of the Sea* (1955), was a study of the seashores of the Atlantic coast.

Carson’s greatest impact came in 1962 with the publication of *Silent Spring*. In 1945, Carson had expressed concerns about the chemical DDT, a product used to kill insects. First synthesized in 1874, DDT’s potential as an insecticide was discovered in 1939 and it was used to kill lice during World War II. Carson had submitted an article proposal on it to a magazine, but the idea was rejected. She did nothing more about the topic until 1958. The year before, the State of Massachusetts had sprayed the Cape Cod area with DDT, and a woman living in the area had been appalled by the devastation she witnessed, as songbirds died in her yard on the day after the spraying and on the days following. The woman wrote a letter to the *Boston Herald* describing the event, sent a copy to Carson, and provided her with the motivation to write a book about DDT and its dangers.

In *Silent Spring*, Carson described the threats to life from chemicals, questioned the indiscriminate use of poisons, and criticized the abuse of

*Rachel Carson, a marine biologist, became famous as an environmental activist when she challenged the use of the pesticide DDT through her book, *Silent Spring*, in 1962 (Courtesy: Yale University Library)*



the natural world by an industrial and technological society. Carson faced two challenges in presenting her arguments. She had to translate her scientific research into an understandable and compelling message for the general public. She also had to convince readers that imprudently using chemical pesticides on food crops was not the only remedy for ensuring an adequate food supply. She wrote:

The most alarming of all man's assaults upon the environment is the contamination of air, earth, rivers, and sea with dangerous and even lethal materials. This pollution is for the most part irrevocable; the chain of evil it initiates not only in the world that must support life but in living tissues is for the most part irreversible. In this now universal contamination of the environment, chemicals are the sinister and little-recognized partner of radiation in changing the very nature of the world—the very nature of its life.

The chemical industry, agricultural journals, and agricultural researchers at state institutions attacked the book and attempted to discredit her. The public, however, was outraged at the threat that DDT and other chemicals posed to the environment and expressed this view so clearly that President John F. Kennedy appointed a committee to investigate the findings Carson had presented.

By the time *Silent Spring* was published, Carson's health had deteriorated, leaving her weak and unable to engage in a public debate, but she testified before the President's Science Advisory Committee, the U.S. Senate Committee on Environmental Hazards, and the Senate Committee on Commerce. She also lobbied Congress to protect the environment. Ultimately, her research was endorsed by the scientific community.

Regarded as the patron saint of the environmental movement, Carson's research and writing influenced the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency and the passage of state laws regulating the use of chemicals. Born in Springdale, Pennsylvania, Rachel Carson earned her bachelor's degree in zoology from Pennsylvania College for Women in 1929 and her master's degree in zoology from Johns Hopkins University in 1932.

References Brooks, *Rachel Carson at Work: The House of Life* (1985).

Carter, Eleanor Rosalynn Smith (b. 1927)

Rosalynn Smith Carter, wife of former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, was first lady from 1977 to 1981. During her years in the White House, she focused attention on mental health by serving as honorary chair of the President's Commission on Mental Health and helped pass the Mental Health Systems Act.

Born in Plains, Georgia, Rosalynn Carter attended Southwestern College in Americus, Georgia, for one year, and in 1946 she married Jimmy Carter, a childhood acquaintance. During their first years of marriage, the couple moved regularly as his assignments in the Navy changed. In 1953, they returned to Plains, Georgia, where he became involved in farming and the family's agricultural business.

When Jimmy Carter began his political career in 1962, Rosalynn Carter began her entry into politics as well. He first served in the state Senate and then as governor of Georgia from 1971 to 1975. During the years she was first lady of Georgia, Rosalynn Carter became involved in mental health issues and served on the Governor's Commission to Improve Services for the Mentally and Emotionally Handicapped, which made recommendations to the governor, many of them implemented by gubernatorial and legislative actions. In addition, Rosalynn Carter worked to

improve conditions for imprisoned women, for ratification of the federal Equal Rights Amendment, and for highway beautification projects.

Early in her husband's presidency, Rosalynn Carter began attending cabinet meetings in an effort to better understand issues and to be able to articulate the administration's position on them. The information she gathered helped her as she worked on new issues and accepted new responsibilities. For example, in 1977 she served as an envoy to Latin American nations. In addition, she lobbied Congress for the Age Discrimination Act, the Older Americans Act, and the Rural Clinics Act. President Carter appointed her honorary chair of the President's Commission on Mental Health, a position she used to work for health insurance coverage of mental health services and to increase funding for research on mental health. When she testified before a Senate committee on the topic, she became one of the few incumbent president's wives to appear before a congressional committee. Rosalynn Carter continued to actively support ratification of the federal Equal Rights Amendment, calling state legislators as they considered the measure, and she made speeches in support of it. In addition, she worked to identify women to be appointed to high government appointments.

After Jimmy Carter's term in office ended, the couple returned to Plains. In 1982, they founded the Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia, a private, nonprofit institution. Vice chair of the center, Rosalynn Carter created and chairs its Mental Health Task Force. She initiated the annual Rosalynn Carter Symposium on Mental Health Policy in 1985, and in 1991 established the World Federation for Mental Health Committee of International Women Leaders for Mental Health. In 1991, Rosalynn Carter and Betty Bumpers, wife of a U.S. senator, launched "Every Child by Two," a national campaign publicizing the need for early childhood immunization.

Rosalynn Carter wrote *First Lady from Plains* (1984) and *Helping Yourself Help Others: A Book for Caregivers* (1994). She coauthored *Everything to Gain: Making the Most of the Rest of Your Life* (1987) with Jimmy Carter.

References Carter, *First Lady from Plains* (1984); *New York Times*, 14 February 1978; www.whitehouse.gov/wh/glimpse/firstladies/html/rc39.html.

Catholics for a Free Choice

Three Roman Catholic women, all members of the National Organization for Women in New York, organized Catholics for a Free Choice (CFFC) to counter the Catholic Church's opposition to abortion. CFFC members believe that the antichoice position of Roman Catholic bishops does not reflect the views of the nation's Catholics.

After the state of New York enacted one of the nation's most permissive abortion laws in 1970, the Roman Catholic Church began advocating reinstatement of more restrictive abortion policies. The church's activism prompted this group of Roman Catholic women to counter the church's positions on reproductive and sexual issues.

Established in 1973, CFFC supports the right to legal reproductive health care, including abortion. It also works to reduce the number of abortions by advocating social and economic policies that benefit women, children, and families. CFFC offers training and resources for Catholics, insisting upon the necessity of a moral and ethical framework in deliberations about abortion.

See also Abortion

References www.cath4choice.org.

Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman (1859–1947)

National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) president Carrie Chapman Catt reinvigorated the organization, stirred the suffrage movement out the doldrums, and led one wing of the movement in the final push for the passage and ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. A skillful political strategist, Catt developed a three-point program that she called the “Winning Plan” to accomplish the goal and in the process created one of the most successful pressure groups in U.S. history. Although she has received credit for her achievements, she has also been criticized for the racist and nativist sentiments she expressed during the campaign for the amendment.

Born near Ripon, Wisconsin, Catt earned her bachelor of science degree from Iowa State Agriculture College (now Iowa State University) in 1880. She became a high school principal in Mason City, Iowa, in 1881 and superintendent of schools in 1883. She married Leo Chapman in 1885, which ended her teaching career because married women were not allowed to be teachers. She began writing for her husband's newspaper, *The Mason City Republican*, including an early column expressing her support for woman suffrage. Also in 1885, she attended her first women's rights conference, a three-day suffrage congress in Des Moines, Iowa, where she heard Lucy Stone speak on equal suffrage. The next year, in what was likely her first public act for suffrage, she circulated a petition supporting it. In 1886, Leo Chapman went to California to buy a larger newspaper, contracted typhoid fever, and died of it. After his death, Catt supported herself by lecturing on woman suffrage.

Catt joined the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association in 1887, became



Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, finally garnered suffrage for women in 1920 with her "Winning Plan"; photo 1914 (Library of Congress)

the organization's recording secretary, and was elected state lecturer and organizer in 1889. The next year, she attended the first National American Woman Suffrage Association conference and campaigned for woman suffrage in South Dakota. In 1890, she married George Catt, a man who shared her dedication to women's rights. Their marriage agreement included a contract stipulating that she would be free four months of the year to work for suffrage. George Catt's death in 1905 left her financially secure and free to devote herself to woman suffrage.

Catt saw woman suffrage as more than simply gaining a constitutional right for U.S. women; it was also a way to neutralize what she called a "great danger." She explained in 1894: "That danger lies in

the votes possessed by the males in the slums of the cities and ignorant foreign vote which was sought to be bought up by each party, to make political success." Catt described the solution: "There is but one way to avert the danger—cut off the vote of the slums and give to woman . . . the power of protecting herself. . . . Put the ballot in the hands of every person of sound mind in the nation. If that would be too cumbersome, cut it off at the bottom, the vote of the slums."

Catt's nativist beliefs also had racist aspects. She noted that U.S. women "will always resent the fact that American men chose to enfranchise Negroes fresh from slavery before enfranchising American wives and mothers, and allowed hordes of European immigrants totally unfamiliar with the traditions and ideals of American government to be enfranchised . . . and thus qualified to pass upon the question of the enfranchisement of American women."

Catt first gained national prominence in 1894, when she suggested that NAWSA establish an organizing committee for fieldwork and then worked to put the association on what she called a "sound organizational basis." Her indefatigable efforts and her demonstrated abilities contributed to NAWSA president Susan B. Anthony's choosing Catt to succeed her in 1900. In 1904, Catt resigned, weary from years of working on behalf of suffrage and interested in the international suffrage effort. A founder of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Catt was the founding president, serving from 1904 to 1923.

Anna Howard Shaw had succeeded Catt as president of NAWSA in 1904 and held the post until 1915. Over those eleven years, the suffrage movement languished, and NAWSA's organization was in disarray. In addition, militant suffragists who belonged to Alice Paul's Congressional Union had implemented the strategy of holding whatever party was in power responsible for failing to enact suffrage, regardless of the individual party member's views. At the time, Democrats were the party in office, and the Congressional Union sought to defeat even those Democrats who had supported woman suffrage. Catt disagreed with the strategy. She thought it unreasonable to penalize Democrats who had been steadfast supporters and believed it foolish to assume that newly victorious Republicans would enact a suffrage amendment. Suffrage leaders drafted Catt to again serve as president of NAWSA, and she accepted the post in 1915.

Catt's Winning Plan made use of all of NAWSA's resources. The national organization's responsibility was to work on the federal amendment, state organizations were to work on referenda, and suffrage states were to elect suffrage supporters to their state legislatures and to Congress. The plan became NAWSA's official policy in 1916.

Catt also sought President Woodrow Wilson's endorsement of the amendment and offered him the suffrage organization's support in World War I. Despite her pacifist beliefs, Catt served on the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, but she insisted that women must not abandon the suffrage cause.

On 21 May 1919, the House of Representatives passed the amendment, with the Senate following suit on 4 June 1919. On 18 August 1920, Tennessee became the last needed state for ratification. The Nineteenth Amendment was officially included in the U.S. Constitution on 26 August 1920, now known as Women's Equality Day. Catt summarized the effort it had taken:

To get the word *male* . . . out of the Constitution cost the women of the country fifty-two years of pauseless campaign. During that time they were forced to conduct fifty-six campaigns of referenda to male voters; 480 campaigns to urge Legislatures to submit suffrage amendments to voters; forty-seven campaigns to induce state constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into state constitutions; 277 campaigns to persuade state party conventions to include woman suffrage planks; thirty campaigns to urge presidential party conventions to adopt woman suffrage planks in party platforms, and nineteen campaigns with nineteen successive Congresses.

In 1919, Catt had called for the organization of a League of Women Voters in the states that had woman suffrage. She did not take an active part

in the organization, saying that younger women should provide its leadership.

Working under the belief that women could not be fully liberated until war was abolished, Catt focused her attention on finding an end to war after 1920. In an effort to develop a unified program for peace and disarmament, she organized the leaders of women's organizations into the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, serving as its chair from 1925 to 1932.

See also Anthony, Susan Brownell; Congressional Union; League of Women Voters; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Nineteenth Amendment; Paul, Alice; Shaw, Anna Howard; Stone, Lucy; Suffrage

References Ravitch, *The American Reader* (1990); Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life* (1987); Whitman, ed., *American Reformers* (1985).

Center for the American Woman and Politics

Founded in 1971, the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) was the first institution to gather information about women in government and politics. A unit of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University in New Jersey, CAWP's mission is to promote greater understanding and knowledge about women and politics and to enhance women's influence and leadership in politics. Since 1975, CAWP has been an information clearinghouse, conducting the first national census and survey of female public officials at the national, state, county, and municipal levels. By collecting data, conducting research, and disseminating its findings, CAWP has become a resource for women at every level of politics as well as for researchers, journalists, government agencies, civic organizations, and political parties.

When CAWP sponsored a conference in 1972 for elected women, it was the first time that elected women in the United States had gathered to gain insight into their own experiences and ideas. At that and subsequent conferences, women in public office learned ways to enhance their effectiveness, gathered information on emerging issues, and discussed strategies that have worked for them. For example, at one conference the idea of forming women's caucuses was discussed, and some attendees developed women's caucuses within their home state legislatures. Research conducted at one conference contributed to Jeane Kirkpatrick's book *Political Women*, a landmark study of women in politics. Through its many studies of women in state legislatures and in Congress, CAWP has provided insight into the significance and importance of women holding public office. CAWP also conducts educational programs to prepare young women for public leadership.



Linda Chavez, president of the Center for Equal Opportunity, a conservative think tank in Washington, D.C., 1998 (Associated Press AP)

See also Congress, Women in; Kirkpatrick, Jeane Duane Jordan; State Legislatures, Women in

References www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp.

Chavez, Linda (b. 1947)

Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights from 1983 to 1985, Linda Chavez was director of the White House Office of Public Liaison in 1985, the highest-ranking woman in President Ronald Reagan's White House and one of the most powerful Hispanic officials in the Reagan administration.

Born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Chavez earned her bachelor's degree from the University of Colorado in 1970 and did postgraduate work at the University of California at Los Angeles. During her senior year in college, she began her civil rights activism, joining Mexican American and African American students in their demands for affirmative action programs and remedial courses for minority students. She later criticized the remedial classes, calling them "political indoctrination" camps and saying that minority students used them to segregate themselves. In the 1970s, Chavez worked for the Democratic National Committee, the National Education Association, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Chavez next worked for the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) as editor of the organization's quarterly publication, *American Educator*. In a series of articles, Chavez argued for a return to traditional values, which gained the attention of conservatives and President Ronald Reagan.

In 1981, she became a consultant in the Reagan administration. Two years later, she became staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, where she opposed racial preferences. In 1985, Chavez became director of the White House Office of Public Liaison in the Reagan administration and changed her party registration to Republican. She left after ten months, explaining: “My chief reason for wanting to leave the Civil Rights Commission to join the White House staff was to be able to have a greater role in influencing administration policy on a broad array of issues. What I discovered was that the White House was more involved in process than policy.” After leaving the White House, Chavez sought the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate from Maryland, which she won. She lost in the general election.

Chavez became president of U.S. English, an organization that seeks to make English the official national language. She then became a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, a conservative think tank. While there, she wrote *Out of the Barrio: Toward a New Politics of Hispanic Assimilation* (1991), which describes her vision of a young Hispanic population more likely than their parents to assimilate and become part of the middle class. In 1995, she founded the Center for Equal Opportunity, a public policy organization that opposes bilingual public education and supports parents and others in their challenges to it. She has also worked on California ballot initiatives to end bilingual education.

References *New York Times*, 19 August 1998; Telgen and Kamp, eds., *Notable Hispanic American Women* (1993).

Chavez-Thompson, Linda (b. 1944)

Executive vice president of the AFL-CIO, Linda Chavez-Thompson is the first person of color elected to an executive office of the union and is the highest-ranking woman in the labor movement. Chavez-Thompson began her career in the labor movement as a union secretary in 1967 and has risen through the levels of the organization.

Born in Lubbock, Texas, Chavez-Thompson’s parents were sharecroppers, and she began picking cotton when she was ten years old. She dropped out of high school to help support her family. When she was nineteen years old, Chavez-Thompson began working for the labor union as a secretary and then as a union representative because no one else in the office could speak Spanish to the Latino members.

Chavez-Thompson served as an international representative for the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) from 1971 to 1973, when she became assistant business manager and then business manager for a local San Antonio union. She became



AFL-CIO vice president Linda Chavez-Thompson, the highest ranking woman in the labor movement, celebrated election results with Richard L. Trumka (left) and President John Sweeney (right), 1995 (Associated Press AP)

executive director of the local union in 1977, holding the position until 1995. She has served as national vice president of the AFL-CIO's Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, international vice president of AFSCME, and national vice president of the AFL-CIO executive council.

References www.aflcio.org/profile/chavez.htm.

Chenoweth, Helen Palmer (b. 1938)

Republican Helen Chenoweth of Idaho entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1995. Needing a job after a divorce, she entered politics by accident and helped rebuild the Republican Party in Oregon after its losses in the post-Watergate era. From 1975 to 1977, she was state executive director of the Idaho Republican Party and then served as chief of staff to a congressman from 1977 to 1978. Before her election in 1994, she was also a lobbyist and a campaign manager.

Chenoweth is a nationally recognized advocate for private property rights. She has worked to reduce the environmental regulations affecting private landowners and businesses, arguing that conservationists must permit the use of the West's natural resources for commercial ends. She has worked for local management of resources, defended recreational use of Hells Canyon Recreational Area, and fought for Idaho's sovereignty over its water. She has attacked the 1973 Endangered Species Act because she believes that it denies private landowners their rights and provides the federal government with excessive power. To help her congressional

colleagues understand the resource issues she supports, Chenoweth has taken members of Congress to visit Idaho and talk to residents. A political conservative, she has voted to balance the budget, lower taxes, and reduce the size of government.

Born in Topeka, Kansas, Helen Chenoweth attended Whitworth College from 1955 to 1958.

See also Congress, Women in

References Treese, ed., *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774–1996* (1997); www.house.gov/chenoweth/chenbio.htm.

Child Day Care

For single working parents and for families in which both parents work outside the home, finding and paying for adequate, safe, child day care has been a continuing challenge. In 1995, more than 60 percent of all children under the age of six were in child care, which cost low-income families an average of 25 percent of their annual incomes. For decades, advocates for children, educators, and parents have sought government assistance in establishing standards for child day care and subsidies to pay for it.

In the 1930s, the federal government offered free nurseries in an effort to provide employment during the Depression as well as to assist low-income workers. Beginning in 1942, these centers accepted the children of defense workers, charging them for the services. By the end of World War II, however, the federal government had spent more than \$50 million to support child care centers for women employed in defense industries. Although women had been encouraged to work during the war, they were encouraged to return to homemaking after the war, and the federal government essentially ended its involvement in child day care services. In 1962, the federal government appropriated \$4 million for child day care, but in 1965 the assistance was eliminated in order to support the war in Vietnam. Another program in the late 1960s provided temporary assistance for women on welfare who were in job training programs. In 1971, Congress passed a \$2 billion child care program, but President Richard Nixon vetoed it because he thought it could hurt families by encouraging mothers to work outside the home.

Child care assistance became an issue in the 1988 presidential campaign, with both Republican George Bush and Democrat Michael Dukakis pledging action on the issue. The next year, the Children's Defense Fund and labor unions kept the issue before members of Congress, and both chambers passed child care measures but failed to reconcile differences between them. In 1990, Congress passed and President George Bush signed a child care package that included \$18.5 billion in tax credits

to help low- and middle-income families with their child care expenses and \$4.25 billion for new grant programs to states to improve the quality and availability of child care.

In 1995, the Child Care Bureau was formed within the Administration for Children and Families of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The Child Care Bureau seeks to enhance the quality, affordability, and availability of child care, and it administers the Child Care and Development Fund, which subsidizes child care for low-income families.

See also Children's Defense Fund

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 101st Congress, 2nd Session . . .* 1990 (1991); www.acf.dhhs.gov.

Child Labor Amendment

Passing and ratifying the Child Labor Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was an early, although unsuccessful, effort led by women and women's groups in the 1920s. Through the amendment social reformers hoped to end the employment of children under the age of eighteen, particularly those children working in factories and mines, and to encourage more children to attend school for a longer period of time. Support for the amendment developed after attempts to regulate child labor through federal legislation were determined to be unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Protective child labor legislation emerged as an attempt to protect children from the worst abuses of factory employment. Social reformers, many of them women, who witnessed the low wages, desolate working conditions, and the toll that factory and other labor took on young children, sought to end child labor. They argued that children belonged in school, where they would learn the skills that would improve their lives and enable them to earn living wages.

Research had revealed that in 1910 almost 2 million children ages ten to fifteen were in the paid labor force, working in coal mines, factories, agriculture, and textile mills. Social reformers actively lobbied for legislation restricting child labor, which passed Congress in 1916 as the Keating-Owen Child Labor Reform Act. The measure prohibited interstate or export shipment of materials produced in mines that employed children under the age of sixteen, of products manufactured in factories employing children under fourteen, and of items produced in workplaces where children between ages fourteen and sixteen worked more than eight hours a day or between the hours of 7:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M. Two years later, however, the U.S. Supreme Court struck it down, deciding that the restrictions were an unwarranted exercise of the commerce power but noting that child

labor was “evil” and should be regulated. The next year, Congress passed a 10 percent tax on the net profit of mills and factories using child labor, using essentially the same restrictions as the Keating-Owen Act. Again, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the attempt, saying in 1922 that the law was an unconstitutional effort to force people to do what Congress wanted.

By 1923, it had become apparent to opponents of child labor that their only recourse rested in an amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Groups including the Women’s Joint Congressional Committee (WJCC), the League of Women Voters, and the Young Women’s Christian Association testified on behalf of the proposed amendment. The National Association of Manufacturers, the American Cotton Manufacturers, the Woman Patriots, the Sentinels of the Republic, and the Roman Catholic Church opposed it. Those groups argued that the amendment limited parental rights, violated religious traditions, and would prohibit any gainful employment for children. Newspapers opposed the amendment because they employed boys who sold newspapers.

In 1924, Congress passed the child labor amendment, which stated: “The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age.” When the amendment went to the states for ratification, it encountered intense opposition from the groups listed above. By the late 1920s, only four states had ratified it, with a fifth ratifying in 1932. The passage of New Deal legislation in the 1930s addressed child labor and made the amendment unnecessary.

See also Abbott, Grace; Children’s Bureau; League of Women Voters; Spider Web; Women’s Joint Congressional Committee; YWCA of the USA

References Breckenridge, *Women in the Twentieth Century* (1933); Brown, *American Women in the 1920s* (1987); Lindenmeyer, “A Right to Childhood”: *The U.S. Children’s Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912–1946* (1997).

Child, Lydia Maria Francis (1802–1880)

An early antislavery propagandist, Lydia Maria Child’s first work against slavery was *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans*, published in 1833. The first antislavery book by a northern abolitionist calling for the immediate emancipation of the nation’s 2 million slaves, it provides a history of slavery from the ancient world to the nineteenth-century United States. A major work of propaganda, it influenced the development of other abolitionists’ ideas and became required reading for American Anti-Slavery Society agents. The work was so controversial that sales of Child’s literary works declined, but she continued to publish antislavery books, including *The Oasis* (1834), *Authentic Anecdotes of American Slavery* (1835), *Antislavery Catechism* (1836), and *The Evils of Slavery* (1836).

Child opposed annexing Texas because it was a slaveholding state, joined the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, and gathered signatures on antislavery petitions. In 1840 Child became one of the first three women (with Lucretia Mott and Maria Weston Chapman) appointed to an executive committee of a national antislavery society, the American Anti-Slavery Society. From 1841 to 1843, she edited the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* and then essentially retired from the antislavery movement for the next sixteen years.

John Brown's 1859 raid on Harpers Ferry prompted Child to send him a sympathetic letter, which, along with other correspondence to him, was published in the *New York Tribune*. Among those who wrote to Child was the wife of a Virginia congressman, Margaretta Mason, who denounced the antislavery movement and threatened a boycott of Child's books. Child replied to Mason, writing what she considered her most notable antislavery material. The American Anti-Slavery Society published the two women's correspondence and sold more than 300,000 copies of it. Child resumed her role as an antislavery propagandist, writing and publishing additional tracts. After emancipation, Child edited an anthology for and about African Americans and became an advocate for freedmen. She also wrote a volume on aging and another on Native Americans.

Born in Medford, Massachusetts, Child completed her education at a local dame school. In addition to her antislavery work, she was a novelist, essayist, and author of works for children.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the

References Clifford, *Crusader for Freedom: A Life of Lydia Maria Child* (1992).

Child Support Enforcement

Until the 1990s, Americans generally regarded the enforcement of child support agreements between divorced or separated parents as a private matter. For the custodial parents, usually women, recovering child support owed to them by noncustodial parents often involved expensive lawsuits that they could not afford or other barriers to collection. For example, if the noncustodial parent moved to another state, court orders could not be enforced. The federal government became involved in child support recovery and enforcement as a way to keep women and their dependent children off welfare roles or to remove them from the roles. By the 1990s, child support enforcement had become a political issue that involved both divorced or separated parents and parents who had not married.

The first federal child support enforcement legislation, passed in 1950, required state welfare agencies to notify law enforcement officials when they provided Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to

a child who had been abandoned by a parent. In 1965, legislation passed that permitted welfare agencies to obtain the address and place of employment of a parent who owed child support under a court order. Two years later, another measure allowed states to obtain from the Internal Revenue Service the addresses of noncustodial parents who owed child support, and states were required to work together and with courts and law enforcement officials to enforce child support orders. In 1968, thirty-five states adopted the Revised Uniform Reciprocal Enforcement of Support Act, facilitating child support collections across state lines and citing delinquent parents with contempt.

By 1975, it was clear these measures were inadequate. Forty-four percent of divorced women were awarded child support, less than 50 percent of those awarded it received any money, and the payments covered less than 50 percent of the cost of the child's support. To help remedy the problem, Congress gave the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare responsibility for creating an office dedicated to operating a child support recovery program. The responsibilities included establishing a parent locator service and standards for state programs, approving state programs, certifying cases for referral to federal courts or to the Internal Revenue Service for collection, and related duties. States were given primary responsibility for the Child Support Enforcement Program and were provided with incentive programs for collections made in AFDC cases.

Almost every Congress after 1975 passed a measure related to child support recovery, some of them relatively narrow in scope, whereas others were more aggressive attempts to enforce court-ordered financial obligations and avoid the expenses of welfare. For example, as a condition for receiving federal welfare funds, the Child Support Amendments of 1984 required states to enact several policies to collect child support, including mandatory income-withholding procedures, expedited processes for enforcing child support orders, state income tax refund interceptions, and property liens. The measure, a priority of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues (CCWI) and part of its Economic Equity Act, expanded the Child Support Enforcement Program to cover both welfare and nonwelfare families. The Parent Locator Service was created to help custodial parents find noncustodial parents who were delinquent in their child support payments. The resources that became available included motor vehicle registration, driver's license records, and Internal Revenue Service records. It was estimated at the time that as many as 2 million children were entitled to \$4 billion in unpaid support.

The Family Support Act of 1988, another CCWI priority, emphasized parental responsibilities to work and support their children and child support enforcement as a primary route to avoiding welfare de-

pendency. Establishing paternity became a priority when the parents had not married.

In the early 1990s, at least partly in response to federal requirements, states became increasingly innovative in their attempts to locate parents who were delinquent. Iowa attorney general Bonnie Campbell, for example, published a list of “deadbeat dads,” a top ten list of the state’s worst child support offenders. In recognition of the mothers who were delinquent, the list was renamed “deadbeat parents,” although women are more likely to be the custodial parent and men more likely to be the noncustodial parent who has not met the assigned financial obligation. The Child Support Recovery Act of 1992 made it a federal crime to willfully fail to pay delinquent child support for a child living in a state other than that of the noncustodial parent.

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 created new tools for finding parents owing child support, streamlined the process for establishing paternity, and provided new penalties. The Deadbeat Parents Punishment Act of 1998 created felony penalties for egregious failure to pay child support.

See also Congressional Caucus for Women’s Issues; Divorce Law Reform; Economic Equity Act; Feminization of Poverty

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 98th Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1984* (1985); www.acf.dhhs.gov.

Children’s Bureau

Created in 1912, the U.S. Children’s Bureau developed out of the reform spirit of the Progressive movement and became the first agency in the world devoted to children’s interests. The agency’s initial mandate was to investigate the best means to protect “a right to childhood.” In the 1990s, the agency assisted states in the delivery of child welfare services, providing grants for child protective services, family preservation, foster care, and adoption.

The National Child Labor Committee first proposed legislation in 1905 for the Children’s Bureau, following a plan envisioned by Julia Lathrop and Florence Kelley. Kelley began discussing the need for the bureau in a series of lectures, describing the conditions under which young children were employed in factories, mines, and textile mills and the perceived high levels of infant mortality. A few years later, Lillian Wald organized a group that successfully lobbied President Theodore Roosevelt to support a federal agency devoted to children’s interests. A bill for the agency was first introduced in Congress in 1906 and was supported by the National Consumers League, the General Federation of Women’s Clubs, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and other women’s organizations.

Roosevelt agreed to convene the 1909 White House Conference on Child Welfare Standards, which called for a children's bureau, giving added impetus to its creation by Congress in 1912.

Under its first director, Julia Lathrop, the bureau investigated the causes of maternal and infant mortality, developed a child welfare library, published pamphlets on prenatal and infant care, and advocated that states require the registration of every birth. With its appropriations inadequate for its programs, the bureau depended upon volunteers from the groups that had supported its creation to supplement its paid staff. By 1915, for example, 3,000 volunteers conducted door-to-door campaigns across the country registering children and their ages. In 1921, Congress passed the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act, a program administered by the Children's Bureau that provided funding to states for maternal and child health programs from 1921 to 1929.

The Children's Bureau also conducted research in the area of child labor, compiling information on child labor laws in every state, and in the process convincing Lathrop that only federal action would make child labor laws uniform. The Keating-Owen Act, passed in 1916 and administered by Grace Abbott, attempted to discourage child labor, but the U.S. Supreme Court found it and a subsequent child labor law unconstitutional. Those decisions led the bureau and reformers to advocate a child labor amendment, which Congress passed but the states did not ratify. The 1933 National Industrial Recovery Act created minimum ages for employment depending upon the occupation, and following the U.S. Supreme Court's 1935 decision making it unconstitutional, the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act achieved federal regulation of labor, making the child labor amendment unnecessary.

In 1921, Abbott became head of the Children's Bureau and continued the research projects that Lathrop had begun. The studies included destitute, homeless, and abandoned children, children dependent upon public support, children who begged, children in unfit homes or living in houses of ill fame or other dangerous places, and those who peddled goods to support themselves. Other areas of concern included the causes of juvenile delinquency and the treatment of juvenile delinquents.

Under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, the Children's Bureau's work expanded to include aspects of the 1935 Social Security Act, including maternal and child health and assistance to crippled children, children with special needs, and dependent children. The staff grew from 138 employees in 1930 to 438 in 1939, and the budget grew from \$337,371 in 1930 to \$10,892,797. After the United States entered World War II, the Children's Bureau, along with other federal agencies, suspended all research unrelated to the war effort.

A reorganization of federal departments and agencies resulted in a lowered status for the Children's Bureau in 1946, and its status was further diminished with the bureau's transfer from the Department of Labor to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1953. In the 1990s, the bureau was part of the Department of Health and Human Services' Administration on Children, Youth and Families. The bureau administers an annual budget of more than \$4 billion, covering nine state grant programs and six discretionary grant programs. The program areas include foster care, adoption assistance, independent living for foster children over sixteen years of age, child abuse and neglect prevention and treatment, assistance to abandoned infants, and child welfare research.

See also Abbott, Grace; Child Labor Amendment; General Federation of Women's Clubs; Kelley, Florence; Lathrop, Julia; League of Women Voters; National Consumers League; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921; Wald, Lillian D.

References Lemons, *The Woman Citizen* (1973); Lindenmeyer, "A Right to Childhood": *The U.S. Children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912-1946* (1997); www.acf.dhhs.gov.

Children's Defense Fund

Founded by Marian Wright Edelman in 1973, the Children's Defense Fund (CDF) acts at the local, state, and national levels to advocate programs and legislation for children. Through the information it gathers about children, CDF educates private citizens, other children's advocates, government officials, and members of Congress and their staffs about the status and needs of U.S. children. The data gathered by CDF also serve as a lobbying tool at the state and national levels. CDF's research has revealed that every day in the United States, three children die from abuse or neglect, six children commit suicide, fifteen children are killed by firearms, 2,660 babies are born into poverty, 8,493 children are reported abused or neglected, 100,000 children are homeless, and 135,000 children take guns to school. The organization works to increase public awareness of these statistics and to change them.

CDF was instrumental in increasing Head Start funding during the 1970s, expanding Medicaid eligibility for children and pregnant women, and guaranteeing equal educational opportunities to children with disabilities in the 1980s. CDF has also been successful in the areas of expanding child care assistance for low- and moderate-income working families, increasing the number of children served by Head Start, and expanding the earned income tax credit, which provides a refundable tax credit for low-income families. Child immunizations, job protection for parents needing leaves to care for new or sick children, and community-

based programs to prevent child abuse and neglect are additional areas in which CDF has played a key role. Improving children's health, reducing teen pregnancy, protecting children from violence, and keeping children in school are among CDF's continuing areas of focus.

CDF coordinates the Black Community Crusade for Children, which seeks to ensure that every child has a healthy, safe, fair, moral, and head start. It hopes to meet these goals by working to build and renew a sense of community, strengthening the black community's tradition of self-help, rebuilding generational bridges, encouraging black leadership to be advocates for children, and developing a new generation of leaders.

See also Edelman, Marian Wright

References www.childrensdefense.org.

Chisholm, Shirley Anita St. Hill (b. 1924)

Democrat Shirley Chisholm of New York served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1969 to 3 January 1983. She was the first African American woman elected to Congress and the first African American to actively seek the presidential nomination of a major U.S. political party. She served as secretary to the Democratic Caucus, a leadership position, in the 97th Congress (1981–1983).

Born in Brooklyn, New York, Chisholm is the daughter of immigrants, her father from Guyana (formerly British Guiana) and her mother from Barbados. She spent much of her youth in Barbados with her grandmother and sisters, while her parents worked to earn and save for their children's education. Living in Barbados from the time she was three years old until she was nine, Shirley Chisholm acquired her early elementary education in strict British-style schools, but her grandmother was an equally important influence, emphasizing pride, courage, and faith.

Chisholm earned her bachelor's degree from Brooklyn College in 1946 and her master's degree in childhood education from Columbia University in 1952. A nursery school teacher from 1946 to 1953, she was the director of a child care center in New York from 1953 to 1959 and then was a consultant to the city's Bureau of Child Welfare until 1964.

In 1960, she became active in politics, helping form the Unity Democratic Club, a group that defeated the district's party machine and took over the district. She also played an active role in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, League of Women Voters, and Bedford-Stuyvesant Political League. In 1964, she successfully ran for the New York State Assembly, where she served until 1968. While in the assembly, Chisholm passed a measure that provided for unemployment compensation for domestic and personal employees.



Shirley Chisholm (D-NY), the first African American female Congress member and candidate for president on a major party ticket, supported civil rights leader Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign in 1983 (Corbis/Jacques M. Chenet)

When Chisholm decided to run for Congress, she explained: “I wanted to show the machine that a little black woman was going to beat it.” After winning with the motto “unbought and unbossed,” she said she had become “the first American citizen to be elected to Congress in spite of the double drawbacks of being female and having skin darkened by melanin.”

A recognized feminist, liberal, antiwar activist, and black leader, Chisholm supported the Equal Rights Amendment, reproductive choice,

a national commission on Afro-American history and culture, and ending the Vietnam War. She brought together blacks, women, and labor in support of a successful measure to include domestics in the 1974 minimum wage bill. After President Richard Nixon vetoed it, Congress overrode the veto. With another member of Congress, she held hearings to investigate racism in the Army. Chisholm believed that the United States “has the laws and material resources it takes to insure justice for all its people. What it lacks is the heart, the humanity, the Christian love that it would take.” She sought to supply them.

She became the first black person and the first woman to seek a major party’s presidential nomination in 1972, when she sought to become the Democratic Party’s nominee. Gloria Steinem became a delegate for Chisholm, and Betty Friedan and several prominent Washington, D.C., political women worked for Chisholm’s candidacy. Although National Organization for Women president Wilma Scott Heide supported Chisholm’s candidacy, the organization did not, and neither did the National Women’s Political Caucus. Democratic Congresswoman Bella Abzug opposed Chisholm’s candidacy because she believed that Chisholm could not succeed and that supporting Chisholm would consume resources that could be better used elsewhere. The effort was doomed from the beginning, but Chisholm said of it: “What I hope most is that now there will be others who will feel themselves as capable of running for high political office as any wealthy, good-looking, white male.”

She announced her retirement from Congress in 1982 but continued to be active in politics. Disappointed by the 1984 Democratic National Convention, she gathered other black women together and launched the National Political Congress of Black Women. She also actively supported Jesse Jackson in his 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns.

Chisholm once said: “I’d like to be known as a catalyst for change, a woman who had the determination and a woman who had the perseverance to fight on behalf of the female population and the black population, because I am a product of both.” Chisholm has written two autobiographical works, *Unbought and Unbossed* (1970) and *The Good Fight* (1973).

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Rights Amendment; League of Women Voters; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; National Organization for Women; National Political Congress of Black Women; National Women’s Political Caucus; State Legislatures, Women in

References Kaptur, *Women of Congress: A Twentieth Century Odyssey* (1996); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1969* (1969); Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Nixon/Ford Years* (1979); Wandersee, *American Women in the 1970s* (1988).

Christensen, Donna

See Christian-Green, Donna

Christian Coalition

Founded in 1989, the Christian Coalition developed out of evangelist Pat Robertson's failed attempt to win the 1988 Republican presidential nomination. It has almost 2 million members in more than 2,000 chapters located in every state in the nation. The Christian Coalition believes that it is the "largest and most effect grassroots political movement of Christian activists in the history of our nation." Through its programs of training political activists, distributing voter guides, and conducting leadership schools, the Christian Coalition works at the local, state, and federal levels.

The Christian Coalition supports measures that strengthen the family, defend marriage, outlaw pornography, provide for parental and local control of education, permit prayer in public schools, reduce taxes, and prohibit abortions. The organization opposes gay rights.

See also Abortion; Lesbian Rights; Pornography

References www.cc.org.

Christian-Green, Donna (b. 1945)

Democrat Donna Christian-Green of the Virgin Islands entered the U.S. House of Representatives as a delegate on 3 January 1997. She is the first female doctor to serve in Congress. Her legislative priorities include the environment, child care, and juvenile crime and justice.

Born in Teaneck, New Jersey, Donna Christian-Green earned her bachelor of science degree from St. Mary's College in 1966 and her medical degree from George Washington University in 1970. A family practitioner for more than twenty years, Christian-Green was a community health physician for the U.S. Virgin Islands Department of Health, Territorial Assistant Commissioner of Health, and Acting Commissioner of Health for the territory.

Christian-Green began her political career as vice chairperson of the U.S. Virgin Islands Democratic Territorial Committee in 1980. She served on the Virgin Islands Board of Education from 1984 to 1986 and on the Virgin Islands Status Commission from 1988 to 1992.

See also Congress, Women in

References www.house.gov/christian-christensen/dcgbio.htm.

Church, Marguerite Stitt (1892–1990)

Republican Marguerite Church of Illinois served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1951 to 3 January 1963. After her husband Ralph Church's election to Congress in 1934, she moved to Washington, D.C., with him and became involved in his political career. She also began developing her own political skills, working in the 1940 and 1944 Republican presidential campaigns. Following her husband's death, she ran for and won his seat in 1950. As a member of Congress, Marguerite Church introduced a measure to implement recommendations for greater efficiency and economy in government, sponsored a bill for annuities for widows of former federal employees, and passed a bill prohibiting the transport of fireworks into states that outlawed them.

Following her retirement from Congress, Marguerite Church remained active in politics, working on Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign and Richard Nixon's 1968 run for president. In addition, she served on the Girls Scouts of America national board of directors and the U.S. Capitol Historical Society board.

Born in New York, New York, Marguerite Church earned her bachelor's degree from Wellesley College in 1914 and her master's degree in political science from Columbia University in 1917. She taught psychology at Wellesley College and, during World War I, was a consulting psychologist to the State Charities Aid Association of New York City.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Treese, ed., *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774–1996* (1997).

Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women

Created by Executive Order 11126 on 1 November 1963, the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW) developed from recommendations of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. The council's duties included reviewing and evaluating women's progress toward full participation in American life. Located in the Women's Bureau, the council served as a liaison between government agencies and women's organizations.

CACSW encouraged the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to prohibit gender-segregated employment ads in 1965, but the EEOC refused, although it banned race-segregated employment ads. The council further recommended revising property laws to protect the interests of married women in common law states, enacting measures to give equal rights to illegitimate and legitimate children, decriminalizing

abortion, and repealing laws limiting access to birth control. It also supported the Equal Rights Amendment. CACSW was terminated in 1977.

See also Abortion; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Equal Rights Amendment; Health Care, Women and; President's Commission on the Status of Women

References Linden-Ward and Green, *American Women in the 1960s: Changing the Future* (1993); Wandersee, *American Women in the 1970s: On the Move* (1988); www.nara.gov/fedreg/eo1963K.html.

Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII

The most comprehensive civil rights legislation enacted since Reconstruction, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed Congress as the nation struggled with racial conflict. In the South, three student civil rights workers were murdered in 1964, others were beaten or threatened with violence, and black churches were bombed, and in the North, riots erupted in Harlem and other cities over housing, employment, and other forms of discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 sought to alleviate the social injustices caused by discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin. The act included sections banning discrimination in voting rights and public accommodations, provided for the desegregation of public facilities and public education, and barred discrimination in federally assisted programs. Although amendments were offered to include sex in five sections of the bill, all but one were defeated. Only one section, Title VII on equal employment opportunity, included sex as a classification against which discrimination was banned.

Title VII made equal employment opportunity for women the official national policy of the United States. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 had made it illegal to have different pay rates for women and men doing the same work, but it did not prohibit employers from denying women jobs or advancement on the basis of sex. Before passage of Title VII, it was legal to openly discriminate against women, minorities, people of color, foreign-born people, and people of faith seeking employment or advancement. Title VII also made it illegal for labor organizations to discriminate in their membership policies, classifications of positions, and job referrals. In addition, apprenticeship and training programs came under the prohibitions against discrimination.

The introduction of the amendment to add sex to Title VII has been viewed as an attempt to sabotage the entire bill. A southern member of Congress and an ardent segregationist, Democrat Howard W. Smith of Virginia introduced the amendment, leading observers to believe that Smith hoped to defeat the entire bill by adding women to the employment section and making the bill unpalatable to other members of Congress

who would otherwise have voted for it. That interpretation, however, does not incorporate much of the amendment's history.

Smith had long worked with the National Woman's Party (NWP), a small militant organization that supported the Equal Rights Amendment and as an intermediate measure wanted to add sex to the categories of people covered by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Congresswoman Martha Griffiths (D-MI) also supported the idea and had considered offering an amendment but hesitated because she was concerned that it would fail. The NWP, Griffiths, and Smith decided that Smith would introduce the amendment because they believed that almost 100 southern members of the House would vote for the amendment just because Smith introduced it. Griffiths worked to line up the balance of the votes needed to pass the amendment, but with the exception of the NWP, she had little support from women's organizations.

When the House debated the amendment, Smith set the tone of the discussion by making jokes about the amendment, women, and employment, and his colleagues joined him. Amusement, derision, and laughter characterized the day, which became known as Ladies Day in the House. Griffiths took a more serious approach, saying that unless women were added,

you are going to have white men in one bracket, you are going to try to take colored men and women and give them equal employment rights, and down at the bottom of the list is going to be a white woman with no rights at all. . . . White women will be last at the hiring gate. . . . A vote against this amendment today by a white man is a vote against his wife, or his widow, or his daughter, or his sister.

In the House of Representatives, only one woman, Democrat Edith Green of Oregon, voted against it. She said that it was neither the time nor the place for the amendment. The amendment passed by a vote of 168 to 133.

When the bill went to the Senate, the sex provision faced significant opposition, but it also benefited from new sources of support. Marguerite Rawalt, a former president of Business and Professional Women/USA (BPW/USA), wrote to members of BPW and Zonta International as well as to lawyers, asking them to lobby for the provision. She also recruited lawyer Pauli Murray to write a memorandum supporting it and distributed copies of the memo. Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R-ME) convinced the Republican Conference to support the inclusion of sex in Title VII, despite the initial opposition of the Senate majority leader. The bill passed in July 1964, with sex included in Title VII.

The law also created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which heard complaints brought under the law. The commission had little enforcement power, but women presented hundreds of grievances to it in the first year.

See also Business and Professional Women/USA; Employment Discrimination; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Griffiths, Martha Edna Wright; *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*; Murray, Pauli; National Organization for Women; National Woman's Party; Paul, Alice; President's Commission on the Status of Women; Protective Legislation; Sexual Harassment; Smith, Howard Worth; Smith, Margaret Madeline Chase; Women's Bureau

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 88th Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1964* (1965); Freeman, "How 'Sex' Got into Title VII: Persistent Opportunism as a Maker of Public Policy" (1991); Gabin, *Feminism in the Labor Movement* (1990); Harrison, *On Account of Sex* (1988); Schneir, *Feminism in Our Time* (1994); Stimpson, ed., *Women and the "Equal Rights" Amendment* (1972).

Civil Rights Act of 1991

The Civil Rights Act of 1991 reversed nine U.S. Supreme Court cases to provide increased protection to workers confronting employment discrimination based on race, color, national origin, religion, and sex. In addition, the act permitted limited monetary damages for victims of harassment and other intentional discrimination based on sex, religion, or disability. Racial minorities could receive unlimited monetary damages under a measure passed during Reconstruction. The act also created the Glass Ceiling Commission to study the processes businesses use to fill management and decisionmaking positions and related matters.

The act allowed workers to challenge an employment decision when race, color, religion, sex, or national origin was a consideration, even if other factors contributed to the same decision. By including bias in the decision, the employer had acted illegally. The provision resulted from the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*, in which the Court had said that even if bias had been involved in the decision, if there were other factors, it did not violate Title VII.

Another section of the act involved employment factors that appeared neutral but had an adverse impact on a particular group of people. For example, an employer might establish physical tests or academic requirements for a position that a job candidate would have to meet in order to be considered for it. If the qualification excluded more women, for example, than men, then it could have a disparate impact, which could be illegal if the employer could not prove that the qualification was job-related and necessary. In addition, if an employee offered an alternative

that met the business goals and the employer refused to adopt it, that could also be illegal.

See also Employment Discrimination; Glass Ceiling Commission; *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 102nd Congress, 1st Session . . . 1991 (1992).*

Civil Rights Movement, Women in the

African American women's civil rights activism has its roots in the abolitionist movement of the nineteenth century, continued through the suffrage movement, asserted itself in antilynching campaigns in the early twentieth century, and persevered through the tragedies and triumphs of the 1950s and 1960s. Many of the women whose leadership significantly enhanced the movement and propelled it forward in the middle of the twentieth century had minimal education and little or no exposure to the leaders of earlier crusades. Other women with professional degrees and greater sophistication formed organizations, taught citizenship schools, and defended female and male leaders in courts from the local level to the U.S. Supreme Court. Equally important were the unnamed women who attended meetings, attempted to register to vote, encouraged others to register, and lodged and fed civil rights organizers, daily risking their safety, their jobs, and their homes. Although African American women and their work in the civil rights movement have been less visible than the work of Martin Luther King, Jr., and other notable male leaders, the contributions women made at every level required courage, determination, stamina, and economic sacrifice.

The 1930s offer several examples of women's early contributions to the incremental recognition of African Americans' civil rights. Sadie Tanner Mosell Alexander helped draft and pass Pennsylvania's public accommodations law and then provoked Philadelphia officials into enforcing it. Daisy Lampkin organized chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) throughout the South, risking her safety and enduring the humiliations of Jim Crow laws. Classical vocalist Marian Anderson focused the nation's attention on the iniquities of racial prejudice when the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to allow her to perform in their hall, resulting in her 1939 performance at the Lincoln Memorial and her emergence as a symbol of the civil rights movement. As the nation moved toward involvement in World War II, Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, the National Association of Colored Women, the National Council of Negro Women, and other organizations sought to end segregation of the armed forces and to end racism in the military.

Across the country, women like Mary Church Terrell, a former president of the National Association of Colored Women, took action in their communities to enforce existing civil rights laws. In 1949, Terrell was in her mid-eighties when she participated in sit-ins to desegregate lunch counters in Washington, D.C.

Women held center stage in two remarkable dramas of the 1950s, the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott and the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. The Montgomery bus boycott resulted from years of planning and preparation by the Women's Political Council, a group that first threatened a boycott in 1950. The December day in 1955 that Rosa Parks refused to surrender her seat on the bus launched a boycott that lasted 381 days, provided the catalyst for the formation of the Southern Christian Leadership Council, and resulted in a U.S. Supreme Court decision that segregation on public transportation was unconstitutional. The boycott's success depended upon the participation of individuals whose sacrifices went unheralded. For example, domestic worker Georgia Gilmore organized the Club from Nowhere (CFN) in 1956 to support the bus boycott. The group's name represents the risks members took by working to end racial segregation and provided assurance to contributors that their donations could not be traced and their support revealed. Gilmore lost her job as a cook at a café and was blacklisted for organizing CFN, but she persisted. She cooked and baked, sold the food door-to-door, and collected donations for the boycott, as did other members. A loosely organized network of neighborhood women, CFN's members viewed it as an auxiliary of the male-dominated civil rights movement's organizations. The group dissolved when the boycott ended.

President of the Arkansas NAACP, Daisy Bates fought for the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, seeking to force the city's school system to honor the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. In the fall of 1957, Bates shepherded nine African American high school students through a dangerous ordeal that included mobs and violence. Ultimately, the students enrolled and attended the school under the protection of the Arkansas National Guard, which had been federalized to protect them.

Constance Baker Motley, Marian Wright Edelman, and other members of the NAACP's legal team defended civil rights leaders in the courts. Their ventures into southern courtrooms clashed with cultural assumptions because they were both black and female. Like the other women and men involved in the civil rights movement, they too lived and worked under the threat of violence and in a climate of hatred.

During the 1960s the civil rights movement grew in several directions, and women established themselves as leaders. Ella Baker guided

young people in the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Ruby Doris Smith Robinson and Diane Nash, civil rights activists who had ventured into the Deep South to protest segregation, participated in freedom rides and sit-ins in South Carolina. Their refusal to pay bail initiated SNCC's "jail, no bail" tactic, and they, along with others, served thirty days in jail. Fannie Lou Hamer's work to register voters and her pleas for justice to the 1964 Democratic National Convention's credential committee presented the nation with the stark brutality of southern racism. Black Panther Party leaders Kathleen Cleaver and Elaine Brown followed a more radical path, one that accepted violence as part of the process.

Other women lobbied Congress for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. When those bills became law, women continued to register voters and elect public officials who shared their beliefs. African American women and men in Congress continue to press for justice and for compliance with the law and to seek ways to fulfill the vision of equality under law for all U.S. citizens.

The influence of the civil rights movement extended far beyond the African American community and prompted other groups to consider their status in American law and society. The ideals of freedom and equality resonated with women, gays and lesbians, Hispanic Americans, older citizens, disabled citizens, and others. Groups of people who experience discrimination organized to educate the public regarding the barriers they face and to enact policies to end discrimination against them.

See also Alexander, Sadie Tanner Mosell; Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; Anderson, Marian; Angelou, Maya; Antilynching Movement; Bates, Daisy Lee Gatson; Brown, Elaine; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Cleaver, Kathleen Neal; Hamer, Fannie Lou Townsend; Hurley, Ruby; Lampkin, Daisy Elizabeth Adams; Motley, Constance Baker; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; Parks, Rosa Louise McCauley; Suffrage; Terrell, Mary Eliza Church; Voting Rights Act of 1965

References Barnett, "Black Women's Collectivist Movement Organizations: Their Struggles during the 'Doldrums'" (1995); Crawford, Rouse, and Woods, eds., *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941–1965* (1993).

Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988

The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988 reversed the U.S. Supreme Court's 1984 decision in *Grove City College v. Bell* and allowed federally funded institutions to refuse to perform abortions. Prior to the *Grove City College* decision, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 had been interpreted to ban sex discrimination at educational institutions if any

program at the institution received federal money. The Court changed that interpretation and limited the ban on sex discrimination to those programs within the institution that directly received federal funding.

The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988 established that if federal funds went to any program in an educational institution, the entire institution had to comply with Title IX, thereby prohibiting sex discrimination at educational institutions receiving federal funds. It also reinstated prohibitions on discriminating on the basis of minority status, disability, and age.

Two provisions in the act related to abortion. One stated that institutions receiving funds could pay for abortion benefits or services, but that those institutions were prohibited from discriminating against individuals seeking benefits or services related to abortion. The other provision stipulated that university hospitals would not lose their funding if they refused to perform abortions.

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 100th Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1988* (1989).

Clark Gray, Georgia Neese (1900–1995)

Democrat Georgia Neese Clark served as treasurer of the United States from 1949 to 1953, the first woman to hold the position. A Kansas bank president, she entered politics in 1936 as Democratic national committee-woman for Kansas, a post she held until her resignation in 1964. Active in President Harry S. Truman's 1948 presidential campaign, Clark received the largely ceremonial post in recognition of her work in the party and for Truman. As treasurer, her signature appeared on \$30 billion of the nation's currency.

Born in Richland, Kansas, Georgia Clark attended the College of Sisters of Bethany in 1917 and received her bachelor's degree in economics from Washburn College in 1921. She studied at Sargent's Dramatic School and worked on the stage until 1930. She returned to Richland when her father's health began to fail and she was needed to help run the bank her father had founded. After his death, she became president of the bank.

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography: Who's News and Why, 1949* (1949); *New York Times*, 28 October 1995.

Clark, Septima Poinsette (1898–1987)

African American civil rights leader and teacher Septima Clark began her teaching career and her life as an activist at a black public school on John's Island in South Carolina in 1916. That year, she organized a petition drive to hire black teachers, an effort that attracted 20,000 signatures. Almost

thirty years later, while teaching in Columbia, South Carolina, she was instrumental in the 1945 court case that established one salary scale for white teachers and black teachers. She was dismissed from a teaching job in 1956 because she belonged to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Clark remained a teacher but in a new context. Director of education for Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, from 1957 to 1961, she began a program to give African Americans the necessary skills to pass voter literacy tests. Her citizenship schools became the model for programs that spread throughout the southeastern United States. Students learned to write their names, balance their checkbooks, complete a ballot, and understand their rights and duties as citizens. Clark explained: "I just thought that you couldn't get people to register and vote until you teach them to read and write . . . and I was so right." She also taught hundreds of people to teach citizenship schools. Between 1957 and 1970, almost 900 schools were held in kitchens, beauty shops, and any other place that African Americans could gather, often under the threat of violence.

Beginning in 1962, she directed the teacher training project for the Voter Education Project, a cooperative effort of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, NAACP, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Urban League. In four years, the project trained 10,000 teachers for citizenship schools. Clark toured the nation giving lectures, gaining national attention for her work. During this period she also published her autobiography, *Echo in My Soul* (1962). After her retirement in 1970, Clark was elected to the Charleston County School Board in 1974.

Born in Charleston, South Carolina, Clark was the daughter of former slaves. She graduated from Avery Normal Institute in 1916, attended Columbia University in 1930 and Atlanta University in 1937, and received her bachelor's degree from Benedict College in 1942 and her master's degree from Hampton Institute in 1946. With Cynthia Stokes Brown, Clark wrote *Ready from Within*, published in 1986.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the

References Clark, with Cynthia Stokes Brown, *Ready from Within: Septima Clark and the Civil Rights Movement* (1986); *New York Times*, 17 December 1987.

Clarke, Marian Williams (1880–1953)

Republican Marian Clarke of New York served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 28 December 1933 to 3 January 1935. Following the death of her husband, Congressman John D. Clarke, she won the special election to fill the vacancy. The only Republican woman to serve during the New Deal, Clarke sought tariff protection for the shoe manufacturers

in her district and introduced a measure to return the equipment allowance for rural mail carriers to its former level. She did not run for reelection in 1934.

Born in Standing Stone, Pennsylvania, Clarke attended art school at the University of Nebraska and graduated from Colorado College in 1902. She worked for a Colorado Springs newspaper before marrying.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Clayton, Eva McPherson (b. 1934)

Democrat Eva Clayton of North Carolina entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 November 1992. She held the leadership position of cochair of the House Democratic Policy Committee in the 104th and 105th Congresses (1995–1999). Clayton first ran for Congress in 1968 but lost in the primary. She succeeded, however, in her campaign for the Warren County Board of Commissioners, serving from 1982 to 1990. In 1992, she ran simultaneously to complete the term of the incumbent who had died in office and for



a full term, winning both elections, becoming the first African American from North Carolina elected to Congress since Reconstruction. Elected president of the Democratic freshman class, she was the first woman and the first African American to hold the office. Clayton served as cochair of the House Democratic Policy Committee in the 104th and 105th Congresses (1995–1997 and 1997–1999).

Representative Eva Clayton (D-NC), with a student in her office; she was reelected to a second term in the U.S. House, 1998 (Courtesy: Eva Clayton)

Reflecting the interests of her district, Clayton has focused on agricultural issues, supporting the peanut subsidy and opposing the Freedom to Farm bill because it reduces farm subsidies. Some of her other congressional interests include rural health care, housing, job training, nutrition programs, and teen pregnancy.

Born in Savannah, Georgia, Eva Clayton received her bachelor of science degree from Johnson C. Smith University in 1955, and her master of science degree from North Carolina Central University in 1962.

See also Congress, Women in

References, Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997); Gill, *African American Women in Congress* (1997); www.house.gov/clayton/bio.htm.

Cleaver, Kathleen Neal (b. 1945)

Black Panther Party leader Kathleen Cleaver began her activism in the civil rights movement as a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1966. At a black student leadership conference in 1967, she heard Black Panther Party leader Eldridge Cleaver speak. She left SNCC and joined the Black Panther Party, and the two married later that year. Kathleen Cleaver served as the party's national communications secretary and was the first woman member of its decisionmaking body. Kathleen Cleaver later described her experience with the Black Panther Party: "It was thrilling to be able to challenge the circumstances in which blacks were confined; to mobilize and raise consciousness, to change the way people saw themselves, blacks could express themselves."

In 1968, Eldridge Cleaver left the country to avoid being arrested for a parole violation from an earlier conviction. Kathleen Cleaver joined him in Algiers, Algeria, in 1969, returning to the United States in 1973 to raise money for her husband's defense. In 1980, Eldridge Cleaver's legal problems were resolved; the couple divorced in 1987. Kathleen Cleaver returned to college.

Born in Dallas, Texas, Kathleen Cleaver attended Oberlin College and Barnard College. She received a bachelor's degree from Yale University in 1983 and her law degree from Yale Law School in 1988 and joined the faculty of Emory University in 1992.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the

References Smith, ed., *Notable Black American Women, Book 2* (1996).

***Cleveland Board of Education v. LaFleur* (1974)**

In *Cleveland Board of Education v. LaFleur*, the U.S. Supreme Court considered the mandatory pregnancy leave policies of the Cleveland Board of Education and of Chesterfield County, Virginia. The Cleveland policy required a pregnant schoolteacher to take unpaid maternity leave five months before her due date and did not permit her to return to teaching until the beginning of the next semester after her child was three months old. Chesterfield County required a pregnant teacher to leave work at least four months before her due date and to give notice at least six months before her due date. The Court found that both maternity leave policies violated the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment because they presumed that every pregnant teacher is physically incapable of performing her duties after a certain point, even though any one teacher's ability to work after a fixed period in her pregnancy is an individual matter. The Court decided that Cleveland's provision requiring that a teacher wait three months after childbirth before returning to work was arbitrary and

irrational but said that Chesterfield County's policy for women returning to teaching after childbirth was acceptable because it did not have any unnecessary presumptions.

See also *California Federal Savings and Loan v. Guerra*; Employment Discrimination; Fourteenth Amendment; *Geduldig v. Aiello*; *General Electric v. Gilbert*; *Nashville Gas Co. v. Satty*; Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978

References *Cleveland Board of Education v. LaFleur*, 414 U.S. 632 (1974).

Clinton, Hillary Diane Rodham (b. 1947)

Hillary Rodham Clinton became first lady in 1993, when her husband Bill Clinton became president of the United States. Born in Park Ridge, Illinois, Hillary Clinton graduated from Wellesley College in 1969 and received her law degree from Yale Law School in 1973. In 1973, she became a staff attorney for the Children's Defense Fund and served on the impeachment inquiry staff of the House Judiciary Committee in 1974. She married Bill Clinton in 1975, and then both Clintons taught on the law faculty of the University of Arkansas.

Hillary Clinton became first lady of Arkansas when her husband won his race for governor in 1978. He lost his bid for reelection in 1980 and

First Lady Hillary Clinton with her opponent in the New York campaign for the U.S. Senate, Mayor Rudy Giuliani, in front of a statue of her hero, Eleanor Roosevelt, 1998 (Archive Photos)



then won in 1982, serving until 1992. During those years, she chaired the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, initiated the Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youth, served on the Southern Governors' Association Task Force on Infant Mortality, and helped establish the state's first neonatal nursery. In addition, she founded the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families and served on the Arkansas Children's Hospital board of directors.

Following Bill Clinton's election as president of the United States, he appointed his wife to head a task force on health care reform. The twelve-member task force worked from February through September 1993, when its report was released. It recommended insurance coverage for mammograms, pap smears, and abortions, all priorities of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues. Congress, however, did not vote on the recommended plan, and health care reform died as an issue.

Hillary Clinton served as honorary chair of the U.S. delegation to the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, China. In 1996, she published *It Takes a Village, and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* (1996). With Bill Clinton, she hosted the White House Conference on Early Childhood Development and Learning and the White House Conference on Child Care, both in 1997. She also helped pass the Adoption and Safe Family Act of 1997.

See also Children's Defense Fund; Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1993* (1993); www.whitehouse.gov/wh/eop/first_lady/html/hillary_bio.html.

***Clinton v. Jones* (1997)**

In *Clinton v. Jones*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that the Constitution does not prohibit a private citizen from suing a sitting president for acts committed before becoming president. The case developed as a result of Paula Corbin Jones's allegations that in 1991, when she had been an employee of the State of Arkansas and Bill Clinton had been governor of the state, Clinton had made sexual advances to her. She further claimed that after rejecting the advances, her supervisors had punished her. Jones filed her suit in 1994, after Clinton had become president of the United States. Clinton argued that the president has temporary immunity from civil damages litigation resulting from events that occurred before taking office and that the separation of powers requires federal courts to stay private actions until the president leaves office. The Supreme Court rejected both arguments.

Jones's original sexual harassment lawsuit did not go to trial. In November 1998, Clinton agreed to pay Jones \$850,000 but did not admit to misconduct and did not agree to apologize to her.

References *Clinton v. Jones*, No. 95-1853 (1997).

Coalition for Women's Appointments

The Coalition for Women's Appointments (CWA) has its roots in a meeting between women leaders and presidential candidate Jimmy Carter. At the meeting, held during the 1976 Democratic National Convention, Carter pledged to appoint a significant number of women to all levels of his administration. After Carter won, women leaders organized CWA to identify women candidates for positions in Carter's administration and to develop the political power to successfully press for the appointments. CWA has continued to work with every administration since its founding. It seeks women of every racial and ethnic group, of every income level, and from every part of the country.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References <http://nwpc.org>.

Coalition of Labor Union Women

Founded in 1974, the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) works to unify all union women and to develop action programs to address common concerns. The founding conference adopted four goals: organize the unorganized, promote affirmative action, increase women's participation in their unions, and increase women's participation in political and legislative activity. The group elected Olga M. Madar, a leader in creating the organization, its first president.

CLUW's 20,000 members work for full employment, child care legislation, a livable minimum wage, improved maternity and pension benefits, ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and protective legislation for all workers. CLUW supports establishing the Violence Against Women Office in the Department of Justice, lobbies for reproductive rights and pay equity, and opposes making English the official language of the United States. CLUW does not endorse candidates, but it urges members to participate in the political process and encourages members to seek public offices at the local, county, state, and national levels.

The CLUW Center for Education and Research was established in 1979. The center's four program areas are women's health, women's leadership, women's rights, and young women workers.

See also Abortion; Affirmative Action; Equal Rights Amendment; Health Care, Women and; Madar, Olga Marie; Pay Equity; Sexual Harassment; Violence Against Women Office

References *CLUW NEWS*, March–April 1995, October 1995, March–April 1996, May–June 1996; www.cluw.org.

***Colautti v. Franklin* (1979)**

In 1974, Pennsylvania passed the state's Abortion Control Act, requiring every person who performed an abortion to determine whether the fetus was viable, and if evidence indicated that it was, that health care worker was required to try to preserve the life of the fetus. In addition, unless the mother's health or life was at risk, the person performing the abortion had to use the abortion technique most likely to save the life of the fetus. In *Colautti v. Franklin*, the U.S. Supreme Court found the requirement that fetal viability be determined to be void because it was vague. The Court also found the provision regarding the care of the fetus too vague and rejected it, saying that it was unclear whether a physician could make the patient the first priority or whether the law forced the physician to choose between the patient's health and increasing the fetus's chances for survival.

See also Abortion

References *Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379 (1979).

***Collins, Barbara-Rose* (b. 1939)**

Democrat Barbara-Rose Collins of Michigan served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1991 to 3 January 1997. After seeking the Democratic nomination for Congress in 1988 and losing, she was successful in 1990. As a member of Congress, Collins worked on economic development for Detroit, legislation to combat stalking, and measures to enhance breast cancer research. She founded and chaired the Congressional Caucus on Children, Youth, and Families in the 103rd Congress. She lost her attempt to return to Congress in the 1996 Democratic primary, at least in part because of a congressional investigation of her use of staff members and of campaign and scholarship funds. In 1997, the House ethics committee announced that it had found reason to believe that Collins had violated laws and House rules. Because Collins was defeated in the 1996 elections, the House did not punish Collins.

Collins served on the Detroit Public School Board from 1971 to 1973. As a school board member, she helped institute community-based parental involvement, establish requirements for homework for students, and improve students' reading material. She served in the Michigan House of Representatives from 1975 to 1981, where she focused on consumer and civil rights, economic development, and women's issues. She helped pass bills for fair housing, to end sexual harassment, and to provide for equality in women's and men's pensions. Elected to the Detroit City Council, she served from 1982 until 1990. Collins led the effort for more rigorous accounting procedures with greater checks and balances in

the city's spending and chaired the Detroit City Council's Task Force on Teenage Violence and Juvenile Crime in 1985.

Born in Detroit, Michigan, African American Barbara-Rose Collins attended Wayne State University, majoring in anthropology and political science.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); Gill, *African American Women in Congress* (1997).

Collins, Cardiss Hortense Robertson (b. 1931)

Democrat Cardiss Collins of Illinois served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 5 June 1973 to 3 January 1997. After the death of Collins's husband, Congressman George Collins, Chicago mayor Richard Daley encouraged her to run in the special election to fill the vacancy. A political novice who had only been marginally involved in politics, Cardiss Collins explained: "I guess I must have been in Congress all of 24 hours when I realized that, as the wife of a politician, I had just been a political spectator—not really playing the game. The difference started rolling in, like a sledgehammer." She made the transition and became the longest-serving black woman in Congress at the time of her retirement.

Collins played a significant role in defeating an effort to eliminate school busing for racial integration, passed a measure requiring that 10 percent of all airport concessions be held by minority- and women-owned businesses, and focused attention on public housing and public service jobs. She led an investigation that determined that most airlines hired few black and minority employees; as a result, airlines worked to improve their affirmative action programs. In 1987, she investigated allegations that Eastern Airlines failed to properly maintain its safety equipment, resulting in criminal charges against the airline and some of its managers. An inquiry into gender equity in collegiate athletics led to improved compliance with federal policies. As chair of the congressional Black Caucus, she was a vocal critic of President Ronald Reagan's civil rights policies. She retired from Congress in 1997.

Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Collins graduated from the Detroit High School of Commerce but was unable to find a job and moved to Chicago to work and live with her grandmother. Her first job was as a seamstress in a mattress factory, but she was fired for talking too much. She attended night school at Northwestern University from 1949 to 1950 and worked as a stenographer at the Illinois Department of Labor. As her skills developed, she rose through the ranks of the Illinois civil service, becoming an auditor for the Illinois Department of Revenue.

See also Affirmative Action; Congress, Women in

References Collins and Speace, eds., *Newsmakers 1995 Cumulation* (1995); Kaptur, *Women in Congress: A Twentieth Century Odyssey* (1996); Smith, ed., *Notable Black American Women* (1991).

Collins, Martha Layne Hall (b. 1936)

Democrat Martha Layne Collins was governor of Kentucky from 1983 to 1987. During her campaign, Collins adopted the slogan “Let’s Make History” in an effort to combat any resistance voters may have had to electing a woman. As governor, Collins made kindergarten mandatory and established an intern program for beginning teachers. She shepherded remedial education programs and a program that permitted the state to take control of local school districts that failed to meet academic standards. The Collins administration attracted an \$800-million Toyota Motor Corporation plant as well as eighty-seven other foreign and domestic businesses. Because the Kentucky state constitution limits governors to one term, Collins did not run for reelection.

Democratic national committeewoman for Kentucky from 1972 to 1976, Collins ran for clerk of the Kentucky Court of Appeals and won the statewide office in 1975. Lieutenant governor from 1979 to 1983, she became the first woman to chair the National Conference of Lieutenant Governors. As chair of the 1984 Democratic National Convention, Collins received national attention, and Walter Mondale considered her for the vice presidential spot on his ticket.

Born in Bagdad, Kentucky, Collins attended Lindenwood College from 1955 to 1956 and received her bachelor of science degree in education from the University of Kentucky in 1959. She taught home economics and mathematics from 1959 to 1970.

See also Governors, Women

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook 1986* (1986); Mullaney, *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States 1983–1988* (1989).

Collins, Susan Margaret (b. 1952)

Republican Susan Collins of Maine entered the U.S. Senate on 3 January 1997. A deputy whip in the 106th Congress (1999–2000), Collins supports a constitutional amendment for congressional term limits and has pledged that she will serve no more than twelve years. One of the first Republican senators to call for wide-ranging hearings on both political parties’ fund-raising methods, her defiance of the Senate majority leader’s position gained her national attention. Strongly prochoice, she was one of only four Republican senators to vote against a ban on partial birth abor-



Senator Susan Collins (R-ME) waved to well-wishers at the Maine Republican Convention, 1996 (Associated Press AP)

tions in 1997. Collins opposes capital punishment and cuts in Head Start programs. She supports gay rights, a repeal of the ban on certain semiautomatic assault-style weapons, and the balanced budget amendment and believes that a two-thirds majority vote of Congress should be required to raise taxes. She is critical of burdensome regulations and would like to impose a seven-year expiration date on all new federal regulations.

Born in Caribou, Maine, Susan Collins comes from a political family: four generations of her family served in the Maine legislature, and her mother was mayor of Caribou and served on the school board and the library board. Collins received her bachelor's degree from Lawrence University in 1975 and then worked as a congressional aide. She served in the cabinet of Maine's governor from 1987 to 1992, when she became New England administrator for the U.S. Small Business Administration. She unsuccessfully ran for governor of Maine in 1994 and then founded the Husson College Center for Family Business.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; Lesbian Rights

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1998 (1998); *New York Times*, 20 July 1997.

Colored Women's League

Founded in 1895, the Colored Women's League has its roots in the Colored Women's League of Washington, D.C. (CWL, DC), which was organized in

1892. Members of CWL, DC tended to be among the city's black elite—dressmakers, hairdressers, and wives of respectable black working men. The impetus for forming a national organization came with the announcement that the United States planned to host the 1893 Columbian Exposition, a world's fair, to be held in Chicago. The Columbian Commission, in charge of the fair, appointed a group of women to organize a women's exhibit but excluded African American women, who petitioned to be allowed to participate and presented a proposal. Their proposal was rejected on the grounds that black women did not have a national organization. CWL, DC responded by trying to call a convention to create a national organization but failed to do it in time for the fair. In 1895, CWL, DC organized the national Colored Women's League, bringing together 113 black women's clubs. The next year, the Colored Women's League merged with the National Federation of Afro-American Women to form the National Association of Colored Women.

See also National Association of Colored Women; National Federation of Afro-American Women

References Hine and Thompson, *A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America* (1998).

Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, Inc.

Organized in 1970, the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional (CFMN) seeks to represent all women's concerns and is dedicated to the political, social, economic, and educational advancement of Latina women. Its public policy priorities include supporting affirmative action, pay equity, and reproductive rights; reducing teenage pregnancy; and improving child care, housing, and education. In 1981, CFMN began a program to encourage women to run for public office. In part due to CFMN's support, Gloria Molina, the organization's first president, became the first Hispanic woman to serve in the California legislature.

See also Abortion; Affirmative Action; Child Day Care; Pay Equity

Commissions on the Status of Women

The creation of state and municipal commissions on the status of women was prompted by the President's Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW), created by President John F. Kennedy in 1961. In its 1963 report, the PCSW encouraged states to form commissions and investigate the legal, economic, and political status of women. By the end of 1964, thirty-three states had commissions, all fifty states had some form of commission by 1967, and in the late 1990s more than 270 state and local commissions existed.

As governmental bodies, commissions have authority, provide a link between women's groups and politicians, and institutionalize women's issues in the policymaking process. Cities, counties, states, and other jurisdictions have created commissions, with some receiving public funding and others not, and their structures and authorities vary by location, but some generalizations can be made about them. The creation of a commission makes a political statement that there is a reason to question women's status and that the inquiry warrants the leadership of government. By bringing women together around the issue of their status, the commission heightens their awareness of themselves as a group with common interests and often results in the formation of political networks. As commissioners investigate discriminatory laws and policies, the extent of the barriers to women's full participation and advancement is a disconcerting revelation. When the commissions disseminate their reports through the media and women's organizations, they prompt others to take action.

Commissions have supported the Equal Rights Amendment and have been advocates for child care, displaced homemakers, women's health, welfare reform, and rape law reform. Some commissions focus on women's appointments to public office, and by maintaining data banks of women and their areas of interest, they create a pool of qualified candidates available for consideration. Commissions' effectiveness was enhanced by the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, which linked state and local commissions into a national network. Since 1969, the National Association of Commissions for Women has performed that function and offered a range of support services.

See also Child Day Care; Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women; Displaced Homemakers; Equal Rights Amendment; Health Care, Women and; National Association of Commissions for Women; President's Commission on the Status of Women; Rape

References Rosenberg, "Representing Women at the State and Local Levels: Commissions on the Status of Women" (1982).

Communist Party, USA

Based on the economic and social theories of nineteenth-century German philosopher Karl Marx, communism is premised upon a rejection of capitalism or private ownership of the means of production. The oppression of poor people and the tyranny of wealthy people will end, Communists argue, only through the common ownership of factories, farms, and other means of production. The Communist Party evolved following the 1917 Russian Revolution, also known as the October Revolution. Communism

in Russia included an economy planned by a centralized bureaucracy, the loss of private property, and the denial of human rights.

The Communist Party, USA has its roots in the Socialist Party and emerged from disagreements between factions in 1919. First known as the Communist Party of America, it struggled through a decade of factions splitting from it and merging with it and went through several different names. In the 1920s, the party attempted to attract supporters among union members, form labor unions, and establish coalitions between farmers and laborers. The party adopted the name Communist Party, USA in 1929.

The United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Russia and the countries it absorbed) were allies during World War II, but hostilities between the two nations developed after the war, resulting in the Cold War. As tensions between the United States and the Soviet republics intensified, U.S. Communists became the targets of congressional investigations and harassment in the 1950s. Communists' power in the Soviet republics began to diminish in 1989, and two years later the Soviet Union was officially dissolved.

Some notable American women Communists included Ella Reeve Bloor, Angela Davis, and Helen Gurley Flynn.

References Foner and Garraty, eds., *The Reader's Companion to American History* (1991).

Comparable Worth

See Pay Equity

Concerned Women for America

Founded in 1979, Concerned Women for America (CWA) supports pro-family Christian policies by opposing the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion, outcome-based education, pornography, and gay rights. CWA founder and chair Beverly LaHaye organized the group in response to feminist Betty Friedan's leadership, arguing that Friedan did not represent all women's views. Intending to protect the American family through prayer and action, CWA claims to be the largest profamily women's organization in the nation. With more than 600,000 members organized in forty-eight states, 1,200 prayer/action chapters, and an annual budget of \$10 million, CWA works to influence policies at the local, state, and national levels.

CWA supports a balanced federal budget, prayer in the schools, and sex education programs that are limited to teaching that abstinence is the only way to prevent pregnancy and opposes affirmative action and com-

parable worth pay plans. To educate and inform the membership on issues affecting families, LaHaye produces a national daily radio program that has an estimated 350,000 listeners. The program focuses on major issues in Congress, provides phone numbers for members of Congress, and encourages listeners to register their opinions. In addition, CWA publishes the monthly magazine *Family Voice*; develops policy papers; and distributes brochures, booklets, and manuals. The Freedom of Choice Act introduced in 1992 provides an example of CWA's ability to respond to proposed legislation. Two hundred fifty thousand signatures on petitions in opposition to the measure were delivered to Congress, and volunteer lobbyists visited every member of Congress.



CWA's Department of Legislation and Public Policy coordinates the lobbying efforts of both the professional staff and volunteer lobbyists. The organization's Project 535, named for the total number of U.S. senators and representatives, is a group of volunteer lobbyists that meets monthly to develop strategies for congressional lobbying efforts. In addition, local and state groups monitor and lobby school boards, state legislatures, and other local policymaking groups.

See also Abortion; Affirmative Action; Equal Rights Amendment; Feminist Movement; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; Pay Equity

References Burkett, *The Right Women: A Journey through the Heart of Conservative America* (1998); www.cwfa.org.

Beverly LaHaye, president of Concerned Women for America, the largest body of conservative women activists in the United States, 1998 (Courtesy: Concerned Women for America)

Congress, Women in

When Jeannette Rankin of Montana took her seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1917, she became the first woman member of Congress. Since then, about 200 women (more than 11,600 men have held congressional seats) have served terms from as short as one day to as long as thirty-five years. African American Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) was the first woman of color elected to Congress, serving from 1969 to 1983. Twenty women of color served in the 106th Congress (1999–2001): thirteen African American women, five Latina women, one Caribbean American woman, and one Asian American/Pacific Islander. Democrats, Re-



Women made up only 9 percent of the U.S. Senate in 1997: (left to right) Senators Susan Collins (R-ME), Patty Murray (D-WA), Olympia Snowe (R-ME), Carol Moseley-Braun (D-IL), Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX), Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), and Mary Landrieu (D-LA). Barbara Boxer (D-CA) is not pictured, and Carol Moseley-Braun lost her bid for reelection in 1998 (Associated Press AP)

publicans, conservatives, liberals, and feminists have taken the full range of American political thought to their public service.

Several factors have contributed to the relatively small number of women who have served in Congress. For more than a century, women were not among any definition of the eligible pool of candidates because they could not vote. After women obtained voting rights, political parties sought their votes but did not welcome them in decisionmaking circles, nor did they nominate women for seats they thought the party could win.

For those women who are recruited to run or who decide to run, the primary and most persistent challenge is financing their campaigns. Women consistently raise less money than their male opponents. To overcome the obstacle, groups like EMILY's List, the WISH List, and other political action committees have developed to provide women candidates with financial support as well as technical advice and other forms of assistance in their campaigns.

Women have traveled several different routes to Congress. Filling a vacancy created by the death of an incumbent was the way for almost a quarter of the women who have entered Congress. The deceased most often was the woman's spouse, but women have been appointed or elected to fill other vacancies. Many of the women who entered Congress by appointment or to fill a vacancy have had short tenures. Rebecca Felton of Georgia, the first woman to serve in the U.S. Senate, was appointed to fill

a vacancy that lasted only one day. Tenures of a year or less are common for these women, but not all of them. Edith Nourse Rogers, who succeeded her husband, served thirty-five years and was responsible for significant legislation. By 1999, thirty-seven women had succeeded their husbands in the U.S. House of Representatives and seven women had succeeded their husbands in the U.S. Senate.

A second route to Congress is holding state or local public office. Fewer women have traveled these routes, primarily because women have been underrepresented in these positions. For example, it was not until the 1990s that women held 20 percent of state legislative seats, a common place for politicians to begin their careers.

Third, some women begin their political careers by working on a congressional staff. Although few women hold or have held high-level positions on congressional staffs and most women hold clerical or secretarial positions, women have used their experience to launch their careers. Some women who succeeded their husbands had earlier worked on their congressional staffs, and Ruth Hanna McCormick (R-IL) had been her father's secretary when he was in Congress.

Political observers declared 1992 the "year of the woman" because twenty women entered the House of Representatives and five women entered the Senate, the largest freshman class of women. Several of the women ran for office in response to watching the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on Clarence Thomas's nomination for the U.S. Supreme Court. The televised hearings resulted from Anita Hill's accusation that Thomas had sexually harassed her when he was her supervisor. Women across the country and in Congress were outraged as they watched the all-male Senate Judiciary Committee's conduct during the hearings. The image of the panel of men interrogating Hill, challenging the truthfulness of her reported experiences, and demeaning her prompted women into action. The action some women took was to run for office, and a record number of them won their races.

As members of Congress, women raise new issues and offer new perspectives on other issues because their life experiences generally differ from those of men. Several women in Congress have expressed the belief that they have a special responsibility to represent women and their experience. U.S. senator Barbara Mikulski once explained: "We women speak a different language. We will seek different results. We won't just talk about family values: we'll make sure a mom and dad can stay home from work when a child is sick."

In addition, women's personal experiences add credibility to debate on certain issues. For example, Representative Patsy Mink testified before the House Commerce Committee that when she was pregnant, she had

been an unknowing subject in an experiment with DES, a drug thought to prevent miscarriages. Mink described the resulting health problems her daughter, the child she was carrying, has suffered as a result of DES. Senators Dianne Feinstein's and Carol Moseley-Braun's descriptions of being targets of stalkers helped their colleagues understand the realities of the experience and the inadequacies of antistalking laws. Representative Margaret Roukema worked for passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act for eight years, watched President George Bush veto it twice, and continued to work for it. Her commitment arose in part from her experience of leaving her graduate studies to care for her son when he was dying of leukemia. She explained that suffering the tragedy and trauma of losing her son was a great enough burden and that she did not know what she would have done if she had been faced with losing a job as well. Representative Constance Morella became an advocate for breast cancer research after her sister died of the disease. When Senator Mary Landrieu's five-year-old son entered preschool, the senator became interested in overhauling the school lunch program.

The differences also extend to voting. On a vote to ban assault weapons, four out of five Republican men in the House opposed it, but three out of five Republican women in the House supported it. The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 provides another example. One out of five Republican men in the House, half of the Republican women, and all of the Democratic women voted for it. The Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, the reauthorization of the National Institutes of Health, and the Hyde Amendment are additional examples of women voting differently than their male colleagues of the same party.

The demonstrated differences between women's and men's voting do not, however, mean that all women in Congress have the same priorities or political beliefs. Just as congressmen differ on issues, so do congresswomen. Those women who have a shared vision on issues related to women, families, and children and other areas began working together in the 1970s to coordinate their efforts and enhance their power. In 1977, women members formed the Women's Congressional Caucus, later reorganized as the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, a group that included male members of Congress. By organizing to exert pressure inside and outside Congress, they focus attention on issues, help bills move forward, and stop bills they believe to be detrimental to women. They also solicit support from influential male congressional leaders, sometimes doing things as simple as explaining a measure's significance to women.

Leadership positions have proven elusive for women in Congress. More than two dozen women have held leadership posts, often as secretary of their party's caucus. Women have also served as assistant and

deputy whips and vice chairs of their party caucus. After serving as secretary of the House Democratic Caucus from 1985 to 1987, Representative Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH), changed the title to vice chair of the Democratic caucus and held the position from 1987 to 1989. No woman has served as Speaker of the House, as majority leader, or as minority leader in either chamber. The congressional seniority system accounts for part of the paucity of women in leadership—women generally begin their congressional careers later in life than men do and generally do not remain in office as long as men, factors contributing to women having less seniority and fewer opportunities for leadership. Seniority also contributes to women holding few committee chairs.

See also Abortion; Congressional Caucus for Women’s Issues; Democratic Party, Women in the; Economic Equity Act; EMILY’s List; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; Feinstein, Dianne Goldman; Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994; Hill, Anita Faye; McCormick Simms, Ruth Hanna; Mikulski, Barbara Ann; Mink, Patsy Matsu Takemoto; Morella, Constance Albanese, Moseley-Braun, Carol; National Women’s Political Caucus; Public Offices, Women Elected to; Rankin, Jeannette Pickering; Republican Party, Women in the; Roukema, Margaret Scafati; Sexual Harassment; State Legislatures, Women in; Suffrage; WISH List; Women’s Health Equity Act

References Boxer, *Strangers in the Senate: Politics and the New Revolution of Women in America* (1994); Center for the American Woman and Politics, National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University; Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995); Roberts and Roberts, “When Working Mothers Make the Laws” (1997); www.rci.rutgers.edu.

Congressional Caucus for Women’s Issues

Organized in April 1977, the Congressional Caucus for Women’s Issues grew out of an informal group that met over lunch to discuss issues before Congress and to develop strategies. In 1977, the group formally organized as the Women’s Congressional Caucus because they felt they would have more power to influence legislation as a unified and identifiable group. Margaret Heckler (R-MA) and Elizabeth Holtzman (D-NY) were the first cochairs of the bipartisan group that included fifteen of the eighteen women serving at the time. The group changed its name to the Congressional Caucus for Women’s Issues (CCWI) and admitted men in 1981, and the membership grew to more than 100 at a time when only twenty-five women served in Congress. As the caucus director in 1985 noted: “We can call our friends and members who sit on key committees to promote the legislation [supported by the caucus].”

The caucus’s first significant success was obtaining congressional approval for extending the ratification deadline for the Equal Rights

Amendment from 1979 to 1982. The caucus next turned its attention to economic issues and introduced the Economic Equity Act in 1981, a set of proposals that addressed a wide range of policies, including taxation, insurance, pensions, child care, and pay equity. Several provisions have been enacted as parts of other bills. In 1990, the caucus introduced the Women's Health Equity Act, a package of bills modeled after the Economic Equity Act. The caucus introduced or influenced the development of the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988, the Civil Rights Act of 1991, the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, the Violence Against Women Act of 1994, the Congressional Workplace Compliance Act of 1995, and other measures. The caucus avoided taking stands on abortion and related issues because two senior Democratic women, Representatives Lindy Boggs and Mary Rose Oakar, were antiabortion. After Boggs retired in 1990 and Oakar was defeated in 1992, the caucus voted in favor of supporting abortion rights in 1993.

In 1995, when Congress abolished legislative service organizations and ended the funding for them, the caucus became a congressional members organization. When Republicans became the majority party in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1995, Congress abolished legislative service organizations (LSO), one of which was the CCWI. The twenty-seven LSOs that had formed since 1959 were caucuses that members of Congress funded by pooling portions of their office funds to finance and hire staff for the LSOs to which they belonged. The Republican leadership explained that they were eliminating the LSOs because they were funded by taxpayers but did not have proper oversight. Congressional staff members meet weekly, and members of Congress meet monthly, keeping each other informed about political developments, discussing legislation, planning caucus activities, and addressing issues. Former staff members created Women's Policy, Inc., which provides information on women's issues in Congress and publishes newsletters and other materials.

See also Abortion; Boggs, Marie Corinne Morrison Claiborne (Lindy); Child Support Enforcement; Congressional Workplace Compliance Act of 1995; Domestic Violence; Economic Equity Act; Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX; Education, Women and; Equal Rights Amendment; Heckler, Margaret Mary O'Shaughnessy; Holtzman, Elizabeth; Mikulski, Barbara Ann; Oakar, Mary Rose; Rape; Spellman, Gladys Blossom Noon; Violence Against Women Act of 1994; Women's Health Equity Act; Women's Policy, Inc.

References Burrell, *A Woman's Place Is in the House: Campaigning for Congress in the Feminist Era* (1994); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 103rd Congress, 1st Session . . . 1993* (1994); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 104th Congress, 1st Session . . . 1995* (1996); Foerstel and Foerstel, *Climbing the Hill: Gender Conflict in Congress* (1996); Lamson, *In the Vanguard: Six American Women in Public Life* (1979); www.house.gov/lowey/caucus.htm.

Congressional Union

The Congressional Union (CU), organized by Alice Paul and an associate, worked to gain passage of the woman suffrage amendment by attracting attention to it with parades, demonstrations, pickets, and other actions. In addition, the CU adopted the strategy of working to defeat all candidates of the majority party in Congress, regardless of an individual candidate's efforts to pass the amendment. Considered the militant wing of the suffrage movement, the CU rejected seeking suffrage through state constitutional amendments and focused its attention solely on passing a federal amendment.

Alice Paul, who had been involved in the English suffrage movement while studying in London, brought the strategies used in England to the United States. She joined the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1912 and later that year became chair of its Congressional Committee. When she accepted the chair, NAWSA leaders explained that she and her committee would not receive any money from the organization and would be responsible for raising any funds they intended to spend. Paul actively solicited financial support from large and small donors across the country and raised thousands of dollars.

In 1913, the Congressional Committee planned its first substantial public action, a parade to coincide with President-elect Woodrow Wilson's arrival in Washington, D.C., for his inauguration. On 3 March 1913, twenty-six floats, ten bands, five squadrons of cavalry, six chariots, and approximately 8,000 women marched through the capital, and about 500,000 people watched the parade instead of Wilson's arrival. The parade observers, however, became unruly and moved into the parade route, but the police along the route did not protect the marchers. About 200 people were treated for injuries, and the Senate investigated the police superintendent's behavior. The press coverage and the investigation that resulted from the parade helped revitalize interest in the suffrage amendment and generated interest in the Congressional Committee.

The committee's actions, however, met with disapproval from some NAWSA leaders who believed that the publicity cast the suffrage movement in an unfavorable light. The Congressional Committee's fund-raising success also distressed some NAWSA leaders. They suggested that the committee transfer some of its funds to NAWSA and expressed concern that donors thought their contributions were supporting NAWSA instead of the Congressional Committee. Paul sought to solve the problem by creating the CU, making it an affiliate of NAWSA, and raising money through it. She continued to serve as chair of the Congressional Committee, but tensions between Paul and NAWSA leaders increased. Late in 1913, NAWSA leaders told Paul that she could chair the Congressional

Committee or the CU but not both. Paul chose the CU with the understanding that it would continue to be an auxiliary of NAWSA. Early in 1914, NAWSA president Anna Howard Shaw concluded that the CU was a threat to NAWSA and ended its auxiliary status. The CU became an independent organization with a notable national advisory council, including Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Helen Keller, Florence Kelley, Abigail Scott Duniway, and Harriott Stanton Blatch.

Adopting a strategy from her experiences in England, Paul called on women who lived in states that had granted them voting rights to vote against the party in power, regardless of the individual candidate's views on woman suffrage. In 1914, Democrats were the party in power, and Paul campaigned across the country, urging women to vote against Democrats at every level. The strategy was widely criticized by more conservative suffragists because many of the cause's strongest supporters were Democrats, and they feared repercussions from Paul's actions. NAWSA leaders distanced themselves from Paul and the CU and discredited both. The CU, however, had succeeded in making suffrage an issue in several states and claimed that it had defeated five Democrats and that it had contributed to the defeat of an additional twenty-three Democrats.

As the 1916 elections neared, Paul organized the Woman's Party, an organization of enfranchised women that had the sole purpose of promoting the federal suffrage amendment. Members appeared before the resolution committees of both the Republican and Democratic Parties asking for support for the amendment. For the first time, both parties supported woman suffrage, but only with regard to state amendments and not the federal amendment. The Republican presidential nominee, however, publicly stated his support for the federal amendment, but incumbent president Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic Party's presidential nominee, remained committed to state amendments. Paul and the Woman's Party organized to defeat Democratic candidates, as in 1914.

The CU continued its program of public actions to attract press attention to woman suffrage. For example, in 1916, while President Wilson spoke to a joint session of Congress, CU members held a banner from the gallery of the U.S. House of Representatives calling for votes for women. The press and members of Congress criticized the display, but it accomplished the organizers' goals by attracting press coverage.

More controversial were the pickets who began demonstrating outside the White House in January 1917. Initially they were ignored, but in June police began arresting pickets for obstructing traffic. The first groups were released, but later groups were tried, found guilty, and fined. When they refused to pay the fines, they were jailed for three days, and President Wilson signed pardons for some of them. When Paul was arrested in an

October 1917 demonstration, however, she was sentenced to seven months at a women's prison. After she went on a hunger strike, she was separated from other prisoners; force-fed; placed in a ward for mental patients; and denied visitors, mail, and messages. Stories about her treatment prompted protests that contributed to her release within a month. The CU continued intermittent picketing until early 1918, when Congress began to act favorably on the amendment.

Both houses of Congress passed the Nineteenth Amendment in 1919, and the last needed state ratified it in August 1920. With the CU's goal accomplished, Paul and her followers turned their attention to obtaining equal rights for women. The CU and the Woman's Party formed the National Woman's Party in 1921, and the campaign for a federal equal rights amendment began in 1923.

See also Blatch, Harriot Eaton Stanton; Duniway, Abigail Jane Scott; Equal Rights Amendment; Gilman, Charlotte Perkins; Kelley, Florence; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman's Party; Nineteenth Amendment; Paul, Alice; Shaw, Anna Howard; Suffrage

References Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party* (1986).

Congressional Workplace Compliance Act of 1995

The Congressional Workplace Compliance Act extended coverage of eleven federal labor and antidiscrimination laws to Congress and related offices. With passage of the law, Congress had to comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, the Family Leave and Medical Act of 1993, the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the Employee Polygraph Protection Act of 1988, the Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act of 1988, the Veterans Re-employment Act of 1993, and Labor-Management Dispute Procedures. The law permits members of Congress to discriminate based on party affiliation. Some of the offices covered by the law include each member of the House and the Senate, House and Senate committees, joint House and Senate committees, the Capitol police, and the Congressional Budget Office. The law established the Office of Compliance to respond to complaints.

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 104th Congress 1st Session . . . 1995* (1996).

Congresswomen's Caucus

See **Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues**

Consciousness Raising

Consciousness raising (CR) was a technique used by radical feminists in the 1960s to explore the limits that society placed on women and that women placed on themselves. CR groups provided each member the opportunity to examine her experiences and reflect on them with group members. By identifying the personal issues in their lives, including housework, children, and sexuality, women understood the commonalities in their lives. As grassroots radical women's organizations developed in the 1960s, including the Redstockings and New York Radical Women, CR became an important tool for women to understand their status in society. The term was coined by New York Radical Women, but it had been earlier used in the American civil rights movement and by Chinese and Guatemalan revolutionaries.

Through consciousness raising, one early leader explained, women attempted to “awaken the latent consciousness that . . . all women have about our oppression.” Another saw it as “the political reinterpretation of one's personal life.” CR peaked in the 1970s, as women became involved in other feminist activities, including forming women's centers, providing abortion counseling, and opening women-centered bookstores and child day care centers.

See also New York Radical Women; Redstockings; Women's Liberation Movement

References Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975* (1989); Ferree and Hess, *Controversy and Coalition: The New Feminist Movement across Three Decades of Change* (1994); Freeman, *The Politics of Women's Liberation: The New Feminist Movement across Three Decades of Change* (1975).

Conservatism

Conservatism in the United States began its resurgence in the mid-1960s as Americans began to challenge the liberal agenda that had prevailed since the 1930s. Republican conservative Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign galvanized many conservatives into action, even though Goldwater lost the election. Opposed to the welfare programs of the 1930s and the civil rights activism of the 1960s, conservatives sought to limit government involvement in citizens' lives, to fight communism, to strengthen the military, and to reduce taxes.

In the 1970s, conservatism expanded its agenda to include several social issues and attracted the allegiance of fundamentalist Christian groups. For example, conservative Phyllis Schlafly led the fight against ratification of the federal Equal Rights Amendment and against state equal rights amendments, objecting to feminists' goals and the changes they sought through the amendment and other actions. Fundamentalist Chris-

tians joined Roman Catholics in their opposition to the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 decision legalizing abortion in *Roe v. Wade*, to sex education in public schools, and to gays' and lesbians' quest for protection of their civil rights. These themes continued to dominate the conservative agenda throughout the 1990s, when opposition to affirmative action was added. Conservatives achieved one of their goals with the passage of major welfare reform legislation, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

See also Affirmative Action; Communist Party, USA; Equal Rights Amendment; Liberalism; Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996; *Roe v. Wade*; Schlafly, Phyllis Stewart

References Dunn and Woodward, *The Conservative Tradition in America* (1996).

***Corning Glass Works v. Brennan* (1974)**

In *Corning Glass Works v. Brennan*, the first equal pay case to reach the U.S. Supreme Court, the Court found that Corning Glass Works' pay policies violated the Equal Pay Act of 1963 by paying a higher base wage to male night shift inspectors than it paid to female inspectors performing the same tasks on the day shift. Some of the pay differentials had developed in the 1930s when protective labor legislation had prohibited women from working night shifts. All inspection work during the night was performed by men, and all daytime inspection work was performed by women, who were paid less than men, an arrangement that a 1944 collective bargaining agreement had formalized. After the passage of the Equal Pay Act, Corning opened night shift jobs to women as vacancies occurred. The company's 1969 collective bargaining agreement gave women and men the same rates, but not if they had been hired before the agreement. The Court concluded: "On the facts of this case, the company's continued discrimination in base wages between night and day workers, though phrased in terms of a neutral factor other than sex, nevertheless operated to perpetuate the effects of the company's prior illegal practice of paying women less than men for equal work."

See also Employment Discrimination; Equal Pay Act of 1963

References *Corning Glass Works v. Brennan*, 417 U.S. 188 (1974).

***Costanza, Margaret (Midge)* (b. 1932)**

The first woman to hold the title of assistant to the president, Democrat Margaret Costanza advised President Jimmy Carter from 1977 to 1978. Costanza's political involvement included working in W. Averell Harri- man's 1954 gubernatorial campaign and Robert F. Kennedy's 1964 sena- torial campaign, holding local and regional positions in the Democratic

Party, and becoming Democratic national committeewoman for New York in 1972. In 1973, Costanza won a race for member-at-large on the Rochester, New York, city council and unsuccessfully ran for Congress in 1974. Through her congressional campaign, Costanza met Jimmy Carter, who had campaigned for her and who was preparing to run for president. Costanza was among the first New York politicians to endorse him, and she cochaired his New York campaign in 1976. After his election, Carter invited Costanza to join his administration.

Costanza had an office next to the Oval Office, an indication of the importance Carter placed on her duties as liaison with organized special interest groups, including business, women, Native Americans, minorities, senior citizens, environmentalists, and dozens of other interests. Described as “the president’s window to the nation,” Costanza’s opinions and recommendations were valued by President Carter, but she also created controversies within the administration. She supported amnesty for Vietnam deserters and draft dodgers, publicly criticized the director of the Office of Management and Budget, and orchestrated an attempt to change the president’s antiabortion views. Following these and other conflicts with the administration, Costanza resigned on 1 August 1978.

Born in LeRoy, New York, Margaret Costanza began her career following graduation from high school. She held several clerical and administrative positions and was active in the community.

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook 1978* (1978).

Council of Presidents

Organized in 1985 by Sarah Harder and Irene Natividad to further a feminist legislative agenda, the Council of Presidents (CP) comprises presidents of more than eighty national women’s organizations. CP sponsors the Women’s Agenda, an annual list of legislative priorities that has included support for child care, family and medical leave, reproductive rights, civil rights, pay and educational equity, and opposition to violence against women. Although every member organization may not support every item in the Women’s Agenda, all of them pledge that they will not work against any item. Member organizations include the American Association of University Women, Business and Professional Women/ USA, General Federation of Women’s Clubs, Jewish Women’s Caucus, League of Women Voters, National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, National Council of Negro Women, and YWCA of the USA.

See also Abortion; American Association of University Women; Business and Professional Women/USA; Child Day Care; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; General Federation of Women’s Clubs; League of Women

Voters; National Council of Negro Women; National Women's Conference; Natividad, Irene; Pay Equity; YWCA of the USA

References Slavin, ed., *U.S. Women's Interest Groups* (1995).

County of Washington, Oregon v. Gunther (1981)

In *County of Washington, Oregon v. Gunther*, women guards in the female section of the county jail filed suit under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for back pay, arguing that they had been paid lower wages than male guards supervising male prisoners and that part of the difference was attributable to intentional sex discrimination. Despite the hopes of comparable worth supporters, the claim was not based on comparable worth, a fact the Supreme Court specifically noted. Instead, the question was whether Title VII limited sex-based wage discrimination cases to those that could also be covered by the Equal Pay Act of 1963. The Equal Pay Act only addressed equal pay for equal work, and the female guards acknowledged that their work was not equal to that performed by the male guards supervising male prisoners.

The county had done an evaluation of the worth of the jobs, establishing their comparable worth, and concluded that women guards working in the female section of the county jail should be paid at a rate of 95 percent of the rate paid to male correctional officers working in the male section. However, the county set the women's pay rates at only 70 percent. The Court explained that it was not required to assess the value of the male and female guard jobs and that it did not have to quantify the effect of sex discrimination on wage rates. The Court decided that the female guards could claim they had been undercompensated even though they did not perform work equal to that done by male guards.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Employment Discrimination; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Pay Equity

References *County of Washington, Oregon v. Gunther*, 452 U.S. 161 (1981).

Coverture

Articulated by English jurist Sir William Blackstone in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769), coverture established women's civil status in common law and became the basis for married women's legal status in the United States. Coverture defined a married woman's legal status as suspended and incorporated into her husband's. In marriage, the man and woman became one, and the law recognized only the husband's existence, a civil death that left married women economically and legally dependent upon their husbands.

The consequences of coverture were wide-ranging. A husband could not give his wife anything or make a contract with her because he would be giving it to himself. A wife, however, could represent her husband as an

attorney since that does not imply separation from him. A wife could not sue or be sued, but a husband could be the defendant or sue in his wife's place. A wife could not testify against her husband, was not liable for her own actions, and in some cases was excused from having committed crimes if it could be shown that she acted under her husband's direction. In addition, common law permitted a husband to use physical force to discipline his wife, permitting him to whip her or use his fists as well as restrict her to his home, and married women could not establish their own domiciles. Every married woman's surname was by law that of her husband; a married woman had no right to adopt a different name; and if a man changed his name, his wife's name automatically changed.

Coverture denied women virtually all property rights. The personal property, money, and goods that a woman took into marriage or inherited after it belonged entirely to her husband, to do with as he wished. A wife did not own her clothing, and if she left her husband, she could be charged with theft for the clothes she wore. Any earnings due her belonged to her husband because a woman's services belonged to her husband. In addition, because a wife had no separate legal standing, only the husband could sue for wages due her. At his death, she was entitled to one-third of her husband's real estate and one-third of her personal property, unless he bequeathed his property otherwise. He could will items to her because at his death, coverture ended.

Coverture assigned specific responsibilities to husbands and wives that were reciprocal in nature but not equal. The husband was sole legal guardian of the children, was the preferred legal custodian of children in the event of divorce, and could appoint a guardian other than the mother should he die. A husband assumed any debts his wife had at the time of marriage and those that she acquired while married. In addition, a husband was bound to provide his wife with the necessities of life, even after legal separation or divorce. Wives had a legal obligation to perform domestic chores but had no right to an allowance, wages, or any income.

The civil death created by coverture provided the basis for excluding women from serving on juries, holding public office, and engaging in certain occupations.

Unmarried adult women, known as *femme sole*, did not have the same constraints on their legal and economic activities. Although they did not have political rights until the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920, unmarried adult women could own and inherit property, own their earnings, enter into contracts, and sue and be sued.

Eliminating these and other forms of legal discrimination based on sex began with the passage of married women's property acts in the 1840s and continued with some states giving women the ownership of their

earnings and other limited property rights. In 1869, Wyoming Territory granted women the right to vote and to hold public office, and women continued the long process of gaining suffrage rights, culminating in the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, among other measures. Efforts to obtain the full rights of citizenship, that is, to be an autonomous citizen, to serve on juries, to determine one's name, and to eliminate the barriers of discrimination on the basis of gender, continued throughout the twentieth century.

See also Anthony, Susan Brownell; *Bradwell v. Illinois*; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Domestic Violence; Employment Discrimination; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Married Women's Property Acts; Nineteenth Amendment; Sex Discrimination; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage

References Freeman, "The Legal Basis of the Sexual Caste System" (1971); Matthews, *Women' Struggle for Equality* (1997)

***Craig v. Boren* (1976)**

In *Craig v. Boren*, the U.S. Supreme Court found gender-based discrimination in an Oklahoma law unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment. Women eighteen and over were permitted to purchase 3.2 percent beer in Oklahoma, but men had to be twenty-one years old to legally purchase it. Oklahoma cited traffic safety as the reason for the differences, pointing out that in a given period more than 400 men were arrested for driving under the influence of alcohol, but only twenty-four women had been arrested in the same period. In the decision, the Court created an intermediary scrutiny standard, explaining that "classifications by gender must serve important governmental objectives and be substantially related to these objectives."

See also Fourteenth Amendment

References *Craig v. Boren*, 429 U.S. 190 (1976).

***Crisp, Mary Dent* (b. 1923)**

Cochairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC) from 1977 to 1980, Crisp supported reproductive rights and the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), views that contrasted with those of the party's conservative leaders. Crisp entered politics as a member of the Arizona state central committee in 1962, worked on Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater's 1964 campaign, and was elected Republican national committeewoman for Arizona in 1972 and in 1976. Elected RNC secretary after the 1976 Republican National Convention, she was elected cochairperson in January 1977. During her term as party cochair, she developed a women's program that included a series of bipartisan seminars and conferences to

help women empower themselves. Differences with conservative party members over the ERA and abortion, however, strained their relationships. She believed that her office in the party's headquarters was bugged, an allegation firmly denied by other party leaders. During the party's 1980 platform hearings, Crisp testified against the platform for withdrawing its support of the ERA and for supporting a constitutional amendment banning abortions and resigned as cochair at the request of conservatives. She chaired independent presidential candidate John Anderson's 1980 campaign. Crisp chaired the National Republican Coalition for Choice from 1989 to 1994.

Born in Allentown, Pennsylvania, Crisp earned her bachelor's degree from Oberlin College in 1946 and her master's degree from Arizona State University in 1975.

References Crisp, "My Journey to Feminism" (1998); Melich, *The Republican War against Women: An Insider's Report from Behind the Lines* (1996); *New York Times*, 22 June 1980.

Croly, Jane Cunningham (1829–1901)

Journalist Jane Croly's work in the women's clubs movement led to the creation of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. After founding Sorosis in 1868, Croly saw the need for a national organization of similar groups and organized a convention to unite them, resulting in the creation of the federation in 1890. She organized the New York State Federation in 1894.

Born in Market Harborough, Leicestershire, England, Jane Croly moved to the United States with her parents in 1841. Croly began her career in journalism in 1855 at the *New York Tribune* and subsequently wrote for several other newspapers using the pseudonym Jennie June.

Croly wrote *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America* (1898).

See also General Federation of Women's Clubs

References James, ed., *Notable American Women 1607–1950* (1971); Whitman, ed., *American Reformers* (1985).

Cubin, Barbara Lynn (b. 1946)

Republican Barbara Cubin of Wyoming entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1995. Cubin held the leadership position of House Deputy Majority Whip in the 104th through 106th Congresses (1995–2001). Cubin's congressional priorities include public lands, energy, and states' rights. A ranch owner, Cubin has objected to the introduction of Canadian gray wolves into Yellowstone National Park, arguing



that the wolves injure and kill livestock. She opposes increases in public land grazing fees and has fought to give ranchers more power in determining the management of federal rangeland. While promoting Wyoming's resource-based industries, including mining, Cubin has also advocated permitting states to enforce environmental policies and ending interference by the federal government. Balancing the federal budget, providing families with a tax credit of \$500 per child, and eliminating the capital gains tax and death taxes are other focuses of her work. Cubin served as house deputy majority whip in the 104th, 105th, and 106th Congresses (1995–1997, 1997–1999, and 1999–2001).

Born in Cody, Wyoming, Cubin received her bachelor of science degree in chemistry from Creighton University in 1969 and attended Casper College in 1993. She served in the Wyoming House of Representatives from 1987 to 1993 and the Wyoming Senate from 1993 to 1995. While in the legislature, Cubin was the prime sponsor of a state constitutional amendment permitting judges to impose life sentences without the possibility of parole, which voters ratified. She was vice chair of the energy committee of the National Council of State Legislatures and chaired the research section of the Energy Council, an international organization.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1998 (1997).

Representative Barbara Cubin (far right) (R-WY) looked on as House Speaker Newt Gingrich signed the Republican budget resolution, 1995 (AP Photo/Dennis Cook)

D

Danner, Patsy Ann (b. 1934)

Democrat Pat Danner of Missouri entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1993. Danner's congressional priorities included creating jobs, cutting government waste, and promoting economic development. She has opposed gun control measures, efforts to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military, and federal funding for abortions, but she did support safe access to abortion facilities. Danner was coauthor of a bill enacted in 1996 that protects donors and distributors of food for the needy from legal liability for illnesses or other problems resulting from the donations.

Born in Louisville, Kentucky, Pat Danner received her bachelor's degree from Northeast Missouri State University in 1972. From 1973 to 1976, she was district assistant to a congressman and from 1977 to 1981 was federal cochair of the Ozark Regional Planning Commission. She is the only woman who has chaired a regional commission. Danner served in the Missouri state Senate from 1983 to 1993.

See also Congress, Women in; Reproductive Rights; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995), *Politics in America 1998* (1997).

Daughters of Bilitis

Founded in 1955 by four lesbian couples, Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) seeks to educate the public about homosexuals and conducts research to change public perceptions about lesbians and eliminate discrimination against

them. The group's name came from a poem by Pierre Louys, "Song of Bilitis," about a woman believed to have lived on the island of Lesbos during the time of Sappho.

Originating in San Francisco, DOB developed into the first national organization of lesbians. DOB focused on two areas: providing a safe place for lesbians to gather, despite the ongoing threat of police raids, and informing both homosexuals and the general public that gays and lesbians were good citizens. In 1956, DOB began publishing *The Ladder*, a magazine that reported court cases relevant to homosexuals' civil liberties, employment discrimination, and police harassment. In the 1960s, *The Ladder* expanded to include articles by noted feminists, including Kate Millett and May Sarton. In 1970, DOB disbanded as a national organization, but local groups continued to meet.

See also Lesbian Rights; Lyon, Phyllis; Martin, Del

References Slavin, U.S. *Women's Interest Groups* (1995); www.gis.net/~dismith/dob1.html

Daughters of Liberty

Emerging out of the patriotic enthusiasm of the 1760s and 1770s, Daughters of Liberty supported the American revolutionary cause by joining boycotts against British goods. With no formal organization, especially when compared to the Sons of Liberty, groups of American colonial women demonstrated their support for the boycott by spinning wool and flax. To overcome the tedium of the task, they often gathered in large spinning bees and frequently attracted the support and recognition of local newspapers. In addition, some women formed anti-tea leagues. The amount of homespun produced by these groups is unknown, and its direct impact on the economy is equally uncertain, but the meetings made a political statement by focusing attention on the need for frugality and industry in colonial households and by providing a way for American women to contribute to the struggle against Britain.

References Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800* (1980).

Davis, Angela Yvonne (b. 1944)

Radical Angela Davis began participating in civil rights demonstrations as a child in the 1950s and continues to support controversial causes. She gained national attention in 1970, when she was accused of supplying weapons for a raid on the San Rafael, California, courthouse and was charged with murder, conspiracy, and kidnapping. Davis had not participated in the raid, although she owned the guns used in it. Placed on the



Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) most wanted list, she went into hiding, was found in New York, and was jailed in California without bail. While she was in jail for sixteen months, the Free Angela campaign grew into an international cause and eventually evolved into the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Oppression, for which Davis has worked since 1972, the year she was acquitted of all the charges.

Born in Birmingham, Alabama, Davis earned her bachelor's degree from Brandeis University in 1965, studied at Johann Wolfgang von Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany, from 1965 to 1967, and earned her master's degree in philosophy from the University of California, San Diego, in 1968. She joined the Communist Party the next year. A member of the faculty at the University of California at Los Angeles from 1969 to 1970, she was dismissed for her membership in the Communist Party and for her public speeches. She had said it was "necessary to unveil the predominant, oppressive ideas and acts of this country" and "begin to develop not only criticism but positive solutions and to carry out these paths in the universities." Davis ran for vice president of the United States in 1980 and 1984 on the Communist Party ticket. Since 1975, Davis has taught at several colleges and universities, including Claremont College, Stanford University, San Francisco State University, Moscow University, Havana University, and the University of California at Santa Cruz.

Among her published books are *If They Come in the Morning* (1971); *Women, Race, and Class* (1983); *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (1988);

Civil rights activist Angela Davis protested the death penalty with a crowd of 5,000 at a rally sponsored by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression in downtown Raleigh, North Carolina, 1974 (Corbis/ Bettmann)

Women, Culture, and Politics (1989); and *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism* (1998).

See also Affirmative Action; Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Communist Party, USA

References Hine, ed., *Black Women in America: An Historical Perspective* (1993); *New York Times*, 5 June 1972; "Still on the Front Line" (1990).

Day Care Council of America

Founded in 1967, the Day Care Council of America (DCC) sought the passage of federal legislation for universal, publicly funded day care. Working with federal agencies concerned with children's issues, the DCC lobbied members of Congress, testified before congressional committees, and worked with other organizations with common interests. Approximately 6,000 community groups, individuals, and agencies serving children belonged to DCC in 1978. Perhaps because of the success that local day care centers had in securing funding, membership dropped dramatically in the 1980s, falling to 1,000 in 1984. DCC ceased to operate in 1985.

See also Child Day Care

References Slavin, *U.S. Women's Interest Groups* (1995).

Day, Dorothy (1897–1980)

A founder of the Catholic worker movement, the publication *Catholic Worker*, and hospitality houses for poor people, Dorothy Day espoused views that both challenged the Roman Catholic hierarchy and influenced public policy. Day's mission was to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable. Outraged by injustice and opposed to war, Day has been credited with opening the minds of bishops, priests, and laypeople in the Catholic Church to their duty to serve the humblest members of society.

Born in Brooklyn, New York, Dorothy Day attended the University of Illinois from 1914 to 1916. She began her journalism career and her social activism as a writer for socialist and radical newspapers shortly afterward. Her commitment to social issues gained a new dimension after her daughter was born and she began seeking a meaningful faith, leading to her baptism as a Roman Catholic in 1927. Her beliefs led her to seek ways to serve homeless and poor people and contributed to her collaboration with French Catholic liberal leader Peter Maurin, with whom she founded the *Catholic Worker*, a liberal newspaper, in 1933. Homeless people began to seek help from the newspaper, prompting Day and Maurin to develop a network of hospitality houses, later known as Catholic worker houses. Following Maurin's death in 1949, Day continued to manage the hospitality houses and publish the newspaper. Day's political influence appears in those who found inspiration in her ideas and acted upon them. Labor leader Cesar

Chavez, Vietnam War resister David Miller, Vietnam War opponents Reverends Daniel Berrigan and Philip Berrigan, and others found inspiration in her message and courage from her example.

Day wrote *From Union Square to Rome* (1938), *House of Hospitality* (1939), *On Pilgrimage* (1948), *Therese* (1960), *Loaves and Fishes* (1963), and *On Pilgrimage: The Sixties* (1972). Day spent the last days of her life at one of the hospitality houses she had founded.

References Forest, *Love Is the Measure* (1986); *New York Times*, 8 November 1972, 30 November 1980.



Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions (1848)

See Seneca Falls Convention

Decter, Midge Rosenthal (b. 1927)

Conservative social critic and writer Midge Decter has condemned modern feminists, arguing that they do not seek freedom from sexual discrimination, but freedom from responsibility. She contends that feminists fear the many options available to them and want to retreat into self-absorption. She believes that modern birth control methods, not the feminist movement, opened career opportunities to women. She criticized parents in the 1970s for tolerating their children's rebellion against society and called on parents to accept their responsibility "to make ourselves the final authority on good and bad, right and wrong."

Decter's career includes editorial positions on several magazines, among them managing editor of *Commentary* from 1961 to 1962, executive editor of *Harper's Magazine* from 1969 to 1971, and book review editor of *Saturday Review/World* magazine from 1972 to 1974. Her books include *The Liberated Woman and Other Americans* (1971), *The New Chastity* (1972), and *Liberal Parents, Radical Children* (1975). A founder of the Committee for the Free World, she was the organization's executive director from 1980 to 1990.

Born in St. Paul, Minnesota, Decter attended the University of Minnesota from 1945 to 1946 and Jewish Theological Seminary from 1946 to 1948.

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook*, 1982 (1982).

Dorothy Day, radical Socialist and publisher of the Catholic Worker, strived in New York's poorest neighborhoods to feed the hungry and shelter the homeless, ca. 1943 (Library of Congress)



Ada Deer, the first Native American woman to administer the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (Courtesy: Bureau of Indian Affairs)

Deer, Ada Elizabeth (b. 1935)

Native American Ada Deer became the first woman to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in 1993, serving until 1997. During her confirmation hearings, she told the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs: “Personally, you should know that forty years ago, my tribe, the Menominee, was terminated; twenty years ago we were restored; and today I come before you as a true survivor of Indian policy.” As head of the BIA, Deer administered a budget of \$2.4 billion and managed more than 12,000 employees, the largest agency in the Department of Interior. Deer sought to create a federal-tribal partnership to fulfill promises made by the government and to address injustices. She believed that

the federal government’s role was to support tribal sovereignty and to implement solutions developed by tribes for problems identified by tribes. During her tenure, more than 220 Alaska Native villages received recognition, and the number of self-governance tribes increased, as did the number of tribes contracting for services previously administered by the federal government. In addition, she reorganized the Bureau.

The cause that drew Deer into politics was the restoration of the Menominee tribe. A 1953 law had terminated the Menominee Reservation, and by 1961, federal control over tribal affairs had ended. Without federal involvement, health and education benefits ended, and the ownership of tribal lands was threatened. In the early 1970s, Deer and other leaders formed the Determination of the Rights and Unity for Menominee Shareholders (DRUMS), with the goal of restoring the tribe’s recognition. As lobbyist for the group, Deer won passage of an act to restore federal recognition of the Menominees, making them eligible for federal services. Elected chair of the Menominee Restoration Committee in 1974, Deer led the tribe through the process of reestablishing itself; created an administrative structure; oversaw its financial, judicial, and legislative affairs; and helped write its constitution.

Born in Keshena, Wisconsin, on the Menominee Indian Reservation, Ada Deer lived in a one-room log cabin the first twelve years of her life. The daughter of a white mother and Menominee Indian father, she earned her bachelor’s degree in social work from the University of Wisconsin in 1957 and a master’s degree from the Columbia School of Social Work in

1961. She studied law at the University of Wisconsin and the University of New Mexico and was a fellow at the Harvard Institute of Politics, JFK School of Government, in 1977.

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1994* (1994);
www.doi.gov/adabio.html.

DeGette, Diana (b. 1957)

Democrat Diana DeGette of Colorado entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1997. DeGette held the leadership position of House deputy minority whip in the 106th Congress (1999–2001). She has focused on expanding health care for children, regulating smoking and tobacco, and protecting the environment. DeGette has worked to expedite the restoration of polluted areas, particularly the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, a Superfund site. During her first term in office, she passed a measure to increase the number of children enrolled in Medicaid.

DeGette served in the Colorado House of Representatives from 1993 to 1997, where she was instrumental in passing a bill ensuring women unobstructed access to abortion clinics and other medical care facilities. She passed the state's Voluntary Cleanup and Redevelopment Act, considered a model for environmental cleanup programs.

Born in Tachikawa, Japan, Diana DeGette earned her bachelor's degree from Colorado College in 1979 and her law degree from New York University Law School in 1982. She practiced law in Denver, focusing on civil rights and employment litigation, for fifteen years.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997);
www.house.gov/degette/BIOLAST.htm.

DeLauro, Rosa L. (b. 1943)

Democrat Rosa DeLauro of Connecticut entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1991. DeLauro held the leadership position of House chief deputy minority whip in the 104th and 105th Congresses (1995–1999) and assistant to the Democratic leader in the 106th Congress (1999–2001). A member of the House leadership, DeLauro led the fight to increase federal funding for research on breast cancer and cervical cancer and to enact a measure to ensure adequately long hospital stays for women who have undergone breast cancer surgery. She has worked to restrict the development of new weapons systems and to help industries make the transition from defense-related markets to commercial ones.

Before entering Congress, DeLauro was executive assistant to the mayor of New Haven in 1976 and 1977 and was executive assistant to the city's development administrator from 1977 to 1979. Chief of staff for a



Representative Rosa DeLauro (D-CT) led a press conference with Democratic congresswomen (left to right): Representative Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-CA), Representative Barbara Kennelly (D-CT), Delegate Donna Christian-Green (D-VI), Delegate Eleanor Holmes-Norton (D-DC), Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), Representative Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA), and Representative Cynthia McKinney (D-GA), 1998 (Associated Press AP)

U.S. senator from 1981 to 1987, she has also been executive director of EMILY's List.

Born in New Haven, Connecticut, Rosa L. DeLauro grew up in a political family, the daughter of an alderman and alderwoman. As a child, she attended political gatherings with her parents. She studied at the London School of Economics from 1962 to 1963, received a bachelor's degree from Marymount College in 1964, and earned a master's degree from Columbia University in 1966.

See also Congress, Women in; EMILY's List

References Boxer, *Strangers in the Senate* (1994); Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995); www.house.gov/delauro/bio.html.

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

Founded in 1913 at Howard University, Delta Sigma Theta members have pledged to take "concerted action in removing the handicaps under which we as women and as members of a minority race labor." With more than 190,000 members in more than 870 chapters in the United States and eight other nations, Delta Sigma Theta is one of the largest African American women's organizations in the world. Delta Sigma Theta has a five-point agenda: economic development, educational development, international awareness, physical and mental health, and political awareness and involvement. Its legislative priorities include civil rights, voter registration and education, health, education, child care, and employment.

Delta Sigma Theta challenged discrimination on college campuses,

sent a bookmobile to Georgia in the 1940s, and provided financial support for civil rights actions in the South during the 1960s. The organization lobbied for a federal antilynching legislation, an end to discrimination in housing, and creation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. It helped pass the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Among those who have participated in Delta Sigma Theta's leadership training are former congresswomen Shirley Chisholm and Barbara Jordan as well as Patricia Harris, former secretary of both housing and urban development and health and human services.

See also Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; Chisholm, Shirley Anita St. Hill; Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Evers-Williams, Myrlie Louise Beasley; Harris, Patricia Roberts; Height, Dorothy Irene; Jordan, Barbara Charline; Suffrage; Terrell, Mary Eliza Church

References Giddings, *In Search of Sisterhood* (1988); Slavin, *U.S. Women's Interest Groups* (1995); www.dst1913.org.

Democratic Party, Women in the

The Democratic Party was the first of the two major parties to have a woman chair its national committee and the only one of the two parties to nominate a woman for vice president of the United States. After women gained suffrage rights in 1920, women leaders in the party began a long crusade to gain a share of the power and a voice in the decisionmaking process. Several women have emerged as innovative and dynamic leaders in the party and have created opportunities for other women in it.

The first woman went to a Democratic National Convention as a delegate in 1900, and the first woman served on a convention committee (credentials) in 1916, the year the party created a Women's Division. Women's formal entrance into the Democratic National Committee (DNC), the party's governing board, began in 1919, when the party created the position of associate member. Associate members were appointed by each state committee chair, one for each state, comparable to national committeemen. Associate members had no vote but could voice their opinions in DNC meetings. In 1920, the DNC created the voting position of national committeewoman, replacing associate members. National committeewomen, like national committeemen, had full voting rights, were selected by their home state, and served for four-year terms. Women's roles, however, were limited. Men appreciated their work on the party's behalf but resisted giving them substantive roles or rewarding their efforts with the appointments and other benefits granted to men.

One of the party's earliest women leaders was Belle Moskowitz, who was a publicist for Alfred Smith in his three campaigns for governor of



Democratic congresswomen celebrated at the Democratic National Convention (left to right): Representatives Nita Lowey (D-NY), Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-CA), Zoe Lofgren (D-CA), Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), Barbara Kennelly (D-CT), Lynn Woolsey (D-CA), and Maxine Waters (D-CA), 1996 (Associated Press AP)

New York in 1918, 1920, and 1922 and his presidential bid in 1928. Emily Newell Blair was among the first group of national committeewomen, the first female vice chair of the party in 1921, and the second chair of the Women's Division. As head of the Women's Division, she helped organize hundreds of Democratic women's clubs, conducted training sessions, and called on women to become active in the political party and to run for public office.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, two women, Eleanor Roosevelt and Molly Dewson, formed a political partnership that significantly changed women's roles and influence in the party. They shared a background in the social reform movement, developed a deep and lasting friendship, and became a powerful political force. Roosevelt recruited Dewson to Democratic Party politics, and the two women successfully organized women to support Franklin Roosevelt's gubernatorial campaigns in 1928 and 1930 and his 1932 presidential campaign. One of their innovations was known as "rainbow fliers," or campaign literature printed on colored paper and used first in the gubernatorial campaigns. They sent millions of the fliers to women during the presidential campaign, a strategy that men in the party later adopted.

Following Franklin Roosevelt's election to the presidency, Eleanor Roosevelt and Dewson worked to enhance women's roles in government and in the party. After agreeing to head the Women's Division of the party, Dewson reportedly arrived in Washington, D.C., with a list of sixty women for top government positions and worked to gain appointments for them. Among her more notable achievements was Franklin Roosevelt's choice for secretary of labor, Frances Perkins, the first woman to serve in a presidential cabinet. Dewson also won approval of a federal program for unemployed women, a remarkable achievement during the Depression, when women were being moved out of jobs to make them available for men.

In addition to expanding women's roles within the Roosevelt administration, Dewson increased women's effectiveness within the party by training them and then utilizing their skills to benefit the party. For example, Dewson trained women across the country to explain the benefits of the New Deal to voters. With what some have called an avalanche of colored paper, Dewson regularly distributed information to women in the party, notifying them of new programs and projects and the progress of existing ones. Having demonstrated the usefulness of women party members, Eleanor Roosevelt and Dewson gained equal representation for women on the party's 1936 platform committee and won eight slots as party vice chairs for women, the same number as men.

The 1940 convention brought the first debate on the Equal Rights Amendment in the party's Resolutions and Platform Committee. At that

time, Eleanor Roosevelt, along with many other women in the New Deal and women in the trade unions, opposed the measure, fearing that it would end protective labor legislation for women. Rejecting the amendment, the committee approved “the principle of equality of opportunity for women.”

The 1944 Democratic National Convention changed its position and endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment. Also at that convention, Dorothy Vredenburg became secretary of the Democratic National Committee, the first female officer in either party. She served until 1989.

By the 1948 convention, Eleanor Roosevelt had shifted her attention to the international arena, and Molly Dewson had retired from politics. India Edwards emerged as a leader, particularly at the 1948 national convention, where she defined inflation as a women’s issue and pointed to the problems the escalating costs of food and clothing created for family budgets. Like Dewson before her, Edwards organized women to support the party’s candidate, President Harry Truman, and again like Dewson, Edwards recommended women to serve in the administration. Edwards was influential in obtaining several appointments for women, including Georgia Neese Clark as the first female treasurer of the United States and Eugenie Moore Anderson as the United States’ first female ambassador, both in 1949. In 1951, Truman offered Edwards the position of chair of the party as a reward for her labors and in recognition of her abilities. She declined, believing that men in the party would not accept a female chairperson.

The party eliminated the Women’s Division in 1952, deciding that the time had come to integrate women into the larger party structure. Women protested the change, however, fearing that their role in the party would be diminished rather than enlarged. Women were less visible in the party for the balance of the decade, but a Republican held the presidency and the prevailing climate of opinion encouraged women to find their places in their homes, rather than in public life.

At the 1964 Democratic National Convention, African American Fannie Lou Hamer captured the nation’s attention during her appeal for justice before the party’s committee. In her testimony, Hamer described the indignities and the beatings she had endured as a leader of the civil rights movement in the South. Her televised speech electrified the nation, but the credentials committee seated the white delegation. Four years later, Hamer was one of the twenty-two African American delegates from Mississippi at the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

Following the 1968 convention, the party began a period of reform, including national rules for the selection of convention delegates, and guidelines that called for “reasonable representation” of various groups, including women. As preparations began for the 1972 convention, the

National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) argued that since women comprised more than 50 percent of the population in most states, "reasonable representation" meant that a majority of the delegates from most states would be women. Party leaders interpreted the guidelines less strictly but agreed that state delegations with few women in them would have to show that the imbalance was not the result of discrimination. Some states complied with the guidelines, and delegations from other states faced challenges before the credentials committee, resulting in a significant change in the percentage of women at the 1972 convention. Thirteen percent of the delegates to the 1968 convention had been women; in 1972, women constituted 40 percent of the delegates to the convention. An effort to require equal representation of women at the 1976 convention failed.

At the 1972 Democratic National Convention, Doris Meissner, NWPC executive director, and other staff members set up an office and held informational sessions with delegates throughout the convention. The NWPC wanted four items included in the party platform: reproductive rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, educational equity, and equal pay. The platform did not include the reproductive rights plank, but it did include the other three issues.

The 1972 convention was also notable for two women's efforts to become the party's nominees, one for president and the other for vice president. For the first time in the party's history, an African American woman, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of New York, ran for the presidential nomination. Chisholm's campaign had little promise from the beginning, but she received 152 votes on the first ballot. During the convention a campaign to nominate Frances (Sissy) Farenthold for the vice presidency developed, and NWPC members organized to help her. Farenthold received 404 votes.

Immediately after the convention, Democratic presidential nominee George McGovern proposed a new slate of officers for the Democratic National Committee, including Jean Westwood of Utah for chairperson of the party. When Westwood became the party's chair, she was the first woman to hold the position in either of the two major parties. Following the fall elections and McGovern's defeat, Robert Strauss challenged Westwood for the position of chair and won.

Between the 1972 and 1976 conventions, state party chairpersons expressed their objections to what they described as a quota system for women, minorities, and youth, resulting in a new reform commission. Despite feminists' objections, new rules were implemented that softened the party's policies regarding delegate selection. Only 36 percent of the delegates to the 1976 Democratic National Convention were women.

Women in the NWPC formalized their work within the parties by creating task forces for members of each party. During the 1976 convention, the Democratic Women's Task Force regularly met with delegates, focusing their efforts on passing the equal division rule, which would require 50 percent of the delegates to be women. When likely presidential nominee Jimmy Carter objected to it, the task force members agreed to drop the equal division rule in exchange for his support for the Equal Rights Amendment and a promise that he would appoint women to significant posts in his presidential campaign and administration. Later, the party adopted rules guaranteeing women equal division for the 1980 Democratic National Convention. One of the most compelling moments of the 1976 convention was Texas congresswoman Barbara Jordan's keynote address. The first Democratic woman and the first African American to make an important speech to a national convention, her oratory and her message captivated Americans across the country.

During the Carter administration, the Democratic National Committee resurrected the Women's Division, which had been dissolved in 1952. Iowan Lynn Cutler, who had earlier run for Congress, served as a party vice chair and ran the division. In 1985, the party again closed the division, which meant that it no longer had its own staff or budget. Cutler remained responsible for women's activities in addition to other areas.

At the 1980 Democratic National Convention, Democratic Party feminists established themselves as a force within the party, even though their leaders did not uniformly support the party's nominee, incumbent President Jimmy Carter. Almost 50 percent of the delegates were women, and about 20 percent of the delegates belonged to the NWPC or the National Organization for Women (NOW). The party platform included strong ERA and prochoice planks.

By the 1984 convention, the Democratic Party had aligned itself with feminist issues, a position that contrasted with that of the Republican Party, which had essentially repudiated feminist issues. With the Democratic Party's allegiance to feminist issues established, feminists turned their attention to nominating a woman for vice president. Before the convention opened, likely Democratic presidential nominee Walter Mondale announced that Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro would be his running mate. Mondale and Ferraro lost in the November election, but her presence on the ticket gave unprecedented visibility to an American political woman.

The contrasts on women's issues that developed between the two major parties in the 1970s became heightened in the 1980s and by the 1990s were firmly established. The Democratic Party had accepted the feminist agenda, and equal representation within the delegations had become well established. The gender gap—with women more likely to vote for

Democrats than Republicans—had become so large in congressional and presidential races that the margins contributed to the elections of members of Congress and of President Bill Clinton.

See also Abortion; Anderson, Eugenie Moore; Blair, Emily Newell; Chisholm, Shirley Anita St. Hill; Clark Gray, Georgia Neese; Dewson, Mary (Molly) Williams; Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX; Education, Women and; Edwards, India Moffett; Equal Rights Amendment; Ferraro, Geraldine Anne; Hamer, Fannie Lou Townsend; Jordan, Barbara Charline; League of Women Voters; Meissner, Doris Marie; National Organization for Women; National Women's Political Caucus; Nineteenth Amendment; President and Vice President, Women Candidates for; Roosevelt, Eleanor; Westwood, Frances Jean Miles

References Breckenridge, *Women in the Twentieth Century* (1933); Feit, "Organizing for Political Power: The National Women's Political Caucus" (1979); Freeman, "Women at the 1988 Democratic Convention" (1988); National Women's Political Caucus, *Democratic Women Are Wonderful* (1980).

Dennett, Mary Coffin Ware (1872–1947)

Birth control advocate and suffragist Mary Coffin Ware Dennett worked to legalize the distribution of contraceptive information by passing legislation ending its designation as obscene material under the Comstock law of 1873. Dennett entered politics through the suffrage movement in 1908, serving as a field secretary for the Massachusetts Suffrage Association. Corresponding secretary for the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) beginning in 1910, she became executive secretary in 1912. As her influence in the organization increased, she became openly critical of NAWSA's president, Anna Howard Shaw, and her leadership, resulting in Shaw's resignation in 1914.

Dennett organized the first birth control association in the United States in 1915, the National Birth Control League (NBCL), which sought to change state Comstock laws. When she was unsuccessful in changing state laws, she founded the Voluntary Parenthood League to change the federal Comstock law. As she looked for a member of Congress to sponsor a bill to remove the phrase "prevention of pregnancy" from the Comstock law, Dennett found that some members of Congress were sympathetic, but many were uncomfortable discussing the topic and others feared that young people would engage in immoral behavior if they had birth control information. In 1923, U.S. senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa agreed to introduce the provision, as did Congressman William N. Vail of Colorado. Joint hearings were held in 1924, but the bill did not progress, and Dennett resigned as the league's lobbyist. She wrote *Birth Control Laws*, a history of the Comstock laws and the congressional campaign to change them.

Dennett had written an essay on human sexuality for adolescents titled “The Sex Side of Life: An Explanation for Young People,” that was published in *Medical Review of Reviews* in 1918. By 1929, she had been filling orders for “The Sex Side of Life” by sending copies through the mail for more than a decade, but that year she was charged with mailing obscene material, convicted, and fined \$300. The case became a cause célèbre, with supporters protesting the charges, the conduct of the trial, and her conviction. A defense committee formed to support an appeal, which Dennett took to the U.S. Court of Appeals. The appeals court reversed the verdict in what became a landmark censorship case by making context a factor in determining obscenity. The contraceptive clause in the 1873 Comstock law was not stricken until 1970.

Born in Boston, Massachusetts, Dennett graduated from the School of Art and Design at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1894 and taught at the Drexel Institute of Art from 1894 to 1897.

See also *Griswold v. Connecticut*; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Sanger, Margaret Louise Higgins; Shaw, Anna Howard; Suffrage

References Chen, “*The Sex Side of Life*”: *Mary Ware Dennett’s Pioneering Battle for Birth Control and Sex Education* (1996).

Dewson, Mary (Molly) Williams (1874–1962)

Democratic Party leader Molly Dewson worked with Eleanor Roosevelt to expand women’s roles within the party and within President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s administration. Regarded as the United States’ first female political boss, some of the campaign strategies she developed to attract women to the Democratic Party were duplicated throughout the party’s organization. As head of the Women’s Division of the Democratic National Committee in the 1930s, Dewson had three goals: patronage for women, equal representation for women on all party committees, and providing women with a clear understanding of Roosevelt’s New Deal programs. When she retired in 1937, she had succeeded in having Roosevelt appoint the first woman to a presidential cabinet post and in gaining equal representation for women on all party committees in seventeen states.

Dewson began her career as a social reformer in the late 1890s. She wrote *Twentieth Century Expense Book* (1899), an aid to women purchasing household goods, was superintendent of the parole department for the Massachusetts State Industrial School for Girls, and was executive secretary of the National Consumers League (NCL). While at the NCL, Dewson conducted a statistical study of wage rates for women and girls and reported her findings. The report became the basis for the passage in 1912 of the first minimum wage law in the United States. She also lobbied the Massachusetts legislature for passage of an eight-hour workday for

women and children and campaigned for woman suffrage. During World War I, Dewson worked for the Red Cross in France, directing relocation services for displaced refugees, and then returned to the NCL. Through her social reform work, Dewson met Frances Perkins and Eleanor Roosevelt and became close friends of both women.

At Roosevelt's request, Dewson organized women to support Alfred E. Smith's 1928 presidential campaign. When Franklin D. Roosevelt won his campaign for governor of New York that year, Dewson asked him to support a minimum wage bill and to appoint Frances Perkins to the state's industrial commission, and he complied with both requests. In 1930, Eleanor Roosevelt convinced Dewson to work at the New York state women's Democratic committee for Franklin Roosevelt's reelection campaign for governor. During that campaign, Dewson began distributing rainbow fliers, one-page fact sheets on colored paper, an idea originated by someone else but one that Dewson used extensively and effectively. In Franklin Roosevelt's 1932 presidential campaign, Dewson directed the distribution of 6 million rainbow fliers.

By 1932, Dewson's political acumen was generally recognized within the party, but the party chairman did not support her or her work. At Eleanor Roosevelt's insistence, however, Dewson became head of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). Dewson developed a nationwide corps of women supporters for the party and for Franklin Roosevelt's presidential candidacy and established committees that addressed the concerns of interest groups, including African Americans, educators, social workers, and writers. Using issues of concern to these and other groups, she reached beyond the party structure and traditional party supporters to create new bases of loyalty.

After Franklin Roosevelt won, Dewson focused on obtaining federal appointments for women to reward and motivate party workers. Through her work, more women obtained jobs at the state and federal levels than in any previous administration. Most notably, Dewson is credited with orchestrating Frances Perkins's appointment as secretary of labor, the first woman to hold a cabinet position. Some of the other women whose appointments resulted from Dewson's work include Mary McLeod Bethune to the National Youth Administration and Nellie Tayloe Ross as director of the U.S. Mint, in addition to the first woman on the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals and the first woman to represent the United States in a foreign country.

Within the party, Dewson worked for the passage of state laws and party rulings that would require fifty-fifty representation of women in party leadership positions and on all party committees. She initiated training programs to increase women's effectiveness as campaign workers,

and she established a paid staff for the Women's Division that worked between and throughout election years. Traditionally, the national parties maintained only a skeleton staff between elections, but Dewson believed that "elections are won between campaigns," an expression she coined. She developed strategies to keep voters informed and interested between elections, including her Reporter Plan, an educational approach to politics that involved women at the county level. Women volunteered to be reporters, chose a federal agency to research, and made presentations about it to civic groups and local clubs, spreading the New Deal message at the grass roots. By 1940, more than 30,000 women were involved in the program.

At the 1936 Democratic National Convention, Dewson obtained passage of two changes in party rules to expand women's roles. One rule required states to appoint the same number of women as men to the platform committee, which guaranteed women places on it. The other change created the same number of female vice chairs as male vice chairs. During the 1936 elections, Democratic women were among the best organized and trained of any group within the party. More than 80 percent of the printed material distributed by the DNC was prepared by women, and more than 80,000 women went door-to-door, canvassing precincts across the country and distributing 83 million rainbow fliers.

Dewson left the DNC in 1937, and President Roosevelt appointed her to the Social Security Board. The board was mired in difficulties with Congress and in its relationships with the states, which Dewson helped ease by encouraging cooperation between federal and state officials and improving relations with Congress. She resigned from the board in 1938 because of poor health. In the last months of the 1940 election campaign, Dewson briefly returned to the Democratic National Committee. Twenty years later, in 1960, she unsuccessfully ran for a seat in Maine's state senate.

Born in Quincy, Massachusetts, Mary Dewson, generally known as Molly, earned her bachelor's degree from Wellesley College in 1897.

See also Anderson, Mary; Bethune, Mary Jane McLeod; Cabinets, Women in Presidential; Democratic Party, Women in the; Perkins, Frances (Fanny) Corlie; Roosevelt, Eleanor; Ross, Nellie Tayloe; Women's Bureau

References Roosevelt and Hickok, *Ladies of Courage* (1954); Ware, *Partner and I: Molly Dewson, Feminism, and New Deal Politics* (1987).

Diaz v. Pan American World Airways, Inc. (1971)

In *Diaz v. Pan American World Airways, Inc.*, Celio Diaz, a man, challenged Pan American's policy of hiring only women as flight cabin attendants, arguing that the policy constituted sex discrimination in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII. Pan American defended the policy by explaining that being female was a bona fide occupational qualification

(BFOQ) for the job because passengers preferred to be served by female flight attendants, and women could better meet passengers' psychological needs. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals explained that "allowing the preferences and prejudices of the customers to determine whether the sex discrimination was valid" undermined the purpose of Title VII. The Court found that being female was not a BFOQ for the job of flight cabin attendant and that Pan American's policy violated Title VII.

See also Bona Fide Occupational Qualification; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Employment Discrimination

References *Diaz v. Pan American World Airways, Inc.*, 442 F.2d 385 (1971).

Displaced Homemakers

A displaced homemaker is a woman whose principal job has been homemaking and who has lost her main source of income because of divorce, separation, widowhood, disability, long-term unemployment of a spouse, or loss of eligibility for public assistance. In the 1970s, as the divorce rate escalated, increasing numbers of women found themselves unable to obtain employment, some because they had never been employed in the paid workforce and others because their skills had become outdated. Since then, more than 1,300 programs have been established to offer training and education, assistance in writing resumes, and classes that teach job interview skills.

The idea for displaced homemaker programs originated with two women who identified and named the problem. Tish Sommers, who had been divorced after twenty-three years of marriage, and Laurie Shields, a widow, were both in their fifties and part of a growing number of women needing employment and support to help them make the transition into the workforce. In 1974, using the slogan "Don't agonize, organize," they worked with an attorney to draft the first displaced homemaker legislation. Introduced in the California legislature in 1975, the bill passed, and the first displaced homemaker center opened in Oakland, California, in 1976.

Sommers and Shields established the Alliance for Displaced Homemakers to organize women at the grassroots level, to build coalitions, and to attract media attention for their cause. In 1978, the first national displaced homemakers conference established the Displaced Homemaker Network to lobby for programs and funding. Congresswoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke (D-CA) passed a measure in 1978 making displaced homemakers eligible for training and services under the Comprehensive Education and Training Act. After Burke's 1978 measure, a variety of services and programs for displaced homemakers were established within several federal agencies and departments. Congress passed the Displaced

Homemakers Self-Sufficiency Assistance Act of 1990 to coordinate the many programs and to make them more accessible to displaced homemakers. The measure also provided additional funding to displaced homemaker programs at the state level through federal grants.

In 1993, the organization changed its name to Women Work! The National Network for Women's Employment in recognition of the range of economic transitions women confront throughout their lives.

See also Burke, Perle Yvonne Watson Brathwaite; Divorce Law Reform; Women Work! The National Network for Women's Employment

References www.womenwork.org.

Divorce Law Reform

Divorce law reform began in 1970 when California passed the nation's first no-fault divorce law. Until then, married people wanting to end their marriage had to engage in an adversarial process that required one of the partners to accuse the other of committing an act that the state recognized as an acceptable reason for divorce. Adultery was a reason recognized in every state, and some states permitted divorces for mental or physical cruelty, desertion, refusal to have sexual relations, or imprisonment. In contrast, a no-fault divorce, also known as dissolution of marriage, could be obtained when irreconcilable differences resulted in the breakdown of a marriage, eliminating the need to assign fault to one of the partners. By 1985, every state had some form of no-fault divorce provision. Even though divorce reform spread across the country as the modern feminist movement developed, women did not seek the changes and had little influence in developing the new policies. The greater ease in obtaining divorces resulted in an increase in them. In 1966, there were 2.5 divorces per 1,000 people, and in 1981, there were 5.3 divorces per 1,000 people. The rate declined to about 4.7 in the mid-1980s, where it has remained.

See also Child Support Enforcement; Displaced Homemakers; Feminization of Poverty; Pay Equity

References Riley, *Divorce: An American Tradition* (1991); www.cdc.gov.

Dix, Dorothea Lynde (1802–1887)

The first woman lobbyist to gain political influence at the state and national levels, Dorothea Dix sought improved care for homeless people and mentally ill people in the 1840s and 1850s, when little sympathy existed for them and when women had little political influence. Her reform career began in 1841, when she inspected almshouses and other Massachusetts institutions and wrote a report on the conditions in them. Published as a memorial to the state legislature, the report described the human suffer-

ing and the horrors she had witnessed and included factual information to support her observations. She argued that mentally ill persons should not be imprisoned and that they needed to be placed in asylums that would provide responsible care for them, noting that the state's asylum facilities were inadequate for the number of people needing space in them. After presenting her report, Dix successfully lobbied legislators, who passed the measures she sought.

She also conducted research, published reports, and lobbied in New York, Vermont, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. She achieved varying degrees of success in different states and developed a range of strategies. In Rhode Island, for example, she convinced a wealthy man to make a large donation toward building an asylum.

By 1848, Dix had concluded that a federal policy was needed and began lobbying Congress. In 1850, she found a sympathetic ally in President Millard Fillmore and through her lobbying efforts, became close to him. In 1852 she won approval for an appropriation of \$100,000 for an asylum in Washington, D.C., and in 1854 Congress approved a federal program to fund mental health care, but President Franklin Pierce vetoed it. In the late 1850s, Dix took her campaign for mentally ill persons to England and Scotland.

During the Civil War, she served as superintendent of nurses in the Union Army, recruiting and training 6,000 nurses to serve with the troops.

Born in Hampden, Maine, Dix was largely self-educated. She taught school, started her own schools when she needed money to support herself, and developed her skills as a writer, publishing a novel and devotional books.

References Gollaher, *Voice for the Mad: The Life of Dorothea Dix* (1995).

***Doe v. Bolton* (1973)**

Decided with *Roe v. Wade*, *Doe v. Bolton* addressed Georgia's abortion law. The U.S. Supreme Court invalidated the state's requirements that abortions must be performed in accredited hospitals, that three physicians



Dorothea Dix lobbied state and national legislatures on behalf of homeless and mentally ill people and won major reforms in the conditions of their treatment (Library of Congress)

must approve a woman's request for an abortion, and that a woman seeking an abortion in Georgia must be a resident of the state.

See also Abortion; *Roe v. Wade*

References *Doe v. Bolton*, 410 U.S. 179 (1973).

Dole, (Mary) Elizabeth Hanford (b. 1936)

Secretary of transportation in the Reagan administration from 1983 to 1987, Elizabeth Dole was also secretary of labor in the Bush administration from 1989 to 1991. Dole's public service careers began in 1966, in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. She also worked as associate director of legislative affairs for President Lyndon B. Johnson's Committee on Consumer Interests and the White House Office of Consumer Affairs. In 1973, President Richard Nixon appointed her to a seven-year term on the Federal Trade Commission.

Elizabeth Dole married U.S. senator Robert Dole of Kansas in 1975 and changed her party affiliation from Democrat to Republican. When Robert Dole began campaigning for the vice presidential slot on the Republican ticket in 1976, Elizabeth Dole took a leave of absence to campaign for her husband. During that campaign, she first discovered that she had great appeal to voters. After the Ford-Dole ticket lost to Jimmy Carter, Elizabeth returned to her post on the Federal Trade Commission. After serving five and one-half years of the seven-year term, she resigned in 1979 to work on her husband's 1980 campaign for the presidency.

When President Ronald Reagan entered the White House in 1981, Elizabeth Dole became assistant to the president for public liaison, building support for the president's programs. Two years later, Reagan appointed her secretary of transportation. Dole made safety her priority and worked with car manufacturers to make improvements, such as requiring a third brake light in autos. Other safety initiatives included increasing seat belt use, raising the legal drinking age to twenty-one, and implementing the first drug-testing procedure in railroad history. She resigned the position in 1987 to work on her husband's 1988 presidential campaign. When Robert Dole decided against pursuing the Republican nomination, Elizabeth Dole campaigned for George Bush.

Secretary of labor for President George Bush, Dole negotiated an increase in the minimum wage, improved enforcement of job safety laws and child labor laws, placed more women and minorities in management positions at the Department of Labor, and encouraged private companies to do the same. Dole developed guidelines for school programs to prepare high school graduates for employment and sponsored the first national conference on youth entering the job market out of high school. She re-



ceived accolades for her role in finding resolutions to a coal miners' strike in the Appalachians. She resigned to accept the presidency of the American Red Cross in 1991.

During her tenure at the American Red Cross, she was credited with developing successful fund-raising strategies, cutting costs, instituting more stringent blood-screening tests, and responding to natural disasters. She visited the Persian Gulf after the Gulf War, the famine-stricken countries of Somalia and Mozambique, and Croatia. She led a 1994 humanitarian relief delegation to Rwandan refugee camps in Goma, Zaire. In 1996, Elizabeth Dole took a leave of absence to work on her husband's unsuccessful presidential campaign, returning to the American Red Cross in 1997. Early in 1999, she resigned from the American Red Cross to prepare for her own bid for the presidency of the United States.

Born in Salisbury, North Carolina, Elizabeth Dole earned her bachelor's degree in political science from Duke University in 1958, studied at Oxford University, and earned her master's degree in 1960 and her law degree in 1965 from Harvard University.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

Elizabeth Hanford Dole talked to supporters at a fund-raising luncheon, 1999 (Associated Press AP)

References Congressional Quarterly, *Cabinets and Counselors: The President and the Executive Branch* (1997); Dole and Dole, *Unlimited Partners: Our American Story* (1996); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1983* (1983).

Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is the serious or repeated injury caused by a person who has family ties or a sexual relationship with the victim. The offenders threaten or use physical or sexual assault to dominate, hurt, and degrade the victim in an effort to control the victim. Women constitute 95 percent of the victims of domestic violence, and often in those situations where men are victims, it is the result of women attempting to defend themselves. It is estimated that 3–4 million American women are battered each year by their husbands or partners, with more than 1 million women seeking medical attention from the resulting injuries. One study noted: “A woman is more likely to be assaulted, injured, raped, or killed by a male partner than any other assailant.”

According to the U.S. Department of Justice, the number of women and men injured or killed as a result of domestic violence is not known; however, studies suggest in broad terms the extent of the problem. Between 1 million and 3 million suffer nonfatal violence by an intimate every year. Nearly one in three adult women experiences at least one physical assault by a partner during adulthood. Twenty-eight percent of all annual violence against women is perpetrated by intimates while 5 percent of all annual violence against men is perpetrated by intimates. Seventy percent of intimate homicide victims are female and 88 percent of victims of domestic violence fatalities had a documented history of physical abuse.

Domestic violence also involves children. An estimated 3.3 million children are exposed to violence by family members against their mothers or female caretakers, and in families where there is partner abuse, children are 1,500 times more likely to be abused than in families without violence between the partners. Between 40 and 60 percent of the men who abuse women also abuse children.

Laws related to domestic violence have their roots in English common law, which tolerated abusive husbands. English jurist Sir William Blackstone wrote in the 1760s that a husband could beat his wife with a rod no thicker than his thumb. Although the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies both passed laws against wife beating, in 1824 a Mississippi court permitted “moderate chastisement for domestic discipline,” and in 1852 and 1874, North Carolina courts permitted husbands to inflict certain punishments on their wives, including blackened eyes, bruises, and cuts, but no permanent injuries.

As the modern feminist movement developed in the 1960s and 1970s

and women began to politicize matters that had previously been considered private, domestic violence became a focus of attention. In the 1970s, the feminist movement publicized domestic violence and developed a new perspective on it, framing it as a social problem. The movement to end domestic violence began when a group in St. Paul, Minnesota, and another in Tucson, Arizona, opened shelters in 1973. Over the next twenty-five years, more than 1,400 hotlines, shelters, and safehouses were established to serve victims of domestic violence. In 1990, however, more than one-half of the counties in the United States had no programs for battered women. To put the number of shelters in perspective, there are nearly three times as many animal shelters in the United States as there are shelters for battered women.

About 50 percent of domestic violence victims leave the abusive relationship. Victims stay in a dangerous environment for a number of reasons: inadequate space in shelters, loss of financial support, and fear of increased violence or death. Some women stay in the relationships because they have experienced indifference from legal authorities or found that the criminal justice system was unable to protect them.

The battered women's movement initially focused on providing emergency services to women, as exemplified by the shelters. Feminists broadened the agenda as they sought greater police protection for victims, more effective responses from the justice system, and safety for victims outside the shelters. Police generally viewed domestic violence as a family disturbance and resisted arresting offenders because the public order was not disrupted. Critics of the police insisted that their inaction implicitly condoned the offender's abuse. In some states, however, police did not have the authority to arrest the offender unless they witnessed the violence, they had a warrant to arrest the offender, or the victim filed a complaint, generally at the police station. Feminist Del Martin's 1976 book *Battered Women* documented police departments' official policies of non-intervention in domestic violence and provided activists with a guide for changing public policies related to domestic violence.

Women began filing lawsuits in the 1980s, asserting that police had failed to protect them and arguing that their rights under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment had been violated. In one case, a woman who had repeatedly called for police protection was assaulted and left paralyzed by her estranged husband. She sued the City of Torrington, Connecticut, and was awarded \$2.3 million. Other women in similar circumstances followed her example, prompting several jurisdictions to change their policies.

By 1980, forty-five states and the District of Columbia had special civil legal provisions for temporary restraining orders for battered women

to help increase police responsiveness in domestic violence cases. More revisions followed in the 1990s, resulting in forty-eight states authorizing arrests without warrants for domestic violence. Some states have laws for mandatory arrests where probable cause suggests domestic violence. In Iowa, which has some of the most rigorous domestic violence laws in the nation, prosecutors' discretion is limited in prosecuting domestic violence.

The federal government first became involved with domestic violence in 1979, when President Jimmy Carter established the Office of Domestic Violence, but President Ronald Reagan closed it in 1981. Congress passed the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act in 1984, providing matching funds for shelters and other services to assist victims of domestic violence and for prevention programs. The Violence against Women Act of 1994 provided new resources for combating domestic abuse and other forms of violence against women.

See also Fourteenth Amendment; Martin, Del; National Coalition Against Domestic Violence; Violence Against Women Act of 1994

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 98th Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1984* (1985); Halsted, "Domestic Violence: Its Legal Definition" (1992); www.abanet.org.

Dothard v. Rawlinson (1977)

In *Dothard v. Rawlinson*, decided in 1977, the U.S. Supreme Court applied disparate impact to sex discrimination and considered bona fide occupational qualifications (BFOQ). Dianne Rawlinson had been denied a job as a correctional counselor because she did not meet Alabama's minimum weight requirement of 120 pounds and a minimum height requirement. In addition, the state required that guards working in maximum security areas had to be male, claiming that gender was a BFOQ.

In the first part of the case, Rawlinson argued that the minimum height and weight requirements had a different impact on women than on men, that is, a disparate impact. The requirements excluded 41.3 percent of women but only 1 percent of men, policies that Rawlinson claimed were unlawful sex discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Court agreed, writing: "It is impermissible under Title VII to refuse to hire an individual woman or man on the basis of stereotyped characteristics of the sexes."

The second part of the case involved Alabama's claim that denying women jobs in certain maximum security areas was legal under the exemptions granted in Title VII's BFOQ section. The Court said that the BFOQ exception should be "extremely narrow" but cited the environment within Alabama's prisons as a legitimate reason for excluding women as guards. The Court said that having women guards posed a security prob-

lem “directly linked to the sex of the prison guard” and concluded that being male was a BFOQ for correctional counselors in Alabama’s male maximum security prisons.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Employment Discrimination

References *Dothard v. Rawlinson*, 433 U.S. 321 (1977).

Douglas, Emily Taft (1899–1994)

Democrat Emily Douglas of Illinois served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1945 to 3 January 1947. Congresswoman Douglas was a recognized specialist in foreign affairs, a background she had gained traveling with her family as a child and later with her husband. With another member of Congress, she proposed placing the abolition of atomic weaponry and international arms control under the auspices of the United Nations. She introduced the Library Services Act to make books more available to children in impoverished areas. When her husband Paul Douglas was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1948, he helped pass the measure. Defeated in her effort to win a second term, Douglas was active in the Unitarian Church and began a career as an author.

Born in Chicago, Illinois, Douglas received a bachelor’s degree from the University of Chicago in 1920. She studied at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts and was an actress for several years. She later attended graduate school, pursuing an interest in government and political science.

See also Congress, Women in; League of Women Voters; Sanger, Margaret Louise Higgins

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography 1945* (1945); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Douglas, Helen Mary Gahagan (1900–1980)

Democrat Helen Gahagan Douglas of California served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1945 to 3 January 1951. An opera singer and stage and screen actress, Douglas became actively involved in Democratic Party politics as a result of her exposure to the plight of migrants in California. She toured Farm Security Administration camps and raised money for food and gifts for migrant children. President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized her efforts by appointing her to the National Advisory Commission of the Works Progress Administration.

Elected Democratic national committeewoman for California in 1939, she became state party vice chair and chair of the state party’s Women’s Division. Through her work in the party, she and her husband, actor Melvyn Douglas, became friends of President Roosevelt. With the



Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D-CA) spoke at the World Youth Rally in New York City, 1945 (Library of Congress)

encouragement of Roosevelt and Hollywood celebrities, she ran for Congress in 1944. Supported by the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, she campaigned for the rights of organized labor, full opportunity for private enterprise, taxation based on ability to pay, prevention of unemployment and depression, and the renegotiation of government contracts. Food subsidies for the poor, price controls, and protection for small business were other campaign issues she supported.

Congresswoman Douglas supported New Deal and Fair Deal legislative packages. She introduced an antilynching bill and opposed the poll tax. Attacks on African American men, particularly veterans, in the post-war years prompted Douglas to research and write a pamphlet on African American men's military service, one of the earliest examinations of their contributions to the country's war efforts. The first white member of Congress to hire African Americans for staff positions, she nominated African American students who were admitted to West Point military academy and helped desegregate Capitol dining rooms. In 1945, Douglas introduced the Pay Equity Bill, eighteen years before Congress passed the Equal Pay Act of 1963.

Douglas staunchly supported the Reclamation Act of 1902, a policy that created irrigation systems for otherwise untillable land. The act limited landowners to 160 acres of irrigated land, a restriction that Douglas

believed protected farmers with smaller landholdings and helped protect the environment. She was also adamant about protecting tidelands from oil development. These two positions first led her to consider running for the U.S. Senate in 1950. They also, however, placed her in direct opposition to large agricultural interests and oil developers.

Richard Nixon, who ran against Douglas in the 1950 Senate race, favored removing the 160-acre limit on the Reclamation Act and developing the oil resources in the tidelands, positions that brought him financial support for his campaign. Nixon's campaign strategy, however, did not focus on those issues. Instead, he accused Douglas of being soft on communism, labeled her "the pink lady," distorted her voting record, and implied that she was a hero of the Communist movement. The North Korean invasion of South Korea fed the anti-Communist climate, particularly on the West Coast, a region that was more sensitive to events in Asia than other areas of the United States. The Nixon campaign created an atmosphere of hate that included rocks being thrown at Douglas's car, hecklers disrupting her speeches, and threatening phone calls to her. Douglas failed to take the attacks on her record seriously because she thought that the accusations were absurd. Nixon defeated her.

Born in Boonton, New Jersey, Helen Douglas studied theater from 1920 to 1922 at Barnard College.

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Pay Act of 1963

References Douglas, *A Full Life* (1982); *New York Times*, 5 January 1971; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Truman Years* (1978).

Douglass, Frederick (1817–1895)

African American Frederick Douglass, born a slave in Tuckahoe, Maryland, became one of the most recognized leaders in the abolitionist movement. After escaping from slavery in 1838, he made his first important antislavery speech in 1841 and won the support of abolitionist leaders with his compelling oratory. In 1846, a group of British women paid for his emancipation and later raised money for him to purchase a printing press and start his abolitionist newspaper, *The North Star*.

His support for women's rights became apparent at the 1848 Seneca Falls women's rights convention hosted by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. At the convention, Douglass was the only man who supported Stanton's suffrage resolution, and he helped gain the convention's approval of it. He further demonstrated his support for women's rights by publishing the *Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions*, adopted at the convention, in *The North Star*. He regularly attended women's rights conventions and was a featured speaker at the conventions for several years.



Frederick Douglass, famous abolitionist and ally to the suffrage movement, ca. 1879 (Library of Congress)

With their common interests, Douglass and suffragists worked together to end slavery and obtain universal suffrage for more than two decades.

Following the Civil War, Douglass disagreed with Stanton and Susan B. Anthony over strategies for obtaining universal suffrage. When Congress introduced the Fourteenth Amendment to guarantee citizenship rights to former male slaves and the Fifteenth Amendment did not include women, Anthony and Stanton were outraged that women were excluded from the measures. Douglass and others insisted that it was the “Negro’s Hour” and that women were not murdered for their gender, whereas blacks were murdered for their race. Stanton and Anthony vigorously and persistently objected to the

amendments but ultimately failed, and they were ratified. In 1870, Douglass called for a constitutional amendment enfranchising women.

In 1876, the schism that had grown between Douglass and Anthony and Stanton was overcome when the two women invited him to speak to the National Woman Suffrage Association. Douglass continued to support woman suffrage, but his primary attention was focused on helping African Americans.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the; Anthony, Susan Brownell; Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; National Woman Suffrage Association; Seneca Falls Convention; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage

References Foner, ed., *Frederick Douglass on Women’s Rights* (1992); McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (1991).

Duniway, Abigail Jane Scott (1834–1915)

Regarded as the single most important suffrage worker in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, newspaper publisher Abigail Duniway campaigned for woman suffrage for almost forty years. Duniway became active in the suffrage movement in 1871 when she began publishing *The New Northwest*, a newspaper dedicated to woman suffrage, and lecturing on the subject, traveling through the area by riverboat and stagecoach and on horseback.

Duniway led efforts to found the Oregon Equal Suffrage Association in 1873 and was instrumental in gaining the territorial legislature’s approval of woman suffrage measures. The electorate, however, defeated the



woman suffrage amendment in 1884, 1906, and 1910. The failure in 1906 was particularly difficult because Duniway had become the center of intense conflicts over strategies for passing the amendment, and National American Woman Suffrage Association leader Carrie Chapman Catt and Oregon suffrage leaders faulted Duniway for the loss.

Abigail Scott Duniway was the first woman in Oregon to register to vote, 1912 (Courtesy: Oregon Historical Society)

Oregon passed woman suffrage in 1912, but by that time Duniway's health had deteriorated, and her involvement in the campaign was minimal. She was, however, given a significant amount of credit for the achievement, primarily out of respect for her years of dedication to woman suffrage. After its passage, Duniway wrote the suffrage proclamation, signed it with the governor, and became the state's first registered woman voter.

Born in Tazewell County, Illinois, Abigail Duniway immigrated to Oregon with her family in 1852.

See also Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman; Congressional Union; Married Women's Property Acts; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Suffrage

References Moynihan, *Rebel for Rights: Abigail Scott Duniway* (1983).

Dunn, Jennifer (b. 1941)

Republican Jennifer Dunn of Washington entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1993. Dunn held the leadership position of



Representative Jennifer Dunn (R-WA), with Representative Steve Largent (R-OK) ran for House majority leader but was defeated, 1998 (Associated Press AP)

cies affect women. She helped develop the welfare reform package in 1996, seeks tax relief for the middle class, and works to help small and family-owned businesses.

Born in Seattle, Washington, Dunn attended Stanford University in 1959 and the University of Washington from 1960 to 1962, and earned her bachelor of arts degree in English literature from Stanford University in 1963. Following graduation, she was a systems engineer for IBM from 1964 to 1969. She worked for the King County Department of Assessments from 1978 to 1980.

See also Congress, Women in; Gender Gap; Welfare

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/dunn/bio.htm.

Dworkin, Andrea (b. 1946)

Feminist lecturer and author Andrea Dworkin has worked with lawyer Catharine MacKinnon to enact laws that classify pornography as a form of sex discrimination. They have drafted legislation that has served as a model for measures passed in several cities, but all of them were vetoed or rejected by courts. The only measure that has survived court review was enacted in Canada.

Dworkin's first book, *Woman Hating: A Radical Look at Sexuality* (1974), explored men's dominance of women in Western and Eastern cultures. Its generalizations about men as violent and oppressive created controversies both inside and outside the feminist movement. In her book

Pornography: Men Possessing Women (1981), she argued that the violence portrayed in pornography leads men to violence against women. The controversy surrounding Dworkin's stand on pornography centers on the limitations that it would place on free speech rights. Among Dworkin's other works are *Pornography Is a Civil Rights Issue for Women* (1986) and the novel *Ice and Fire* (1986).

Born in Camden, New Jersey, Dworkin earned her bachelor's degree from Bennington College in 1968.

See also MacKinnon, Catharine Alice; Pornography

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook 1994* (1994).

Dwyer, Florence Price (1902–1976)

Republican Florence Dwyer of New Jersey served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1957 to 3 January 1973. Dwyer's mother encouraged her to become interested in politics in 1920, the first year of woman suffrage, and Dwyer became active in local and county Republican organizations, served as legislative chair for Business and Professional Women/USA, and worked to get women appointed to government positions. She also lobbied the state legislature for garden clubs and parent-teacher groups.

Secretary to the majority leader of the New Jersey assembly in 1947, she served in the New Jersey House of Representatives from 1950 to 1956. While there, she successfully worked for a measure for equal pay for women and sponsored the first statewide minimum salary schedule for teachers.

In Congress, Dwyer supported consumer rights issues, working with Leonor Sullivan on the Fair Credit Protection Act, an attempt to remove discrimination in lending policies, and was a chief sponsor of the measure that created the Consumer Protection Agency. A leader in the passage of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Dwyer challenged several provisions in it that she believed subverted the law's intent. She also believed that the bill had too many exclusions because domestic workers, retail workers, and others were not covered by the law. One of the Republican congresswomen who met with President Richard Nixon in 1969, she tried to convince him to help end discrimination against women and lobbied him to establish the Office of Women's Rights and Responsibilities within the Office of the President. Instead, Nixon created a task force, which produced a report that he only reluctantly released because he found it too controversial. She retired from her seat in 1973.

Born in Reading, Pennsylvania, Dwyer attended the University of Toledo and special classes at Rutgers Law School.

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendment; State Legislatures, Women in; Sullivan, Leonor Kretzer

References *New York Times*, 1 March 1976; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Tomlinson, “Making Their Way: A Study of New Jersey Congresswomen, 1924–1994” (1996).

Eagle Forum

Founded in 1975 by Phyllis Schlafly, Eagle Forum seeks to develop and dominate the agenda for conservative women. Eagle Forum works at the local, state, and national levels to oppose equal rights amendments, pay equity, abortion rights, affirmative action, gay rights, bilingual education, and government-sponsored child day care. It opposes setting national standards for education, teaching evolutionary theories, and educating students about sex and about death. It also opposes the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the use of U.S. troops in United Nations or NATO actions, and statehood for Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia. Among the issues it supports are antitax campaigns; lobbies for a strong defense, including a strong ballistic missile defense system; and an end to discrimination against traditional family values. Eagle Forum supports English as the official language and encourages Congress to refuse to confirm judges that it characterizes as activist.

With more than 80,000 members, Eagle Forum's strength comes from its extensive grassroots network, including chapters in all fifty states and Australia. The national office is in Alton, Illinois, where Schlafly resides, and the group has an office in Washington, D.C. Eagle Forum participates in congressional and state legislative hearings, monitors votes, makes recommendations to state and federal legislators, and provides information to legislative staffs. Letter-writing campaigns, press releases, and demonstrations are other strategies used.

See also Abortion; Equal Rights Amendment; Reproductive Rights; Schlafly, Phyllis Stewart; Stop ERA

References www.eagleforum.org/mics/descript/html.

East, Catherine Shipe (1916–1996)

A federal government researcher and feminist, Catherine East's activism spanned from the President's Commission on the Status of Women (1961–1963), through the founding of the National Organization for Women and the 1977 National Women's Conference, and continued with membership on the board of the National Women's Conference Committee. She worked for the U.S. Civil Service Commission from 1939 to 1963, beginning her career as a junior civil service examiner and advancing to chief of the career service division, and worked for the Department of Labor until 1977. Her position in the Labor Department gave her access to facts on employment practices and workplace discrimination and other insights into women's status.

East served as a technical adviser to the President's Commission on the Status of Women and helped research and write its report, *American Women*, released in 1963. Following the completion of the commission's work, President John F. Kennedy established the Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women and the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women in 1963 and appointed East to serve as executive secretary of both groups.

East was part of an informal Washington, D.C., feminist network whose members were mostly women who had long careers in the federal government and who fully realized the limitations placed on them because of their sex. She knew dozens of women who were concerned about sex discrimination and who became involved in the feminist movement. East insisted that women needed an organization comparable to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and encouraged Betty Friedan and other women to create one, but she believed that her position as a federal employee prevented her from taking a visible part. As Friedan and others formed the National Organization for Women, East provided the organizers with the information they needed.

Born in Barboursville, West Virginia, East earned her bachelor's degree at Marshall University in 1943 and did postgraduate work at George Washington University from 1942 to 1944.

See also Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women; Equal Rights Amendment; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; National Organization for Women; President's Commission on the Status of Women; Sex Discrimination

References Carabillo, Meuli, and Csida, *Feminist Chronicles, 1953–1993* (1993); *New York Times*, 20 August 1996.

Eastman, Crystal (1881–1928)

Feminist, socialist, peace activist, lawyer, and industrial safety pioneer, Crystal Eastman completed the first in-depth sociological study of industrial accidents ever undertaken. Eastman began her career investigating working conditions and studying more than 1,000 industrial accidents, research that she reported in her book *Work Accidents and the Law* (1910). Arguing that industrial accidents occurred because employers neglected to protect workers' safety and health, she sought to convince policymakers that workers' compensation was a legitimate and reasonable form of economic protection. Appointed in 1909 to the New York State Commission on Employers' Liability and Causes of Industrial Accidents, Unemployment, and Lack of Farm Labor, Eastman served as secretary of the commission, drafted the state's first workers' compensation law, and helped pass the measure. Eastman left the commission in 1911. When World War I began in Europe, Eastman helped organize and chaired the Woman's Peace Party of New York. She was also executive director and a founder of the American Union Against Militarism (AUAM), a group that sought to keep the United States out of World War I. AUAM helped avoid war with Mexico in 1917, when the organization pressured President Woodrow Wilson to seek an alternative, and he appointed a commission that mediated the differences. After the United States entered World War I, Eastman helped organize the Civil Liberties Bureau of AUAM to protect the rights of conscientious objectors. Her commitment to civil liberties in a time of war created tensions within AUAM and contributed to its demise.

A suffragist, Eastman was campaign manager for Wisconsin's failed 1912 campaign, and she helped organize the Congressional Union in 1913. When the National Woman's Party (NWP) developed out of the Congressional Union in 1920, Eastman strongly supported the equal rights movement championed by NWP, a position that most social reformers of the era did not share with her. They supported protective labor legislation for women and feared that it would be lost with the adoption of an equal rights amendment. Eastman, however, maintained that protective labor



Crystal Eastman, suffragist, peace activist, and advocate for workers' rights, receiving a Western Union telegram (Library of Congress)



Deputy White House Chief of Staff Maria Echaveste and speechwriter Michael Waldman looked on as President Bill Clinton reviewed his State of the Union address, 1999 (Corbis/AFP)

legislation protected male unionists who did not want to compete with women for jobs. She also argued that the legislation supported capitalist power by blocking unity between male and female workers.

Born in Marlborough, Massachusetts, Crystal Eastman graduated from Vassar College in 1903. She earned her master's degree in sociology from Columbia University in 1904 and her bachelor of laws degree from New York University Law School in 1907.

References Cook, ed., *Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution* (1978); Whitman, ed., *American Reformers* (1985).

Echaveste, Maria (b. 1954)

One of the highest-ranking Latinos in President Bill Clinton's administration, Maria Echaveste became assistant to the president and deputy chief of staff in 1998. In those positions, she manages policy initiatives, develops legislative and communications strategies for the White House, and coordinates the selection of senior administration appointments. In 1997, she served as director of the U.S. Office of Public Liaison, a job she described as being "the eyes and ears of the president." She listened to constituencies' concerns, communicated them to the president, and helped him develop support for his programs among the relevant constituencies.

Echaveste began her work in the Clinton administration in 1993 as head of the Wage and Hours Division of the Labor Department, where she sought out and investigated sweatshops operating in the United States. A

raid in 1995 on one sweatshop revealed dozens of Thai laborers working in conditions described as near slavery. She pursued the issue of sweatshops and attempted to make major retailers accountable for their suppliers' employment policies. She also enlisted talk show host Kathie Lee Gifford and her husband in the crusade against sweatshops and for garment industry reforms.

Born in Harlingen, Texas, Echaveste grew up in California, the daughter of farmworkers. As a child, she picked strawberries in the fields of the San Joaquin Valley and Ventura County. She earned her bachelor's degree from Stanford University in 1976 and her law degree from the University of California at Berkeley in 1980. She worked in private law practice until she joined the Clinton administration in 1993.

References *Los Angeles Times*, 3 March 1996, 27 April 1997.

Economic Equity Act

Introduced by the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues in 1981, the Economic Equity Act is a package of proposals that seeks to improve women's economic status. Revised and reintroduced each session of Congress, the act addresses policies involving insurance, taxes, retirement, child care, access to credit, education, and related issues. Of the more than 100 bills that have been part of the package, several have been enacted, many of them as parts of other bills.

Among the measures that Congress has passed are tax credits for day care programs (1981); the Retirement Equity Act (1984), expanding pension coverage for employees who leave and subsequently return to their jobs and requiring pension plans to provide survivor benefits to spouses of vested employees, even if they have not reached retirement age; the Child Support Amendments of 1984; child care in public housing (1988); the Women in Apprenticeship and Nontraditional Occupations Act (1992); and the Women and Minorities in Science and Mathematics Act (1992).

See also Child Support Enforcement

References Burrell, *A Woman's Place Is in the House: Campaigning for Congress in the Feminist Era* (1994); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 98th Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1984* (1985).

Edelman, Marian Wright (b. 1939)

Marian Wright Edelman is the founder and president of Children's Defense Fund, the primary federal advocate for the rights of children. She believes that children's issues are "central to the security and well-being of America." A leading congressional adviser on children's and family issues,



Marian Wright Edelman, founder and president of the Children's Defense Fund, addressed the crowd at a "Stand for Children" rally, 1996 (Associated Press AP)

Edelman has been referred to as “the 101st Senator.” Edelman was the first African American woman admitted to the Mississippi bar.

Born in rural Bennettsville, South Carolina, when racial segregation placed formidable barriers in every aspect of life for African Americans, Marian Wright Edelman’s family taught her to believe in herself. Raised in a family that cherished education, she attended Spelman College, studied one summer at the Sorbonne in Paris, and spent her junior year at the University of Geneva in Switzerland in preparation for a career in the foreign service.

When she returned to the United States, she became involved in the civil rights movement and was arrested during a sit-in at Atlanta’s City Hall in 1960, an experience that made her aware of the need for civil rights lawyers. She decided to become a lawyer and earned her law de-

gree from Yale University in 1963. After training with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York for a year, she moved to Mississippi to practice. The site of intense civil rights activity, Mississippi had only five African American lawyers and 900,000 black people. Edelman also served on the board of the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM), an organization that ran a Head Start program, offered health programs, and provided other services. When CDGM’s funding was threatened, Edelman lobbied Congress for the funds and succeeded.

In 1973 Edelman launched the Children’s Defense Fund (CDF), a research and advocacy organization. CDF has investigated the treatment of institutionalized children, juvenile justice, infant mortality, homelessness, prenatal care, nutrition, the school dropout rate, child abuse, and teen pregnancy. In addition, it has lobbied for foster care reform, child care, and Head Start funding. Edelman once explained: “Everybody loves children. Everybody is for them in general. Everybody kisses them in elections. . . . But when they get into the budget rooms, or behind closed doors—to really decide how they’re going to carve up money—children get lost in the process because they are not powerful.” A notable lobbyist, she has enlisted both liberal and conservative members of Congress in her cause.

Edelman is the author of *Families in Peril: An Agenda for Social Change* (1987) and *The Measure of Our Success: A Letter to My Children and Yours* (1992), a collection of personal essays.

See also Children's Defense Fund

References Bouton, "Marian Wright Edelman" (1987); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1992* (1992); Viorst, "The Woman behind the First Lady" (1993).

Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits institutions receiving federal funds from practicing gender discrimination in educational programs or activities. Enforced by the Office for Civil Rights in the U.S. Department of Education, it was the first comprehensive federal law to prohibit sex discrimination against students and employees in these institutions.

Until the passage of the Education Amendments of 1972, the United States had no national policy regarding women and girls in education. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in education on the basis of race, color, and national origin but did not include sex. Although Title VII of the act prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex, it applied only to employment. The law's silence permitted public colleges and universities the option of refusing even to admit women. For example, Virginia state law prohibited women from being admitted to the College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Virginia, the most highly rated public institution of higher education in Virginia. It was only under a court order that the college admitted its first woman in 1970.

Married women also experienced legal discrimination in education, regardless of their family's status. One example occurred in 1966, when Luci Baines Johnson, daughter of President Lyndon Johnson, applied for readmission to Georgetown University after her marriage. The university denied her application because the school did not accept married women students.

Institutions of higher education that admitted women had no legal requirements to provide women with educational or program opportunities comparable to those offered to men. Significant differences existed in athletic and sports programs available to women and men at most colleges and universities. For example, men's football and basketball teams held center stage on many campuses, but women's sports programs were neglected, if they existed at all. A Connecticut judge explained in 1971: "Athletic competition builds character in our boys. We do not need that kind of character in our girls."

Feminist leaders objected to this form of legal discrimination on the basis of sex, at least in part because many of them were well-educated, middle-class women who valued education. Bernice Sandler, who was active in the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), took a leading role in exploring ways to end sex discrimination in education. In 1970, Sandler used President Lyndon Johnson's Executive Order 11375 as the basis for a class action suit that WEAL filed. The executive order prohibited discrimination, including on the basis of sex, by all federal contractors, including educational institutions. In its suit, WEAL asked for reviews of all institutions with federal contracts, filed suit against 260 institutions, and later filed suit against all medical schools in the country. Sandler's actions prompted Congresswoman Martha Griffiths (D-MI) to give the first speech in Congress on gender discrimination in education.

Also in 1970, WEAL advisory board member and Democratic congresswoman Edith Green of Oregon held congressional hearings on sex discrimination in education, the first devoted to the topic. WEAL assisted Green with the hearings by recommending individuals to provide testimony and in other ways. After the hearings, Green asked Sandler to join the committee staff and assemble the written record of the hearings, making Sandler the first person ever appointed to the staff of a congressional committee to work specifically in the area of women's rights. The resulting two volumes, more than 1,000 pages total, concretely established the facts of sex discrimination in education; after Green had thousands of copies printed and distributed, they provided evidence for other activists to use in their advocacy for educational equity. In 1971, members of Congress responded to the hearings by introducing several plans to prohibit sex discrimination in education, but it took several months to negotiate a plan for accomplishing the goal.

The Education Amendments of 1972 apply to all schools from preschool through graduate and professional schools and prohibit any education program receiving federal funds from discriminating on the basis of sex. Educational institutions are prohibited from having different admissions or other standards for women and men and from discriminating against married women, pregnant women, and women with children. Girls and women began gaining access to athletic facilities equal to those granted to men, became eligible for athletic scholarships, and obtained equal opportunities to engage in sports. The law requires schools to have teams for males and teams for females in any given sport, or if there is no girls' team in a sport, they must be permitted to try out for boys' teams.

In 1984, the U.S. Department of Justice sought to enforce the broad scope of Title IX, but in *Grove City College v. Bell* the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Title IX was program-specific, meaning that only those pro-

grams within institutions that received federal funds had to comply with Title IX. With the passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988, however, Congress made the institutions, not just directly funded programs, responsible for compliance with Title IX. The U.S. Supreme Court expanded Title IX in *Franklin v. Gwinnett County Public Schools* (1992) by ruling that sexually harassed students could sue for monetary awards.

Some statistics suggest that Title IX has made a difference in women's educational prospects. In 1973, 43 percent of female high school graduates ages sixteen to twenty-four were enrolled in college; in 1994, 63 percent were. In 1972, women earned 1 percent of dental degrees; in 1994, women earned 38 percent of them. In 1972, women comprised 15 percent of college student athletes, compared to 37 percent in 1995. In 1971, 300,000 high school girls (7.5 percent of all high school athletes) participated in athletics; in 1996, 2.4 million girls (39 percent of all high school athletes) participated.

In the late 1990s, female athletes at educational institutions, however, continued to find that their opportunities for scholarships were fewer than those for male athletes, that their coaches were paid less than male athletes' coaches, and that throughout their school's athletic programs they were likely to find substantial differences in the women's athletic programs and the men's athletic programs.

See also Affirmative Action; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Education, Women and; Executive Order 11375; Green, Edith Starrett; *Grove City College v. Bell*; Sexual Harassment; Women's Equity Action League

References Baer, *Women in American Law: The Struggle Toward Equality from the New Deal to the Present* (1996); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1972* (1973); Hankerson, "Courts Have Extended Sex Bias Law's Reach" (1999); Wandersee, *American Women in the 1970s: On the Move* (1988); www.ed.gov; www.edc.org.

Education, Women and

Women have sought to create educational opportunities and to open established institutions to women since the colonial era. Until the 1820s, women's educational opportunities were limited to dame schools that generally taught domestic arts, literature, and languages but not philosophy, higher math, or the sciences. In 1821, Emma Hart Willard (1787–1870) founded the first women's college-level institution in the United States, Troy Female Seminary in Troy, New York. The school gained a strong reputation for developing schoolteachers, one of the few occupations open to women at the time. Another crusader for women's education, Catharine Beecher (1800–1878), opened the Western Female Institute in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1832 and devoted her life to promoting

women's educational opportunity and to training and recruiting teachers for schools on the American frontier.

Mary Lyon (1797–1849) opened Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in 1837 and offered a three-year program. The school became Mount Holyoke College in 1861, when it became a four-year institution. Other four-year women's colleges followed over the next decades, beginning with Vassar College in 1865 and Smith College and Wellesley College in 1875. In addition, most state colleges admitted women. By the 1890s, an influential group of educated women had developed, working as health professionals, social reformers, and teachers.

Several federal programs expanded educational opportunities for women and men in the 1960s, including financial assistance, an increase in vocational education options, and new community college campuses and programs. Other barriers remained. The elite private law schools and medical schools that admitted women often placed quotas on the number of women they accepted, public and private institutions established different admissions standards for women and men, and some schools did not accept married women or women with children.

A fundamental change in women's access to higher education came with passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Its prohibitions against gender discrimination at institutions receiving federal funding gave women equal access to college admissions, enlarged women's educational options, and enhanced women's athletic programs.

See also Affirmative Action; American Association of University Women; Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX; Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974; Women's Equity Action League

References Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (1989); Mead and Kaplan, eds., *American Women: The Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women and Other Publications of the Commission* (1965).

Edwards, Elaine Lucille Schwartzburg (b. 1929)

Democrat Elaine Edwards of Louisiana served in the U.S. Senate from 1 August 1972 to 13 November 1972. When the death of one of Louisiana's senators created a vacancy, Governor Edwin Edwards appointed his wife Elaine Edwards to fill it. She made it clear that she would not run for a full term when she accepted the appointment.

Elaine Edwards was born in Marksville, Louisiana.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Edwards, India Moffett (1895–1990)

India Edwards served as executive director of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) from 1948 to 1952 and then served as a vice chair of the party. One of the few politicians who believed that President Harry Truman would win in 1948, Edwards became part of his political inner circle.

A *Chicago Tribune* writer and editor for more than twenty years, Edwards left the paper in 1942 and moved to Washington, D.C., with her husband. After learning that her son, an Army Air Force flier, had been a passenger on a bomber that exploded in late 1943, Edwards became involved in the war effort, but it was a comment made by Clare Boothe Luce at the 1944 Republican National Convention that moved Edwards into political activism. Luce suggested that if the United States' dead soldiers could vote, they would vote against President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Outraged that Luce would presume to speak for her son, Edwards volunteered at the DNC in 1944 and wrote speeches for the party and for candidates. She joined the DNC staff as executive secretary of the Women's Division in 1945.

When President Harry Truman campaigned on his whistle-stop tour in 1948, Edwards traveled with him, the first woman to travel with a presidential campaign who was not a secretary or a relative of the candidate. She encouraged other women to join the tour as it passed through their areas, an innovation that recognized women's contributions to the campaign and enhanced women's support for Truman, as did her strategy of focusing attention on inflation and blaming it on Republicans in Congress.

After Truman's election in 1948, Edwards brought potential women appointees to Truman's attention. Through an informal network of women across the nation, Edwards learned of qualified women, keeping files on them and their abilities. Through a comparable network of women in government, Washington hostesses, reporters, secretaries, and friends, she learned of potential job openings. By the time a position opened, Edwards often had identified a woman candidate for it, gained the approval of one of the woman's U.S. senators, and prepared to propose her candidacy to Truman. Edwards's influence contributed to the appointment of the first woman ambassador (Eugenie Moore Anderson to Denmark), five women federal judges, Georgia Neese Clark as treasurer of the United States, Perle Mesta as minister to Luxembourg, and Frieda Hennock to the Federal Communications Commission, more women than any other president had appointed to top positions in the federal government. Edwards's self-appointed tasks included following the appointment process through Senate confirmation. When the Senate delayed Hennock's confirmation,

Edwards canceled a planned vacation and began making deals with senators. The Senate confirmed Hennock's appointment. Truman asked Edwards to become DNC chair in 1951, but she declined, feeling that the party was not ready for a woman chairman. She later regretted the decision.

In 1952, the party chose a new chairman who announced that the Women's Division would be integrated into the regular party, in what some observers regarded as an attempt to deny Edwards her base of influence. Edwards persevered until October 1953, when the chairman announced her resignation and her replacement.

Edwards's first political experience was marching with her mother in a suffrage parade when she was still a young child in Chicago.

See also Anderson, Eugenie Moore; Clark Gray, Georgia Neese; Democratic Party, Women in the; Luce, Clare Boothe

References Edwards, *Pulling No Punches* (1977); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography: Who's News and Why, 1949* (1949); Morgan, "India Edwards" (1984).

Eisenhuth Alming, Laura J. Kelly (1858–1937)

The first American woman elected to a statewide office, Laura Eisenhuth served as North Dakota's superintendent of public instruction from 1893 to 1895. Although she was born in Canada, Eisenhuth's family moved to Iowa in 1860. Eisenhuth obtained her education in Iowa and taught in that state's schools for eleven years. She moved to North Dakota in 1887 and in 1889 was elected Foster county superintendent of schools.

Eisenhuth received the Democratic Party's nomination for state superintendent of schools in 1890, but lost in the general election. Nominated again in 1892 by both the Democratic Party and the Independent Party, she won the general election. During her two-year term in office, Eisenhuth sought to professionalize teacher education, recommended that schools in towns with water systems install bath tubs, and advocated improvements in school buildings and grounds, including fencing of school grounds. Nominated by the Democratic and Populist parties in 1894, Eisenhuth lost in the general election to another woman, Emma Bates.

***Eisenstadt v. Baird* (1972)**

In *Eisenstadt v. Baird*, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated a Massachusetts law that prohibited the distribution of contraceptive drugs, medicines, or devices to unmarried people. The Court said that by treating married and unmarried people differently, the law violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

See also *Carey v. Population Services International*; *Griswold v. Connecticut*

References *Eisenstadt v. Baird*, 405 U.S. 438 (1972).

Elders, Joycelyn (b. 1933)

Joycelyn Elders served as U.S. surgeon general from 1993 to 1994, the second woman and the first African American to hold the office. From the time of her nomination, controversy surrounded Elders's appointment. Conservatives objected to her emphasis on sex education, contraception, and abortion and called her the condom queen, but the Senate confirmed her appointment. During her tenure in office, Elders sought to move the nation from sick care to health care by working toward a preventive health care system. She worked to reduce tobacco use and to eliminate drug and alcohol abuse, advocated legalizing the abortifacient RU-486, and renewed efforts to stop the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) epidemic. Pointing to the 135,000 children who take guns to school, Elders worked for gun control. In addition, she advocated sex education and attempted to reduce teen pregnancy.

Her tenure as surgeon general was marked by two controversial comments that she made in response to questions posed to her. Her suggestion that the legalization of drugs might reduce crime and deserved study provoked intense criticism of her. On another occasion, she told a professional conference that the facts about masturbation could be taught in classes on human sexuality. After the press reported her comments, President Bill Clinton asked for and received her resignation.

Born in Schaal, Arkansas, Elders was given the name Minnie Lee Jones at birth and changed it as an adult. She grew up in a poor family that lived on a farm without running water or electricity. Medical treatment for illnesses and injuries involved herbal and folk remedies, and there was no hospital in the area that treated African Americans, nor was there a doctor who would care for them.

Elders graduated from high school when she was fifteen, received a scholarship to attend Philander Smith College, and earned her bachelor of science degree there in 1952. She enlisted in the Army in 1953, viewing the military's educational benefits as a way to pay for medical training, and served until 1956 when she entered medical school. She earned her medical degree from the University of Arkansas School of Medicine in 1960, her master's degree in biochemistry in 1967, and board certification as a pediatric endocrinologist in 1978.

In 1987, then-Governor Bill Clinton appointed Elders chief health director for Arkansas, making her the first woman and the first African American to hold the office. She increased the immunization rate for children, expanded pregnant women's participation in the state's prenatal

care program, and thereby reduced the infant mortality rate. In addition, she increased the availability of testing for human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), expanded breast cancer screenings, and provided more home care for frail or terminally ill patients.

As state health director, Elders gained an expanded awareness of the problems of teen pregnancy. She explained that she “saw the massive suffering of so many bright young black women because of having unplanned and unwanted pregnancies. And I began to realize how much they had been exploited, not only by the religious right but also by their own kind with this talk of contraception and genocide.” She cast it in terms of slavery: “If you’re poor and ignorant, with a child you’re a slave. Meaning that you’re never going to get out of it. These women are in a kind of bondage to a kind of slavery that the 13th Amendment just didn’t deal with.” She viewed sex education as a way to help reduce sexually transmitted diseases, domestic violence, and sexual abuse. Elders made teenage contraception use a central theme in the health department and advocated school-based health clinics and comprehensive health education. Her proposals regularly created controversies.

She wrote her memoir, *Joycelyn Elders, M.D.: From Sharecropper’s Daughter to Surgeon General of the United States of America* (1996), after leaving the office of the surgeon general.

See also Abortion

References Elders, *Joycelyn Elders, M.D.: From Sharecropper’s Daughter to Surgeon General of the United States of America* (1996); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1994* (1994); *New York Times*, 30 January 1994, 6 June 1996, 24 October 1996.

Emerson, Jo Ann (b. 1950)

Republican Jo Ann Emerson of Missouri entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 5 November 1996. Emerson won the special election to fill the vacancy created by the death of her husband as well as a full term in Congress. She campaigned as “Team Emerson,” pledging to continue her husband’s fight to improve Missouri’s highways and to support constitutional amendments to make flag burning illegal, permit voluntary prayer in public schools, impose term limits, and require a two-thirds majority of both chambers of Congress to raise taxes. She favors balancing the budget, saving Medicare from bankruptcy, expanding health care reforms, and expanding U.S. exports. She is prolife and supports gun owners’ rights, private property owners’ rights, tax relief, local control of schools, and voluntary school prayer.

Born in Washington, D.C., Emerson grew up in a political family in the capital area. Her father Ab Herman was executive director of the Re-

publican National Committee and held advisory positions within the party. Emerson received her bachelor's degree from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1972. Deputy director of communications for the National Republican Congressional Committee, she later worked in public affairs for the American Insurance Association and was director of state relations and grassroots programs for the National Restaurant Association.

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997);
www.house.gov/emerson/bio.htm.



EMILY's List

Founded in 1985 by Ellen Malcolm, EMILY'S List is a political action committee (PAC) that works to elect prochoice Democratic women to congressional and gubernatorial office. EMILY's List has helped dozens of women win races for governor, the U.S. House of Representatives, and the U.S. Senate. EMILY's List identifies and recommends viable, prochoice Democratic women candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Senate, and for governor, and sends profiles of selected candidates to members. Members of EMILY's List pay \$100 to belong, and they agree to contribute at least \$100 or more to at least two candidates. EMILY's List recruits candidates, provides campaign staff training and referral, offers candidates technical assistance, and mobilizes women voters on election day.

EMILY's List had its first success when Democratic congresswoman Barbara Mikulski of Maryland won her U.S. Senate race in 1986. Between the 1986 and 1998 general elections, the group was instrumental in helping three women win their races for governor, forty-nine women win their races for the U.S. House of Representatives, and six women win their races for the U.S. Senate. During the 1985–1986 election cycle, the first in which EMILY's List was involved, the group had about 1,200 members and raised more than \$350,000. During the 1995–1996 election cycle, 45,000 members contributed \$6.7 million to candidates, \$2 million for campaign support, and \$3 million to WOMEN VOTE!, the group's get-out-the-vote campaign.

Congresswoman Lynn Rivers of Michigan explained the assistance she received: "EMILY's List helped me make the choices, hire the staff and raise the funds I needed to build—from scratch—an outstanding campaign able to win an incredibly tough election in 1994, an incredibly tough year for Democrats." Congresswoman Eva Clayton of North Carolina agreed that the assistance she received was invaluable: "As a woman

Representative Jo Ann Emerson (R-MO) attended a hearing on the "Man and the Biosphere Project" in Rolla, Missouri, 1999 (Associated Press AP)

running in a rural minority district, I knew few of the experts and donors across the country whose support I needed to win. EMILY's List put me in touch with them, and I was off and running."

See also Abortion; Clayton, Eva McPherson; Malcolm, Ellen Reighley; Rivers, Lynn Nancy

References www.emilyslist.org.

Employment Discrimination

Sex discrimination in employment was legal in the United States until passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Employers could lawfully refuse to consider hiring a woman for a position, and if she was hired, her employer could provide her different benefits than a man in the same position. Employers could refuse to offer training, advancement, or partnership to the women they employed. Employers could also legally refuse to consider men for employment. Passage of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 made it illegal to pay different wages to women and men performing the same jobs, but employers could assign women to different job titles and pay them less than men.

The U.S. Supreme Court found sex discrimination in employment constitutional when it decided *Bradwell v. Illinois* in 1873. The case resulted from the Illinois Supreme Court's refusal to admit Myra Bradwell to the bar even though she had fulfilled every requirement to practice law. The U.S. Supreme Court said that states could prohibit women from being admitted to the bar, a precedent that also permitted state regulation of women's participation in other occupations. In 1908, the U.S. Supreme Court again found sex discrimination in employment and in state policies constitutional in *Muller v. Oregon*, a case challenging the constitutionality of an Oregon law that limited the number of hours women could work in factories, mechanical establishments, and laundries to ten hours a day. The decision made legal sex discrimination the law of the land. In a third decision, the U.S. Supreme Court found that a state law prohibiting women from being bartenders, unless the women were the wives or daughters of a bar owner, was constitutional in *Goesaert v. Cleary* (1948).

With the passage of Title VII and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, equal employment opportunity became the policy of the nation. Congress created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to enforce the policy by responding to complaints filed by aggrieved employees. The EEOC initially resisted responding to sex discrimination complaints, choosing to focus its efforts on race discrimination, but it developed into a significant resource for women. It interpreted the meaning of Title VII, providing a framework for negotiating settlements between employers and employees and for court challenges to the law.

Title VII included an exemption for sex discrimination, the bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ). It was intended to permit rational forms of sex discrimination such as might apply to models or actors, and the EEOC concluded that it should be narrowly interpreted. Courts rejected limits on the amount of weight employees could lift, an airline's argument that only women could be flight cabin attendants, and other broad interpretations of the BFOQ. The U.S. Supreme Court considered the BFOQ for the first time in *Dothard v. Rawlinson* (1977) and concluded that being male was a BFOQ to be a guard in the male section of a maximum security prison because of safety. It also considered disparate impact in *Dothard*, finding that minimum height and weight requirements violated Title VII.

The U.S. Supreme Court considered its first gender discrimination case under Title VII in *Phillips v. Martin Marietta Corporation* (1971), finding that Martin Marietta's willingness to hire fathers of preschool-age children and its refusal to hire mothers of preschool-age children constituted sex discrimination. Another aspect of parenthood, pregnancy, has resulted in several decisions and congressional action. In *Geduldig v. Aiello* (1974), *General Electric v. Gilbert* (1975), and *Nashville Gas Co. v. Satty* (1977), the Court decided that employee disability plans did not have to include pregnancy. Congress responded by passing the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978, expanding the definition of sex discrimination to protect pregnant workers. When a California employer challenged a state law requiring unpaid leave for pregnant workers, the Court upheld the law in *Guerra v. California Federal Savings and Loan Association*, decided in 1987. Congress established unpaid leave for pregnancy, adoption, and family illness for both men and women in the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993. The U.S. Supreme Court decided in *UAW v. Johnson Controls* (1991) that employers cannot bar all fertile women from workplaces where they might be exposed to toxic substances, saying that employers must make workplaces safe for all workers.

One of the most persistent and vexing employment challenges has been overcoming obstacles to women earning living wages. Women tend to cluster in certain occupations—clerical, teaching, service, and nursing among them—that generally pay less than occupations dominated by men. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 addressed the issue of equal pay for equal work, but it did not alter the relative undercompensation for jobs dominated by women when compared to jobs dominated by men. Comparable worth emerged as a strategy for evaluating jobs and establishing a pay rate based on objective criteria instead of tradition, social prejudices, and gender influences. The U.S. Supreme Court has not ruled on comparable worth, but in *County of Washington, Oregon v. Gunther* (1981), it found

that an employer who had performed a comparable worth evaluation of jobs, found that jobs dominated by women were underpaid, and did not make adjustments, had violated Title VII.

An employer's consideration of gender when evaluating an employee for promotion led to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins* (1989). The Court decided that if an employer would have reached the same conclusion without considering sex, then considering sex did not violate Title VII. Congress overturned the decision in the Civil Rights Act of 1991 by prohibiting the consideration of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in employment decisions, even if the decision would have been the same without the consideration of those factors. The Civil Rights Act of 1991 also established the Glass Ceiling Commission to investigate "artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational biases that prevent qualified women and minorities from advancing upward into management-level positions."

Sexually offensive behavior by supervisors and coworkers received the U.S. Supreme Court's attention in *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* (1986), the first sexual harassment case the Court considered. A female employee said that she had performed sexual acts for her supervisor because she believed it was the only way to keep her job. The Court found this form of sexual harassment, *quid pro quo*, to be in violation of Title VII. In *Harris v. Forklift Systems* (1993), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that employees do not need to show that the offensive sexual behavior left them psychologically damaged or unable to perform their jobs, creating the second form of sexual harassment, hostile environment.

See also Bona Fide Occupational Qualification; *Bradwell v. Illinois*; *California Federal Savings and Loan v. Guerra*; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; *County of Washington, Oregon v. Gunther*; *Diaz v. Pan American World Airways, Inc.*; *Dothard v. Rawlinson*; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; *Geduldig v. Aiello*; *General Electric v. Gilbert*; Glass Ceiling Commission; *Goesaert v. Cleary*; *Harris v. Forklift Systems*; *Hishon v. King and Spalding*; *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*; *Muller v. Oregon*; *Nashville Gas Co. v. Satty*; Pay Equity; *Phillips v. Martin Marietta Corporation*; Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978; *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*; Sexual Harassment; *UAW v. Johnson Controls*

References Carleton, "Women in the Workplace and Sex Discrimination Law: A Feminist Analysis of Federal Jurisprudence" (1993); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 102nd Congress, 1st Session . . . 1991* (1992); Hoff-Wilson, "The Unfinished Revolution: Changing Legal Status of U.S. Women" (1987).

English, Karan (b. 1949)

Democrat Karan English of Arizona served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1993 to 3 January 1995. English decided to run

for Congress after watching the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee's hearings on Anita Hill's allegations that Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas had sexually harassed her. The events surrounding the hearings led her to believe that Congress needed more women members. Women's organizations and environmental groups supported her candidacy, and former Republican senator Barry Goldwater endorsed her. Congresswoman English supported the presidential line item veto and improved management of natural resources. English lost her bid for a second term in 1994.

Concern about local environmental issues led English into politics, beginning with her election to the Coconino County Board of Supervisors, where she served from 1981 to 1987. That year, she entered the Arizona House of Representatives and served until 1991. Elected to the state Senate in 1990, English chaired the chamber's Environment Committee her freshman year and passed measures establishing regulations for handling hazardous waste and requiring environmental education in elementary and high schools.

Born in Berkeley, California, Karan English earned her bachelor's degree from the University of Arizona in 1973.

See also Congress, Women in; Hill, Anita Faye; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993).

Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974

The Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974 bans credit discrimination on the bases of sex and marital status. Until passage of the act, women encountered significant barriers to obtaining credit, even when they were the primary wage earners in their families. In the case of divorce or death of the husband, the wife generally lacked a credit history of her own because a married woman's accounts were almost always in her husband's name. For example, Congresswoman Lindy Boggs (D-LA), a wealthy woman in her own right, encountered sex discrimination when she attempted to obtain a credit card in her own name following the death of her husband.

After the Equal Credit Opportunity Act was introduced, women's rights groups, including the National Organization for Women, the Women's Equity Action League, the National Women's Political Caucus, and the Center for Women Policy Studies publicized the issue and mobilized other women's groups that had worked together to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. The organizations encouraged women to write to their members of Congress and describe their attempts to obtain credit in their own names as single women or after being married, widowed, or divorced.

In 1976, the act was amended to cover credit discrimination due to age, race, color, religion, national origin, and receipt of public assistance; in 1988 it was expanded to include commercial credit.

See also Boggs, Marie Corinne Morrison Claiborne (Lindy); Equal Rights Amendment; National Organization for Women; National Women's Political Caucus; Women's Equity Action League

References Costain, "Lobbying for Equal Credit" (1979).

Equal Division Rule

See **Democratic Party, Women in the**

Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972

The Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 (EEOA) strengthened the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's (EEOC) enforcement powers and expanded coverage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to include more categories of employers. Under the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the EEOC could investigate employment discrimination and could negotiate with employers to remedy the problem but had little enforcement authority. The EEOA established an independent general counsel for the EEOC and gave it the power to file charges of job bias against an employer. The act also extended coverage of Title VII to employers that had been previously exempted, including smaller businesses, smaller unions, state and local governments, and colleges and schools.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session . . .* 1972 (1973).

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

Created by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) is charged with enforcing federal laws prohibiting employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. In the years since the EEOC was created, Congress has added enforcement of other measures to its responsibilities, including the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title I of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, and the Civil Rights Act of 1991.

The commission initially focused its attention on race discrimination as it affected men and disregarded its mandate to address employment discrimination on the basis of sex. The commission's first director

dismissed the sex provision of Title VII, calling it a “fluke” that was “conceived out of wedlock” and saying that “men were entitled to female secretaries.” Of the five original members appointed to the commission, only Aileen Hernandez was a woman. She described her appointment as a “20 percent nod to more than 50 percent of the population” and noted that “the Commission was not planning to be an example to industry of the meaning of ‘equal opportunity employer’” because no women were hired for the top appointments. Hernandez pointed out: “There was such insensitivity to sex discrimination that a major meeting with employers in California was arranged at a private club which barred women—even though I was scheduled to accompany the Chairman to the meeting.”

The commission’s disinterest in sex discrimination did not deter complaints. One-third of all the complaints reaching the commission came from women. They dealt with sex-segregated newspaper help-wanted advertisements, state protective legislation that women argued discriminated against them, the definition of bona fide occupational qualifications (BFOQ), and other issues. Protests against sex-segregated help-wanted ads prompted the creation of a special committee to investigate the issue, but it concluded that the sex-segregated ads did not violate Title VII. The issue, however, did not go away. Congresswoman Martha Griffiths (D-MI) wrote to the EEOC: “I assume you will agree that the heading ‘white’ or ‘Negro’ or ‘Protestant’ would be prohibited by the statute, and therefore I have difficulty seeing how advertisements under the headings of ‘male’ or ‘female’ could be in compliance with the very clear prohibitions of the law.” Two of the commissioners, as well as interested observers, felt that if there were a women’s organization comparable to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, women’s influence would increase. The National Organization for Women (NOW) was created in 1966 to fill that need. NOW successfully challenged several EEOC opinions, including sex-segregated employment advertisements. In 1968, the EEOC banned sex-segregated advertising for jobs in newspapers unless employers could demonstrate that sex was a bona fide occupational qualification, but it was unable to enforce the policy. In 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that sex-segregated help-wanted ads were not free speech but commercial speech and were not protected by the First Amendment.

Congress strengthened the EEOC with the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, giving the commission the power to file suits when negotiation and conciliation failed. The act also expanded the categories of employers covered by Title VII.

The EEOC first addressed the problem of sexual harassment in 1980, finding that it was a form of sex discrimination, and defining it as behavior that interferes with a person’s work performance, including “unwelcome

sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature.” In 1998, the EEOC obtained \$34 million in a sexual harassment case against Mitsubishi Manufacturing of America, and the company agreed to change its sexual harassment prevention policy and complaint procedure. The same year, the EEOC also settled a sexual harassment case against Astra USA, Inc., for \$10 million and formal apologies to the women involved.

The EEOC receives approximately 15,000 sexual harassment complaints, 24,000 sex discrimination complaints, and 4,000 pregnancy discrimination complaints per year. In addition, it receives complaints related to race, age, and pay discrimination.

See also Bona Fide Occupational Qualification; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972; Griffiths, Martha Edna Wright; Hernandez, Aileen Clarke; *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; National Organization for Women; Sexual Harassment

References Carabillo, Meuli, and Csida, *Feminist Chronicles* (1993); Freeman, “Women and Public Policy: An Overview” (1982); www.eeoc.gov.

Equal Pay Act of 1963

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 makes it illegal for private employers to have different rates of pay for women and men doing the same work. It was the first federal law to address sex discrimination.

Congresswoman Mary Norton (D-NJ) introduced an equal pay for comparable work bill in 1945, and Congresswomen Frances P. Bolton (R-OH) introduced different versions in 1954. Although President Dwight D. Eisenhower supported the concept, opponents insisted that comparable work could not be defined. Congresswoman Katharine St. George (R-NY) overcame the objection in 1962 when she proposed equal pay for equal work, an approach that Congresswoman Edith Green (D-OR) drafted into a bill and introduced.

Support for equal pay legislation also came from Women’s Bureau director Esther Peterson, who made passing it a priority and hired a lobbyist to work with members of Congress on the measure. The measure received further support in 1962, when the President’s Commission on the Status of Women endorsed equal pay at its first meeting and commission chair Eleanor Roosevelt declared her support for it at a press conference. The commission’s research revealed that in the period from 1955 to 1960, women earned less than two-thirds of what men earned.

When the House debated the bill, St. George said that opposing it “would be like being against motherhood.” The Chamber of Commerce of the United States was the bill’s most visible opponent. It was supported by

the American Association of University Women, Business and Professional Women/USA, the National Consumers League, the National Woman's Party, the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Kennedy administration. The bill passed the U.S. House and Senate in 1962 but in different forms, and it ultimately died. Green sponsored the bill again in 1963, when it passed.

The law states that employers subject to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 must pay equal wages for equal work, making exemptions for differences based on seniority, merit, or piece rates. The law specifically excludes women working in restaurants, hotels, laundries, and hospitals; domestic workers; and many small businesses. At the time of the bill's passage, 7 million women came under its mandate.

See also American Association of University Women; Bolton, Frances Payne Bingham; Business and Professional Women/USA; Green, Edith Louise Starrett; National Woman's Party; Norton, Mary Teresa Hopkins; Pay Equity; Peterson, Esther; President's Commission on the Status of Women; Roosevelt, Eleanor; St. George, Katharine Delano Price Collier; Women's Bureau

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 87th Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1962* (1962); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 88th Congress, 1st Session . . . 1963* (1964); Harrison, *On Account of Sex* (1988); Linden-Ward and Green, *American Women in the 1960s: Changing the Future* (1993).

Equal Rights Amendment

Conceived by Alice Paul of the National Woman's Party, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was first introduced in Congress in 1923. Congress passed the amendment in 1972 and sent it to the states for ratification. The amendment failed in 1982 after only thirty-five states had ratified it, three fewer than needed for it to be added to the U.S. Constitution.

After passage of the Nineteenth Amendment granting woman suffrage in 1920, Alice Paul of the National Woman's Party proposed an Equal Rights Amendment to guarantee women's full equality. The proposed amendment stated: "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." Opponents of the amendment included labor, social reformers, the Women's Trade Union League, the American Association of University Women, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs. They rightly feared that the amendment would make unconstitutional the protective labor legislation that they had worked for decades to pass. Paul argued that protective legislation placed women in a subordinate role and that without the amendment, women were legally barred from some of the best colleges and universities.



Among the honorary leaders at an ERA march were (left to right) Eleanor Holmes Norton, Representative Bella Abzug (D-NY), Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, Barbara Mikulski, and Margaret Heckler, 1978 (Courtesy: Martin Luther King Library)

Introduced in every session of Congress beginning in 1923, it gained the support of several professional women's organizations in the 1930s, including the Osteopathic Women's National Association, the Association of American Women Dentists, the American Alliance of Civil Service Women, the National Association of Women Lawyers, and others. In 1940, the Republican National Convention included support for the amendment in its platform and repeated the endorsement in 1944, the year the Democratic National Convention first included it in its platform.

During World War II, women's contributions to the war effort attracted new supporters for the amendment, including the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Business and Professional Women/USA, and Eleanor Roosevelt. In 1943, Senator Hattie Caraway (D-AR) became the first woman in Congress to sponsor the amendment, and the National Woman's Party formed the Women's Joint Legislative Committee to support it. The next year, opponents formed the National Committee to Defeat the UnEqual Rights Amendment.

In the post-World War II years, the amendment gained the visible support of several notable women, including artist Georgia O'Keeffe, author Pearl Buck, actresses Helen Hayes and Katharine Hepburn, and anthropologist Margaret Mead. Among members of Congress, support came from Republicans who were probusiness and southern Democrats who were antilabor. The U.S. Senate voted on the amendment in 1947, but with 38 ayes and 35 nays, it failed to receive the two-thirds majority needed for a constitutional amendment.

The amendment passed the Senate in 1950 and 1953 with the necessary two-thirds majority, but both times it included the statement that “the provisions of this article shall not be construed to impair any right, benefits or exemptions conferred by law upon persons of the female sex.” Equal Rights Amendment supporters objected to the exemptions and did not ask the House to debate the amendment.

The President’s Commission on the Status of Women refused to endorse the amendment, but it did call for equality under the law. With the emergence of the modern feminist movement, however, the amendment began to receive renewed and intensified attention and support. The National Organization for Women, formed in 1966, became one of the amendment’s fiercest and most dedicated supporters.

Democratic senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota introduced the amendment in February 1969 with seventy-nine cosponsors.

In May 1970, the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments held three days of hearings on it. During the hearings, Congresswoman Martha Griffiths (D-MI) said that the courts could interpret the Constitution as guaranteeing equal rights for women, but she did not think that would ever happen. Griffiths said: “I seek justice, not in some tomorrow, or by some study commission, but now while I live, and I think the equal rights amendment will help towards the way.” Democratic congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of New York told the subcommittee that the Constitution did not address women’s rights because “American institutions were created by white males and . . . the freedom, equality, and justice that they mentioned and fought for was intended . . . for them and them alone.”

The House of Representatives did not hold hearings in 1970. Its chairman of twenty years, Democrat Emanuel Celler of New York, had refused to hold hearings on a constitutional amendment for women’s rights throughout his tenure as committee chairman. To get the amendment out of committee, Griffiths succeeded in gaining 218 signatures on a discharge petition for it. On 10 August 1970, the ERA passed the U.S. House of Representatives with 352 ayes and 15 nays.

The Senate responded with more hearings, this time before the full Judiciary Committee. The Senate began debate on the amendment in October 1970 and attached two amendments, one allowing women’s exemption from the draft and another permitting nondenominational prayers in public schools. The amendments essentially killed the measure, and the Senate did not vote on the full amendment before the end of the session.

For the first time since 1948, a House Judiciary subcommittee held four days of hearings on the ERA in 1971. The full committee passed a resolution for the amendment, but it had two additions. One allowed

Congress to exempt women from the draft, and another permitted different labor standards for men and women, both of which amendment supporters opposed. When the House of Representatives debated the measure, the amendments regarding military service and labor standards were dropped. The House passed the ERA with 354 ayes and 24 nays on 12 October 1971. Democrat Leonor Sullivan of Missouri was the only woman who voted against it.

Even though the unwelcome amendments had been removed, another change had been made in the amendment that set it apart from the version that had passed the House in 1970. The version of the amendment that passed the House in 1971 and that was passed in the Senate in 1972 said:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

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 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.

The seven-year limit for ratifying the amendment received little attention at the time, but it came to be a significant factor in the amendment's ultimate failure.

The chief Senate sponsor was Democrat Birch Bayh of Indiana. Because Bayh's wife was undergoing treatment for cancer, the Senate delayed action on the ERA until 1972. When the Senate considered the measure that year, Democratic senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., of North Carolina emerged as the ERA's strongest opponent. He proposed several amendments in efforts to narrow the scope of the ERA. All of them failed. On 22 March 1972, the U.S. Senate passed the ERA with 84 ayes and 8 nays.

To complete the process, three-fourths of the states, or thirty-eight states, had to ratify the amendment. Two hours after Congress sent the amendment to the states, Hawaii ratified it. By the end of the year, twenty-one additional states had ratified the ERA. In addition, six states added

ERAs to their state constitutions. The National Organization for Women (NOW), the League of Women Voters (LWV), and Business and Professional Women/USA (BPW/USA), the most active supporters, organized traditional lobbying campaigns as states considered the amendment. They conducted research, testified at hearings, contacted legislators, organized letter-writing campaigns, and supported pro-ERA legislative candidates. Some groups organized rallies and other public events to demonstrate support for ratification. The early successes in 1972 convinced amendment supporters that it would easily be ratified before the seven-year deadline Congress had imposed.

With virtually no organized opposition to the amendment, supporters did not develop long-term strategies for ratification, and they did not allocate significant resources for a lengthy campaign. In addition, the arguments they articulated in its favor addressed feminists' interests and professional women's concerns, but most women did not identify themselves as feminists, and although increasing numbers of women were in the workforce, few of them were professionals. Amendment supporters neglected to consider the amendment's significance from the perspective of homemakers, working-class women, employed women who did not want to be in the labor market, and men. They repeatedly argued that the amendment would end women's second-class citizenship.

Opposition to the amendment, however, was developing. Several local and regional groups with aspirations for national influence formed, but it was Phyllis Schlafly who galvanized opposition to the ERA and ultimately defeated it. Schlafly had begun developing a network of conservative women in 1967 and communicating with them through her monthly newsletter, the *Phyllis Schlafly Report*. She also held training sessions that covered everything from the clothing colors and styles that look best on television to evaluations of their speaking styles and content.

Initially ambivalent about the amendment, Schlafly had not participated in efforts to stop it when Congress had debated it. A friend, however, had urged her to consider the ERA's implications. Schlafly did and found them deplorable. She concluded the amendment would end husbands' financial responsibilities to their wives and would weaken the traditional family. She asserted that the amendment's second section giving Congress the power to enforce the amendment took too much power away from the states and gave it to Congress. She supported protective labor legislation and concurred with supporters and opponents that such measures would become unconstitutional. She also objected to it because she believed that women would be drafted into the military, that same-sex marriages would be lawful, and that abortions would be legal. In October 1972, Schlafly founded and appointed herself national chairperson of

Stop ERA. When the U.S. Supreme Court legalized abortion a few months later in *Roe v. Wade* (1973), Schlafly believed that her analysis of the amendment had been confirmed. Schlafly's well-developed public relations skills, organizational ability, compelling speaking style, and forecasts of what the ERA would do brought her national attention and legions of followers.

The amendment, however, gained new support in 1973. The Young Women's Christian Association ended its opposition to the ERA, as did the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations. The LWV, National Woman's Party, Common Cause, BPW/USA, National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC), and NOW formed the ERA Action Committee, with each member organization accepting responsibility for some aspect of the ratification campaign. For example, NWPC worked to elect state legislators who supported the amendment, and LWV trained lobbyists. Eight more states ratified the amendment in 1973. In 1974, three more states ratified it, but the momentum toward ratification had clearly slowed. BPW/USA hired a Republican consulting firm to analyze the seventeen states that had not ratified ERA and to identify the ten most likely to ratify.

Schlafly had ended feminists' thoughts of a speedy and easy ratification. Her ability to pull hundreds and occasionally thousands of women into state capitols to lobby their legislators overwhelmed feminists. ERA supporters counted votes and lobbied, but not with the effectiveness or the drama Schlafly and her followers demonstrated. In one state capitol, Schlafly draped a casket with a "Bury ERA" banner. In other state capitols, Schlafly and her supporters used skits, costumes, and refreshments in their attempts to gain the attention of legislators and news media. In another state, opponents gave each legislator a loaf of bread with a note begging for a no vote on ERA ratification. Schlafly traveled across the country explaining her objections to the amendment, giving uncommitted legislators and sometimes supporters of the ERA reasons to vote against it. She regularly debated ERA supporters and consistently triumphed.

Other groups also organized to oppose the amendment, including Women Who Want to Be Women; Happiness of Womanhood; American Women Against the ERA; Females Opposed to Equality; and Family, Liberty, and God. The membership of these groups tended to be housewives who feared the changes that could result from the amendment and who worried that the amendment would force them into male roles. Viewing the amendment as an assault on womanhood and the institution of marriage, opponents to the amendment feared losing spousal support or the decriminalization of rape and other sex crimes. Amendment supporters did not address these fears, in part because they discounted them and the

women who held them and in part because they did not have responses to them. In addition, some of the tactics amendment supporters used, such as public demonstrations and confrontation, alienated many women and men.

Another state ratified the amendment in 1975, making a total of thirty-four states that had done so, and the push for the last four states began with increased intensity. In 1976, no states ratified the amendment, but one state added an ERA to its constitution. The amendment that had begun with little opposition had stalled. NOW members began daily protests outside the White House, and a national organization, ERAmerica, was formed to channel money and resources to states most likely to ratify. A Harris poll showed that 67 percent of Americans supported the ERA and 27 percent opposed it. In 1976, one state ratified the ERA, but three states had voted to rescind their ratification, actions the U.S. Department of Justice said were illegal and unconstitutional.

To attract publicity to the campaign, NOW called for an economic boycott of states that had not ratified ERA. More than 200 organizations, in addition to many individuals, supported it by holding their conventions and meetings in states that had ratified and by avoiding travel in other states. The boycott was challenged in court, but the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld NOW's right to wage it.

As the seven-year deadline for ratification established by Congress approached, two California law students who were also NOW members proposed obtaining an extension deadline. Democratic congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman of New York introduced a resolution extending the ratification deadline to March 1986. NOW organized a march in Washington, D.C., that attracted more than 100,000 people who demonstrated their support for the amendment and for extending the deadline. Congress granted an extension to 30 June 1982 but not for the seven years requested.

The extension granted amendment supporters a reprieve that they used to develop a new campaign strategy. They enlarged their focus to a national one in an attempt to convince women across the country that they could influence states to ratify. Fund-raising campaigns became more successful. NOW, for example, had raised \$150,000 in 1977 and increased that to almost \$1 million in 1981. Other groups became increasingly active, creating political action committees to support pro-ERA legislative candidates and recruiting corporate executives to lobby in states that had not yet ratified it. Supporters, however, did not articulate arguments that effectively countered Schlafly's rhetoric against the amendment.

Amendment opponents used President Jimmy Carter's proposal to draft women and men into the military to their advantage by arguing that

it affirmed their claims about the ERA. The 1980 Republican National Convention further weakened the amendment's chances when it repudiated its forty-year-long tradition of supporting it.

NOW launched its ERA Countdown Campaign in 1981, with former first lady Betty Ford and actor Alan Alda as honorary cochairs. Polls showed that 63 percent of Americans supported the amendment and 32 percent opposed it. Massive efforts to raise \$15 million for advertising involved door-to-door solicitation and use of Hollywood celebrities and other notables to support the reinvigorated effort. Also, lobbying brigades of women from across the country joined local forces in targeted states to press for ratification.

Early in 1982, attention focused on North Carolina, Florida, and Illinois. The Illinois legislature had considered and rejected the amendment several times, but supporters continued to believe that the state would ratify it. Seven women went on a hunger strike, and seventeen women chained themselves to the door of the Illinois Senate chamber, but none of the targeted states ratified the amendment.

On 30 June 1982, the amendment died, three states short of those needed for ratification. Of the fifteen states that did not ratify, most were in the South, with Illinois being the primary northern exception. No state had ratified the ERA after 1978. The amendment was reintroduced in the House in 1983 but, with 278 ayes and 147 nays, it needed six more votes in order to have had the required two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

Despite the amendment's failure, Congress passed several measures banning sex discrimination, including the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974, and the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978. Other measures expanded coverage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, increased the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's power, added sex to the purview of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and prohibited sex discrimination in state programs funded by federal revenue sharing. In addition, several states added equal rights amendments to their state constitutions and passed a range of laws banning sex discrimination.

See also Abortion; American Association of University Women; Anthony, Susan Brownell; Business and Professional Women/USA; Caraway, Hattie Ophelia Wyatt; Chisholm, Shirley Anita St. Hill; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Eagle Forum; Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX; Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendments, State; ERAmerica; Ford, Elizabeth Ann (Betty) Bloomer; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; General Federation of Women's Clubs; Holtzman, Elizabeth; League of Women Voters; National Association of Colored Women; National Committee to Defeat the UnEqual

Rights Amendment; National Federation of Republican Women; National Organization for Women; National Woman's Party; National Women's Political Caucus; Nineteenth Amendment; Parks, Rosa Louise McCauley; Paul, Alice; President's Commission on the Status of Women; President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities; Protective Legislation; Republican Party, Women in the; *Roe v. Wade*; Roosevelt, Eleanor; St. George, Katharine Delano Price Collier; Schlafly, Phyllis Stewart; Seneca Falls Convention; Sex Discrimination; Suffrage; Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974

References Berry, *Why ERA Failed: Politics, Women's Rights, and the Amending Process of the Constitution* (1986); Boles, "Building Support for the ERA: A Case of 'Too Much, Too Late'" (1982); Carroll, "Direct Action and Constitutional Rights: The Case of the ERA" (1986); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 91st Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1970* (1970); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 92nd Congress, 1st Session . . . 1971* (1972); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1972* (1972); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 98th Congress, 1st Session . . . 1983* (1984); Felsenthal, *The Biography of Phyllis Schlafly* (1982); Freeman, "From Protection to Equal Opportunity: The Revolution in Women's Legal Status" (1990); Harrison, *On Account of Sex* (1988).

Equal Rights Amendments, State

Nineteen states have equal rights sections or provisions in their state constitutions or have added equal rights amendments to their state constitutions, although these provisions vary in their scope and in the ways that state courts have interpreted them. The states with equal rights provisions and the dates of passage are Alaska (1972), Colorado (1972), Connecticut (1974), Florida (1998), Hawaii (1972), Illinois (1970), Iowa (1998), Louisiana (1974), Maryland (1972), Massachusetts (1976), Montana (1972), New Hampshire (1975), New Mexico (1973), Pennsylvania (1971), Texas (1972), Utah (1896), Virginia (1971), Washington (1972), and Wyoming (1890).

Wyoming, the first state to incorporate an equal rights provision, included it in its state constitution in 1890, as did Utah in 1896. Illinois incorporated its provision when it adopted a new constitution in 1970. The other states added constitutional amendments in the 1970s, the exceptions being Florida and Iowa, which added them in 1998.

Some of the provisions cover private and public conduct, and others are limited to public actions only. The standard for determining discriminatory action has varied by state, with some state courts using strict scrutiny and other state courts using less rigorous levels. Legislatures have also differed in their responses to the provisions. For example, after New Mexico added an ERA to its state constitution, the legislature reviewed state laws and changed more than twenty discriminatory laws and proposed two additional constitutional amendments. However, Utah has passed and retained laws that treat women and men differently.

In some states, attorneys general have determined that women could use their birth names and that legal restrictions on female employment are null. The New Mexico State Supreme Court upheld a ban on students visiting the dormitory rooms of the opposite sex, but a Texas court rejected a policy that required women students to live on campus, whereas men had to live off campus. The Pennsylvania insurance commissioner prohibited the use of sex in setting automobile insurance rates.

The many differences in states' equal rights provisions, in court interpretations of them, and in legislative responses to them prohibit making generalizations regarding their impact.

See also Equal Rights Amendment

References Altschuler, "State ERAs" (1983); Berry, *Why ERA Failed: Politics, Women's Rights, and the Amending Process of the Constitution* (1986).

ERAmerica

Founded in 1976, ERAmerica was a nationwide, bipartisan political organization that worked for the passage of the federal Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Business and Professional Women/USA (BPW/USA) initiated creation of ERAmerica after a political consulting firm it had hired recommended that an umbrella organization of associations be formed to coordinate ratification efforts. BPW invited representatives of the League of Women Voters, the National Organization for Women, the National Women's Political Caucus, the Women's Equity Action League, the American Association of University Women, and the National Education Association to join together. Over 200 organizations eventually participated in the coalition.

ERAmerica served as a clearinghouse for information about the amendment, directed congressional testimony, lobbied Congress and state legislatures, held mass demonstrations and rallies, and encouraged letter-writing campaigns and petition drives. Celebrities, including actress Marlo Thomas, actor Alan Alda, columnist Erma Bombeck, and singer Helen Reddy added glamour to the campaign when they made appearances for ERAmerica and helped raise money for it.

ERAmerica disbanded when the deadline to ratify the amendment expired in 1982.

See also American Association of University Women; Business and Professional Women/USA; Carpenter, Mary Elizabeth (Liz) Sutherland; Equal Rights Amendment; League of Women Voters; National Organization for Women; National Women's Political Caucus; Women's Equity Action League

References Slavin, *U.S. Women's Interest Groups* (1995).

Eshoo, Anna G. (b. 1942)

Democrat Anna Eshoo of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1993. Reflecting her Silicon Valley constituency with its emphasis on technology, Eshoo has worked to change laws governing investor lawsuits because she believes they hinder the growth of high-technology industry. The House and Senate approved the bill, President Bill Clinton vetoed it, and Eshoo helped lead the House's override of it. It was the first time both the House and Senate overrode one of Clinton's vetoes.

Eshoo supported the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) despite the opposition of labor unions, human rights activists, and environmentalists, all key groups in her district. Believing that she could lose her congressional seat regardless of her vote on the issue, she commented, "If we vote against NAFTA, we just validate the status quo." Among her other priorities are reproductive rights, health care, and services for people living with human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS).

Born in New Britain, Connecticut, Anna Eshoo received her associate's degree from Canada College in 1975. Eshoo chaired the San Mateo County Democratic Central Committee from 1978 to 1982, was Democratic national committeewoman for California from 1980 until 1992, and served on the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors from 1983 to 1993. She unsuccessfully ran for Congress in 1988.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1996 (1995), *Politics in America* 1998 (1997); www-eshoo.house.gov/bio/html.



Representative Anna Eshoo (D-CA) along with Senator Jim Jeffords (D-CA), Vice President Al Gore, Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA), and Representative Joe Barton (R-TX) watched as President Clinton signed a bill, 1997 (Associated Press AP)

Eslick, Willa McCord Blake (1878–1961)

Democrat Willa Eslick of Tennessee served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 4 August 1932 to 3 March 1933. Following the death of her husband, Congressman Edward Eslick, Willa Eslick won the special election to fill the vacancy. She sought to help farmers suffering during the 1930s economic depression by supporting agricultural relief measures and the plans offered by President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt. Eslick did not run for reelection because her husband's death had occurred after the filing deadline for candidates.

Born in Fayetteville, Tennessee, Willa Eslick attended Dick White College, Milton College, Winthrop Model School, Peabody College, and the Metropolitan College of Music. She was chair of the Giles County Council of Defense during World War I and later was a member of the state Democratic committee.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Estrich, Susan (b. 1953)

Susan Estrich became the first woman to manage a major presidential campaign in 1988, when Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis chose her for the position on his staff. She was also the first woman president of the *Harvard Law Review*. Estrich began her political career in 1979, when U.S. senator Edward Kennedy asked her to serve as deputy national issues director in his campaign for the 1980 Democratic presidential nomination. Executive director of the Democratic Party's platform committee in 1984, she served as a senior political adviser in the Walter Mondale–Geraldine Ferraro campaign.

Estrich began working in the Dukakis campaign in 1987 as he sought the party's nomination. The campaign for the nomination had stumbled when the former campaign manager had resigned after releasing damaging information about another candidate. Estrich directed the campaign's recovery, orchestrated Dukakis's success at the Democratic National Convention, and continued as the Dukakis campaign manager through the general elections. Dukakis lost to George Bush.

Born in Lynn, Massachusetts, Estrich earned her bachelor's degree from Wellesley College in 1974 and her law degree from Harvard University Law School in 1976. Estrich clerked for a U.S. Court of Appeals judge in 1977 and was law clerk for U.S. Supreme Court justice John Paul Stevens in 1978. Special assistant to the chief counsel of the U.S. Senate



Committee on the Judiciary from 1979 to 1980, Estrich returned to Harvard University Law School in 1981 to teach.

See also Democratic Party, Women in the

References *New York Times*, 6 May 1998.

Evers-Williams, Myrlie Louise Beasley (b. 1933)

Widow of slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers, Myrlie Evers-Williams chaired the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) from 1995 to 1998. She announced her candidacy for the job at a time when the NAACP struggled with financial and sexual harassment scandals, a lawsuit against the incumbent chair that board members initiated, and substantial debts. Evers-Williams requested the resignation of several board members and instituted a number of reforms within the organization, thereby restoring its integrity. With NAACP president Kweisi Mfume, she overcame its \$4 million debt, leaving the organization with a \$2 million surplus. She resigned to devote more time to the Medgar Evers Institute.

Evers-Williams married Medgar Evers in 1950, and in 1955 he became head of the NAACP Mississippi state office in Jackson. As her husband's secretary, Evers-Williams worked with him to secure voting rights, economic stability, fair housing, equal education, and equal justice and dignity for African Americans. Despite repeated death threats, the couple remained

Myrlie Evers, widow of slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers, addressed a freedom rally sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Howard University, 1963 (Corbis-Bettmann)

in Jackson, continued their work, and taught their children to fall to the floor if they heard an unusual noise. In the spring of 1963, their home was fire-bombed, and Evers-Williams put out the fire with a garden hose.

On 12 June 1963, Medgar Evers was shot on his front porch. The next night, Evers-Williams attended a mass meeting at Pearl Street Baptist Church. She told the audience: "I am left without my husband and my children without a father, but I am left with the strong determination to try to take up where he left off." Byron de la Beckwith was arrested for Evers's murder, tried, and set free by a hung jury. A second trial also ended without a conviction. Evers-Williams persisted and called for a third trial after allegations of jury tampering in the second trial came to light. On 5 February 1994, Beckwith was found guilty of murder and given a life sentence.

After her husband's murder, Evers-Williams moved her family to Claremont, California, and began classes at Pomona College. While a student, Evers-Williams continued to make public speeches for the NAACP, primarily about her husband's life and work. After graduating in 1968, she worked for the college until 1970. Evers-Williams unsuccessfully ran for Congress in 1970 and for a Los Angeles City Council seat in 1987. She was appointed to the Los Angeles Board of Public Works in 1987.

Born in Vicksburg, Mississippi, Myrlie Evers-Williams attended Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1950. She earned her bachelor's degree in 1968 from Pomona College.

Evers-Williams wrote *For Us, the Living* (1967).

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1995* (1995); www.naacp.org.

Executive Order 10980

Signed by President John F. Kennedy on 14 December 1961, Executive Order 10980 established the President's Commission on the Status of Women. The order explained that "prejudices and outmoded customs act as barriers to the full realization of women's basic rights which should be respected and fostered as part of our nation's commitment to human dignity, freedom, and democracy." Noting that women had served in every period of national emergency, the order said that after the emergency ended, women had been treated as a marginal group. Stating that women should be allowed to develop their talents and use their skills, the commission's report made recommendations for overcoming employment discrimination on the basis of sex and for services to help women in their roles as wives and mothers.

See also President's Commission on the Status of Women

References Mead and Kaplan, eds., *American Women: The Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women and Other Publications of the Commission* (1965).

Executive Order 11126

Signed by President John F. Kennedy on 1 November 1963, Executive Order 11126 established the Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women and the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women. The two groups were part of the recommendations made by the President's Commission on the Status of Women and were created to provide continuing leadership in the advancement of the status of women. The Interdepartmental Committee's area of responsibility was women employed by the federal government, and the Citizens' Advisory Council oversaw the private sector.

See also Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women; President's Commission on the Status of Women

Executive Order 11246

Signed by President Lyndon Johnson on 24 September 1965, Executive Order 11246 established equal employment opportunity as the policy of the federal government. It prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin. It also required all government contracts to include an equal opportunities clause stating that the contractor would not discriminate on the basis of race, color, or national origin. In addition, the contractor agreed to take affirmative action to prevent discrimination. The affirmative action requirement covered employment, promotion, demotion, recruitment, termination, pay rates, and apprenticeship programs.

See also Affirmative Action; Executive Order 11375

References Linden-Ward and Green, *American Women in the 1960s: Changing the Future* (1993).

Executive Order 11375

Signed by President Lyndon Johnson on 13 October 1967, Executive Order 11375 expanded Executive Order 11246 to add sex to the groups covered by the government's equal employment opportunity policy for federal employees. The effort to end sex discrimination in federal employment included the creation of the Federal Women's Program (FWP), which was established to enhance opportunities for women in every area of federal employment. Every federal department and agency

had an FWP manager, and some agencies had FWP committees. The Office of Personnel Management administered the program. The Department of Labor used the order to pressure other federal departments to conduct reviews of their compliance and to sue contractors who used unfair hiring practices.

See also Executive Order 11246; Federal Women's Program; Federally Employed Women

References www.few.org/fwp/htm.

Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993

Passed by Congress and signed by President Bill Clinton in 1993, the Family and Medical Leave Act protects the jobs of workers who take leaves of absence for a range of family responsibilities. The act requires employers to allow employees who have worked for them for at least a year to take up to twelve weeks of unpaid leave during any twelve-month period for the birth or adoption of a child; the placement of a foster child; the serious illness of a child, spouse, or parent; or the employee's own health. The act applies to companies with fifty or more employees, exempting about 95 percent of all employers, but the companies it covers employ about 60 percent of all workers.

Democratic congresswoman Patricia Schroeder of Colorado and Republican congresswoman Margaret Roukema of New Jersey led the eight-year campaign to enact the measure. Roukema explained its importance: "This bill represents not only decency, but what is required in the workplace today." She also believed that the bill was a "bedrock family issue," adding: "This is not just symbolism. This is health care. This is job security."

The Family and Medical Leave Act was supported by 9to5, National Association of Working Women, and other women's groups and opposed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Federation of Independent Business. The National Retail Federation withdrew its opposition in 1993, explaining that the proposal had evolved and the association could support it. In addition, Aetna Life and Casualty Company announced that its family leave policy had saved the company \$2 million in

one year through reduced employee turnover and reduced hiring and training costs.

First introduced in 1985, the bill was killed in 1988 with a Senate filibuster. The bill passed both chambers in 1990, but President George Bush vetoed it, as he did in 1992. That year, the Senate voted to override Bush's veto, but the House was twenty-seven votes short. In 1992, Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton made the bill a top campaign issue, and when the bill passed on 4 February 1993, it became his first legislative victory as president.

See also Congress, Women in; 9to5, National Association of Working Women; Roukema, Margaret Scafati; Schroeder, Patricia Nell Scott

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 101st Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1990* (1991); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1992* (1993); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 103rd Congress, 1st Session . . . 1993* (1994); www.dol.gov/dol/asp/public/programs/handbook/fmla.htm.

Farenthold, Frances (Sissy) Talton (b. 1926)

The first woman to be nominated for vice president of the United States at a major party convention, Democrat Frances Farenthold entered politics as a volunteer in John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign. Director of Nueces County Legal Aid from 1965 to 1967 and a member of the Corpus Christi Human Relations Commission, she witnessed the inequities of Texas's welfare system and concluded that state agencies did not meet the needs of poor Texans. Determined to change state policies, Farenthold ran for the state legislature in 1968 on the themes of "Ethics, Efficiency, Education, and Ecology." During her first term, she passed a bill giving the state a portion of the treasures and antiquities found in its waters and coastal areas and attempted to reform welfare programs. She ran for a second term in 1970 and used "Integrity, Courage, and Competence in the 70s" for her campaign theme. When she called for an investigation of a bank scandal that involved the speaker and leadership of the Texas House, the men retaliated. In drawing the new district lines required after the 1970 census, the leadership created a district that left Farenthold without her political base.

In 1972, Farenthold ran for governor but lost. She also worked for George McGovern's nomination at the Democratic National Convention. Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm had earlier declared that she was running for the presidential nomination but then declined to seek a place on the ticket for either the presidential or vice presidential nomination. With Chisholm's withdrawal, several college students circulated a petition for Farenthold's nomination for the vice presidency, and the National

Women's Political Caucus joined the campaign and began seeking delegates who would support Farenthold. Gloria Steinem nominated Farenthold from the convention floor, and Fannie Lou Hamer and others seconded the nomination. Farenthold received more than 400 votes, but the nomination went to Thomas Eagleton, who ran with presidential nominee George McGovern. Farenthold campaigned for the McGovern-Eagleton ticket and cochaired Citizens for McGovern.

Chair of the National Women's Political Caucus from 1973 to 1975, she ran for governor again in 1974 but lost in an underfinanced campaign. She served as president of Wells College from 1976 to 1980.

Born in Corpus Christi, Texas, Farenthold earned her bachelor's degree at Vassar College and her law degree at the University of Texas in 1949.

See also Democratic Party, Women in the; Hamer, Fannie Lou Townsend; National Women's Political Caucus; State Legislatures, Women in; Steinem, Gloria Marie

References Crawford and Ragsdale, *Women in Texas* (1992).

Farrington, Mary Elizabeth Pruett (1898–1984)

Republican Elizabeth Farrington of Hawaii served as territorial delegate to Congress from 31 July 1954 to 3 January 1957. Elected to fill the vacancy created by the death of her husband, Joseph Farrington, she continued his campaigns for statehood for Hawaii and Alaska. Her accomplishments include the establishment of the Geophysics Institute in Hawaii, designating the City of Refuge on the island of Hawaii as a national historical park, and passing a measure to reapportion Hawaii based on population, an achievement that had eluded others for thirty years. She also worked to improve the market for Hawaii's sugar. Farrington lost her reelection attempt in 1956 and returned to Hawaii.

Born in Tokyo, Japan, Farrington graduated from Ward-Belmont Junior College in 1916 and from the University of Wisconsin at Madison in 1918. She did later graduate work at the University of Hawaii. She was a newspaper correspondent from 1918 to 1957.

Active in Republican Party politics, Farrington was president of the League of Republican Women in Washington, D.C., from 1946 to 1948 and president of the National Federation of Republican Women from 1949 to 1953. She was publisher, president, and director of the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* from 1946 to 1967, president and director of the Star Bulletin Printing Company from 1957 to 1963, and president of the Hawaiian Broadcasting System from 1960 to 1963. After serving as director of the Office of Territories in the Department of the Interior from 1969 to 1971, she worked in the congressional liaison office from 1971 to 1973.

See also Congress, Women in

References Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Tolchin, *Women in Congress: 1917–1976* (1976).

Fauset, Crystal Dreda Bird (1894–1965)

Crystal Fauset was the first African American woman elected to a state legislature. In the 1930s, Fauset became involved in partisan politics, founding the Philadelphia Democratic Women's League in 1934 and becoming the Democratic National Committee's director of colored women's activities in 1936. Two years later, the Democratic Party recruited her to run for the Pennsylvania legislature. Campaigning on the issues of fair employment, slum clearance, and low-cost housing, Fauset won her race and became the first African American woman to serve in a state legislature.

Fauset resigned from the legislature in 1939 to become assistant state director of the Pennsylvania Works Progress Administration's (WPA) Education and Recreation Program and race relations adviser for all of the state WPA programs. In 1941, Fauset became New York City mayor Fiorella La Guardia's race relations adviser. Later in the year, she joined the national office of Civilian Defense as the special race relations adviser to the director. During this period, she also became a member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Black Cabinet, working to end discrimination and serving as an advocate for African Americans.

Early in 1944, Fauset went to work for the Democratic National Committee but left after a few months because she felt that the Democratic Party leadership did not welcome the involvement of African American women. She registered as a Republican.

Fauset turned her attention to international issues in the mid-1940s and helped establish the United Nations Council of Philadelphia, later called the World Affairs Council. An officer in the World Affairs Council from 1945 to 1950, she traveled extensively in India, the Middle East, and Africa.

Born in Princess Anne, Maryland, Crystal Fauset graduated from Boston Normal School in 1914 and earned her bachelor of science degree from Teachers College at Columbia University in 1931. After teaching from 1915 to 1918, Fauset joined the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association and traveled across the country as a field secretary for the Girls' Reserves, a program for African American and working girls. In 1927 and 1928, Fauset worked for the Interracial Section of the American Friends Service Committee as a field representative. She made 210 speeches to schools and clubs, speaking to some 50,000 people about the needs and achievements of African Americans and the ways that the races could help each other.

See also State Legislatures, Women in

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993).

Federal Women's Program

The Civil Service Commission of the federal government created the Federal Women's Program (FWP) in 1967 to implement President Lyndon Johnson's Executive Order 11375, prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex by the federal government and its contractors. FWP sought to enhance women's employment and advancement in the federal government. The program had three objectives: to create a legal and an administrative framework to provide equal job opportunity for federal employees, to eliminate prejudices that limited women to certain jobs, and to encourage women to seek jobs with the federal government and to participate in training programs that offered the possibility of advancement.

The FWP underwent a number of changes in 1969, when President Richard Nixon signed Executive Order 11478. The order integrated the FWP into the Equal Employment Opportunity Program, making agency directors responsible for it and for development of affirmative action plans. The directors were also charged with designating an FWP chair and a committee to provide advice on women's concerns and to monitor progress of the agency's affirmative action program. In 1971, Nixon appointed Barbara Hackman Franklin to identify and recruit women for high-level federal appointments.

See also Affirmative Action; Federally Employed Women; Franklin, Barbara Hackman

References Markoff, "The Federal Women's Program" (1972).

Federally Employed Women

Founded in 1968 to fight sex discrimination in employment by the U.S. government, Federally Employed Women (FEW) grew out of a conference for executive women employed by the federal government. The catalyst for FEW's organization had occurred the year before, when Executive Order 11375 had added sex to the forms of discrimination prohibited within the federal government and by its contractors in Executive Order 11246. Executive Order 11375 also established the Federal Women's Program to enhance women's employment opportunities in the federal government. FEW's organizers believed that the measure had the potential for improving women's opportunities and at the same time believed that implementation and enforcement of its provisions deserved monitoring.

FEW's structure includes chapter, state, and national levels that each have four program areas: legislative, training, compliance, and diversity.

The legislative area involves developing an agenda, educating members, lobbying members of Congress, offering testimony, and monitoring legislative action. Legislative priorities have included support for affirmative action, improvements in processing employment complaints, an end to sexual harassment, and protection against discrimination based on sexual orientation. Other priority areas are child care and elder care and access to benefits for women in the military.

In the area of compliance, FEW officers work with departmental and agency management to encourage their enforcement of Executive Order 11375 and to monitor the effectiveness of the Federal Women's Program. Although not a labor union, FEW's representatives help agencies develop goals and objectives to achieve equality of opportunity in the federal workforce. At a 1997 congressional hearing on discrimination in the federal workforce, however, FEW's president testified that most women continued to work in the lowest-paying jobs, that thousands of discrimination complaints were filed annually, and that resolutions of the complaints took too long.

See also Affirmative Action; Child Day Care; Executive Order 11375; Federal Women's Program; Lesbian Rights; Military, Women in the; Sex Discrimination; Sexual Harassment

References www.few.org.

Feinstein, Dianne Goldman (b. 1933)

Democrat Dianne Feinstein of California entered the U.S. Senate on 10 November 1992. She first gained national attention in 1978, when she became mayor of San Francisco following the murder of Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk by a former supervisor.

Born in San Francisco, California, Feinstein received a bachelor's degree in history from Stanford University in 1955. Following graduation, she was a Coro Foundation intern and became familiar with various government agencies through a study of the administration of justice in California. She then worked for the California Industrial Welfare Commission. In the 1960s she served on city, county, and state criminal justice commissions and boards.

Feinstein entered politics as a member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, where she served from 1970 to 1978. Because she was president of the board of supervisors and thus next in line, the assassinations of Milk and Moscone resulted in her becoming mayor. Helping the city heal from the tragedy and making the city safe were her first priorities. She introduced and passed a measure banning handguns, but California courts found it unconstitutional. She enlarged the police department, reduced emergency response time from eight minutes to two minutes, and



cut the crime rate by 27 percent. To become better acquainted with city residents and to demonstrate her commitment to community service, Feinstein spent Saturday mornings leading neighborhood cleanup patrols, cleaning up trash and painting over graffiti. She retired as mayor in 1987.

In 1990, Feinstein ran for governor against U.S. senator Pete Wilson, who won. Wilson resigned from the Senate with four years remaining in his term and appointed John Seymour to serve until 1992, when an election would be held. Feinstein entered the 1992 Senate race, defeated Seymour, and completed the term that Wilson had begun. During her campaign, Feinstein argued that the Senate needed more than the two women serving in it at the time, saying, “two percent may be good for milk, but it’s not good enough for the Senate.” When Feinstein and Congresswoman Barbara Boxer won their races for the U.S. Senate in 1992, California became the first state to send two women to the Senate to serve together. In 1994, Feinstein ran for a full six-year term and won.

As a member of the Senate, Feinstein passed the California Desert Protection Act, placing more than 3 million acres into two national parks, Joshua Tree and Death Valley, and one national preserve, East Mojave, in addition to another 3 million acres designated as wilderness. The prime mover behind bills banning assault weapons, she explained: “It really

Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) was reelected to a second term in the U.S. Senate, 1998 (Archive Photos)

comes down to a question of blood or guts—the blood of innocent people or the Senate of the United States having the guts to do what we should do when we take that oath to protect the welfare of our citizens.” Coauthor of the 1994 Gun-Free Schools Act, she wrote and passed the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enforcement Act. Another measure that she played a key role in, the Comprehensive Methamphetamine Control Act of 1996, created new controls over the manufacture of the drug and increased the criminal penalties for possession and distribution of it. She has proposed a measure to amend the U.S. Constitution by adding a Victims’ Bill of Rights and has sought passage of the Federal Gang Violence Act. In addition, she has worked to stop illegal immigration, create harassment-free workplaces, and create new loans for small businesses.

See also Boxer, Barbara Levy; Congress, Women in; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; Sexual Harassment

References Boxer, *Strangers in the Senate: Politics and the New Revolution of Women in America* (1994); Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1990 (1993); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography* 1979 (1979); Roberts, Dianne *Feinstein: Never Let Them See You Cry* (1994); www.senate.gov/~feinstein/dfbio.html.

Felton, Rebecca Ann Latimer (1835–1930)

Democrat Rebecca Felton of Georgia served in the U.S. Senate from 21 November 1922 to 22 November 1922. She was the first woman to serve in the U.S. Senate and had the shortest term, one day. Felton’s first exposure to politics came when her husband served in Congress in the 1870s and she was his campaign manager and press secretary. In the early 1880s, she investigated convict camps, found them appalling, and persuaded the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union to join her crusade to house male and female prisoners separately and to house juvenile offenders and adult criminals separately.

By the 1890s, Rebecca Felton had become established as a political leader in her own right, lecturing against convict leasing and liquor. In the early 1900s, she became active in the woman suffrage movement and in efforts to provide vocational training for poor white girls. By that time, she had begun writing a column for the *Atlanta Journal*, articulating her racist, anti-Catholic, and anti-Semitic views and her opposition to child labor laws.

When she was eighty-five years old, she helped elect her old friend Thomas Watson to the U.S. Senate. Watson won, served two years of his term, and died in 1922. The governor of Georgia, who had opposed woman suffrage and wanted a symbolic gesture to appease women voters, appointed Felton to serve between the time of Watson’s death and the

election of his successor. After the election, Felton convinced the newly elected senator to wait one day to present his credentials, giving her the opportunity to take the Senate seat on 21 November 1922 and to make a speech. After 143 years of an all-male Senate, Felton told her colleagues: "When the women of the country come in and sit with you, though there may be but a very few in the next few years, I pledge to you that you will get ability, you will get integrity of purpose, you will get exalted patriotism, and you will get unstinted usefulness." The following day, she resigned, and the new senator was sworn in. It was almost ten years before another woman, Hattie Caraway, was sworn into the Senate.

Born in DeKalb County, Georgia, Felton attended private schools and graduated from Madison Female College in 1852. The next year she married William Harrell Felton, who was a physician, Methodist clergyman, and farmer. During the Civil War years, the Feltons sought refuge in a farmhouse near Macon, where they experienced the horrors of war when outlaw members of the Union and Confederate armies and freed slaves pillaged their home and terrorized them.

Rebecca Felton wrote *My Memoirs of Georgia Politics* (1911), *The Subjection of Women and the Enfranchisement of Women* (1915), *Country Life in Georgia in the Days of My Youth* (1919), and other works.

See also Caraway, Hattie Ophelia Wyatt; Congress, Women in; Suffrage; Woman's Christian Temperance Union

References Boxer, *Strangers in the Senate: Politics and the New Revolution of Women in America* (1994); James, ed., *Notable American Women, 1607–1950* (1971); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

The Feminine Mystique

The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan, published in 1963, helped launch the modern feminist movement in the United States by exposing the haunting sense of dissatisfaction many women felt and by portraying the experience as one that many women shared. Friedan articulated the social, educational, and economic limits on women's lives that restricted their development as human beings and that hobbled their participation in the full range of human endeavors. Women readers responded by launching projects to change the conditions, laws, relationships, and institutions that hindered them.

The themes in *The Feminine Mystique* emerged from responses to a questionnaire Friedan sent to her former Smith College classmates in preparation for the fifteenth anniversary of their 1942 graduation. Respondents described personal problems, prompting Friedan to investigate further to see if women in the larger population had encountered comparable

problems and frustrations. Expanding her research beyond the initial questionnaire, Friedan found that many women yearned for more than making beds, shopping for groceries, caring for their children, and doing the other tasks related to homemaking and mothering. Using birth rates, statistics on age at marriage, cultural images, social norms, and personal experiences, Friedan found that many women shared the “problem with no name.” It was not described in medical or psychological references, but women across the country described feelings of emptiness and desperation.

Friedan concluded that since World War II a concerted effort had been made to convince women that they could only be happy in their roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers. Friedan called the ideology “the feminine mystique.” Friedan wrote: “It is my thesis that as the Victorian culture did not permit women to accept or gratify their basic sexual needs, our culture does not permit women to accept or gratify their basic need to grow and fulfill their potentialities as human beings.” Declaring that housework was boring and that the home had become “a comfortable concentration camp,” she pointed to several cultural components that encouraged women to limit their world. She included the educational establishment, Freudians, women’s magazines, and mass advertising in her indictment and concluded that women should be able to seek equality in both the private and public worlds.

The book prompted women to begin making changes in their lives. Some women questioned their primary roles as wives and mothers and explored new roles in their homes, communities, and the workplace. Women already in the workplace began to question the limits placed on the jobs they could hold and the wages they could earn. They challenged their legal status, their economic status, and their political status and worked to change them.

Friedan used the celebrity and power that she acquired from *The Feminine Mystique* to speak on behalf of women and to encourage women to speak for themselves. The sense of shared fate that the book helped women identify significantly contributed to the emergence of the modern feminist movement.

See also Feminist Movement; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein

References Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women’s Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (1979); Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963); Schneir, *Feminism in Our Time* (1994).

The Feminist Majority

Founded in 1987, the Feminist Majority recruits women for public office and works for women’s equality, reproductive freedom, and increased human services. Organized by Eleanor Smeal, former president of the Na-

tional Organization for Women, Peg Yorkin, and Katherine Spillar, the Feminist Majority was originally known as the Fund for the Feminist Majority. The group received its initial financial support from Peg Yorkin, who gave \$10 million to the Fund for the Feminist Majority Foundation, 50 percent of which went to endow the foundation, with the balance supporting the legalization of the abortifacient RU-486 in the United States.

The Feminist Majority has established several programs to further its goals. The “Feminization of Power Campaign” works to encourage women to seek public office and to assist them as they campaign. The Rock for Choice project reaches out to young people through music to educate and organize them to support abortion rights. The Feminist Majority Foundation educates the public on women’s issues, defends women’s rights in legal cases, and conducts research.

See also Abortion; Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994; National Organization for Women; RU-486 (Mifepristone); Sexual Harassment; Smeal, Eleanor Cutri; Violence Against Women Act of 1994

References www.feminist.org.

Feminist Movement

The modern feminist movement, or the “second wave” of feminism, encompasses a wide range of theories and philosophies that hold at their center the quest for women’s social, economic, and political equality. The first wave emerged in the mid-1800s, advocated and won woman suffrage rights, and essentially dissolved after ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. The second wave of feminism began in the 1960s with two primary branches—the women’s liberation movement and the feminist movement—that merged into the feminist movement in the 1970s.

Several factors contributed to the emergence of the modern feminist movement, including women’s participation in World War II as members of the military and as members of the workforce, the President’s Commission on the Status of Women’s report in the early 1960s, the creation of state commissions on the status of women, and the publication of *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan in 1963. By identifying and articulating discrimination on the basis of sex, women transformed areas of life that had long been considered family or personal matters into social and political issues. Women formed rape crisis centers, domestic violence shelters, day care centers, and abortion clinics, and they sought to change laws, policies, and society. Existing organizations, such as the American Association for University Women, the League of Women Voters, and others adopted legislative agendas that reflected feminist priorities, and new organizations, including the National Organization for Women and the National Women’s Political Caucus, emerged for the purpose of identifying

and advocating women's issues. The single most visible solution to sex discrimination that feminists sought was passage and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The ERA failed in 1982, but the focus on women's status that accompanied it contributed to policy changes in the areas of education, employment, pay, crime, credit, and health.

Feminists have sought to give women greater power over their lives and in business and politics. They have argued that each woman must control her own body, which includes the choice to bear children or not, access to means of birth control and to fertility resources, and availability of abortion services. Other, less controversial forms of power have also been feminist goals. Women have sought power through elective and appointive offices, and other women have supported their efforts by contributing to their campaigns and working in them. The increasing numbers of women in state legislatures and in Congress reflect the successes women have had.

Feminists have challenged and changed an array of social traditions and practices. Homemakers entered the workforce and found that holding the equivalent of two jobs, one at home and one at their employer's, was too much, and they implored their husbands to help with household and child care responsibilities. At the office, women decided that making the coffee, picking up their boss's laundry, and other traditionally female tasks were not in their job description and protested. Vocabulary and word usage came under scrutiny, and the exclusive use of male nouns and pronouns was deemed sexist. For example, "worker" replaced "workman," and "police officer" replaced "policeman." In addition, adult females decided that being addressed or referred to as "girls" was demeaning and objected. Women who found sexist jokes offensive concluded that they did not have a social obligation to laugh at them. Feminists sought and obtained changes in their religious denominations to permit the ordination of women. Other women found that Christianity and other male-dominated theologies did not meet their needs and explored ancient, goddess-centered religions and beliefs.

American culture and education have also been affected by the feminist movement. Women writers, artists, and musicians have found greater acceptance and new audiences for their works. Women's studies and women's history courses at colleges and universities have made women's lives, achievements, and contributions more visible to students.

As the feminist movement transformed American politics, society, and culture, a conservative movement developed to stop and reverse the changes. New women's organizations, including Eagle Forum, Concerned Women for America, and other groups, claimed that women belonged at home taking care of their homes and children, that husbands should pro-

vide for their families, that abortion was murder and should be illegal, and that women did not need an ERA because they had enough equality. In the 1970s and 1980s, the conservative movement matured, gained increasing power, and slowed or reversed some of the changes feminists had made.

In the 1990s, feminist proposals that had once been considered radical became accepted and were enacted or implemented. The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, federal funding for child day care, child support enforcement, and expanded roles for women in the military are a few examples. Although feminists may have been among the first proponents of these measures, they became public policy as a result of broad-based public and congressional support for them.

See also Abortion; American Association of University Women; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Displaced Homemakers; Domestic Violence; Equal Rights Amendment; *The Feminine Mystique*; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; League of Women Voters; National Organization for Women; National Women's Political Caucus; Pay Equity; President's Commission on the Status of Women; Violence Against Women Act of 1994

Feminists for Life of America

Founded in 1972, Feminists for Life of America (FFLA) is a national network with thirty-six state chapters and 3,500 members that opposes abortion, infanticide, capital punishment, and euthanasia. FFLA supports justice, nonviolence, and nondiscrimination, lobbies state legislatures for its agenda, and provides support for women in need.

Working under the slogan "Pro Woman—Pro Life," FFLA argues that violence, including abortion, euthanasia, and capital punishment, is inconsistent with core feminist principles of nonviolence, equality, and justice and that abortion physically and psychologically harms women. The organization claims that Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, Alice Paul, and other early feminists were prolife.

See also Anthony, Susan Brownell; Feminist Movement; Gage, Matilda Joslyn; Paul, Alice

References www.serve.com/fem4life.

Feminization of Poverty

The feminization of poverty describes a phenomenon, recognized in 1978 by a sociologist, that almost one-half of the poor people in the United States lived in households headed by women and that two-thirds of poor U.S. adults were women. Several factors contribute to the feminization of poverty, including teenage motherhood and divorce. Two other factors, sexism and racism, contribute to poverty through the undercompensation of employed women and people of color.

Not only do many women earn less than men but also they are more likely to have the economic burden of supporting their dependent children. Teenage mothers often have full financial responsibility for their children, and when fathers contribute to their children's support, the payments are small. In addition, teenagers have few resources to support themselves and their children because their education does not prepare them for jobs that provide adequate compensation to raise them above the poverty level.

Divorce affects the financial status of women and their dependent children more negatively than it does men. A year after divorce, on average, men's standard of living increases by 42 percent, whereas that of divorced women and their children decreases by 73 percent. For women who had been full-time homemakers, reentering the workforce poses significant challenges and often requires them to obtain or update job skills.

Alimony and child support can ease the economic difficulties, but the amounts allocated by the courts are often inadequate or not paid. Unable to collect child support, some women and their children become welfare recipients. In response, states and the federal government have incrementally increased child support enforcement laws. Beginning in the 1980s, the federal government implemented several policies to assist in the collection of child support payments and to provide incentives to states to assist custodial parents to whom child support was due.

Sexism contributes to the feminization of poverty in that employed women earn only about 70 percent of the wages that employed men earn. Even though the Equal Pay Act of 1963 requires equal pay for equal work, the gap between women's and men's earnings persists. In addition, the sex-segregated nature of the labor market tends to relegate women to low-paying, low-status jobs with little prospect for advancement. These differences in men's and women's earnings and potential earnings continue throughout women's work lives and into retirement, because retirement benefits, whether private plans or Social Security, are based on earnings.

Racism, like sexism, contributes to the feminization of poverty. People of color experience discrimination in employment, advancement, and pay. For women of color, the combination of racism and sexism works to make them the lowest category of wage earners.

See also Child Support Enforcement; Displaced Homemakers; Divorce Law Reform

References Gimenez, "The Feminization of Poverty: Myth or Reality?" (1990); Riley, *Divorce: An American Tradition* (1991); www.cdc.gov.

Fenwick, Millicent Hammond (1910–1992)

Republican Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1975 to 3 January 1983. Fenwick entered politics in the 1930s, working in campaigns and serving on the state Republican committee. She served on the Bernardsville Board of Education from 1938 to 1941, the New Jersey Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1957, and the Bernardsville Borough Council from 1958 to 1964, the first woman to serve on it. In 1970, Fenwick won an open seat in the New Jersey legislature, where she passed a bill prohibiting discrimination in hiring on the basis of race, creed, national origin, ancestry, age, marital status, or sex. She also passed measures establishing minimum wages for agricultural workers and requiring toilet facilities for agricultural workers. She worked for equal rights for women, environmental protection, education, and penal reform.

When Fenwick ran for Congress, she refused to accept money from political action committees, reflecting her commitment to honesty and openness in Congress. As a member of Congress, she supported the Equal Rights Amendment, federal funding for abortions, and the food stamp program. Her other interests included securing human rights, promoting the use of synthetic fuels, and ending the “marriage penalty” in tax law. Fenwick was known for her dignity and elegance, for her outspoken comments on the House floor, and for her habit of smoking a pipe. Fenwick unsuccessfully ran for the U.S. Senate in 1982.

Born in New York, New York, Millicent Fenwick interrupted her education when she was fifteen to live in Spain while her father served as ambassador to that country. She attended Columbia University in 1933 and the New School for Social Research in 1942. A model for *Vogue* magazine, she was an associate editor for that and other Condé Nast publications from 1938 to 1948 and wrote *Vogue's Book of Etiquette* in 1948.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; Equal Rights Amendment; State Legislatures, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Tomlinson, “Making Their Way: A Study of New Jersey Congresswomen, 1924–1994” (1996).

Ferguson, Miriam Amanda Wallace (1875–1961)

Democrat Miriam “Ma” Ferguson served as governor of Texas from 1925 to 1927 and from 1933 to 1935. She entered politics as a surrogate for her husband James Ferguson, who served as governor from 1915 to 1917. Following impeachment, conviction, and removal from office for mishandling of state funds in 1917, James Ferguson was banned from holding

public office. He worked to have the restriction removed but failed and recruited his wife to become a candidate for governor. To emphasize the active role that James Ferguson expected to play if Miriam Ferguson won the election, she used the campaign slogan “Two Governors for the Price of One.” In the course of the campaign, Miriam Ferguson gained a nickname she disliked when a newspaper used her first initials, M(iriam)A(manda), in a headline, but she incorporated it into a campaign slogan, “Me for Ma.”

Miriam Ferguson campaigned against the Ku Klux Klan and openly supported tolerance for Catholics and Jews. She promised economy in government, leniency in the administration of Prohibition laws, and improved administration of the state penitentiaries. Elected in 1924, she became the second woman governor in the United States, following Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming, who also began her term in 1925.

Governor Miriam Ferguson targeted the Ku Klux Klan by passing a bill that outlawed the use of masks. She convinced the legislature to restore her husband’s political rights, but the state supreme court found the act unconstitutional. Although controversy surrounded both of the actions, allegations that her office was selling pardons and paroles actually led to her defeat in 1926. She ran for governor again in 1930 and lost.

In 1932, Ferguson won a second term as governor. Taking office during the depths of the Depression, she declared a bank holiday two days before President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s national bank holiday. The legislature passed her requests for congressional redistricting and the legalization of gambling on horse races and prizefighting but refused to approve a sales tax or a corporate income tax. She did not seek reelection in 1934 but tried unsuccessfully in 1940.

Born in Bell County, Texas, Miriam Ferguson attended Baylor Female College. She married James Edward Ferguson in 1899 and devoted herself to raising their children while James Ferguson founded a bank and became active in politics.

See also Governors, Women; Ross, Nellie Tayloe

References Sicherman and Green, eds., *Notable American Women: The Modern Period* (1980).

Ferraro, Geraldine Anne (b. 1935)

Democrat Geraldine Ferraro of New York served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1979 to 3 January 1985. She held the leadership position of secretary of the House Democratic Caucus in the 97th and 98th Congresses (1981–1983 and 1983–1985). She was the Democratic candidate for vice president of the United States in 1984, the first woman ever nominated for the office by a major party.



Born in Newburgh, New York, Ferraro received her bachelor's degree in English from Marymount College in 1956 and her law degree from Fordham University in 1960. For the next fourteen years, Ferraro held part-time legal positions and worked in Democratic politics while raising her children. In 1974, she became an assistant district attorney for Queens County, New York, in the Investigations Bureau and the next year became chief of the county's Special Victims Bureau, which handled child abuse, domestic violence, and rape cases. She left after four years to run for Congress.

As a member of Congress, Ferraro was frustrated by her male colleagues' seeming indifference to women's issues, particularly economic ones, including pay rates, health insurance, and pension inequities. Ferraro also supported federal funding for abortions, defended displaced federal workers, worked for increased federal funds for mass transit, supported tuition tax credits, and opposed busing.

At the 1983 National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) convention, Ferraro met with other women leaders to discuss potential women candidates for president and vice president of the United States. Ferraro told the group that she did not see any good possibility that any of the male contenders for the presidency would select a woman for their vice presidential running mate. Walter Mondale, however, told the convention

Representative Geraldine Ferraro (D-NY) was the first woman to run for U.S. vice president on a major party ticket (shown here with presidential candidate Walter Mondale), 1984 (Corbis/Bettmann)

that he would consider a woman. When he became a leading contender for the Democratic Party's nomination, the NWPC, the National Organization for Women, and other powerful female Democrats pressured him to choose a woman. Mondale selected Ferraro.

When the 1984 Democratic National Convention met, delegates first elected Mondale for their presidential nominee and then Ferraro as their vice presidential candidate, making her the first woman to be a major party's nominee for vice president. She acknowledged that the nomination came to her in part because she was a woman but insisted she was qualified for it.

Two weeks after receiving the nomination, the first of a series of stories that questioned Ferraro's integrity and her husband John Zaccaro's honesty appeared. Ferraro's handling of congressional financial disclosure statements was questioned, and Zaccaro's real estate transactions as well as other financial dealings were investigated. More damaging stories followed. Zaccaro's initial refusal to release his income tax returns prompted speculation that he was hiding illegal activities. Then a story about improper loans that family members had made to Ferraro's 1978 congressional campaign appeared, even though she had reported the transactions at the time and paid a fine. The negative media attention diminished after Zaccaro released his tax information and Ferraro held a news conference reviewing the family's finances.

Ferraro's prochoice stand on reproductive rights became the next issue in the campaign. A Roman Catholic, Ferraro argued that although abortion might not be an option for her, she believed that it should be a protected right for women. Roman Catholic archbishop John O'Connor of New York attacked her and others who shared her beliefs, pressuring her to change her position on abortion, but she remained firm.

Mondale and Ferraro lost in the general election. Having surrendered her congressional seat to run for the vice presidency, Ferraro became a political commentator. She unsuccessfully sought her party's nomination for the U.S. Senate in 1992 and lost a second bid for the Senate in 1998.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; Democratic Party, Women in the; National Organization for Women; National Women's Political Caucus; President and Vice President, Women Candidates for

References Ferraro, *Ferraro: My Story* (1985); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Fiedler, Roberta (Bobbi) Frances Horowitz (b. 1937)

Republican Bobbi Fiedler of California served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1981 to 3 January 1987. A fiscal conservative who generally supported President Ronald Reagan's policies, she disagreed

with some of his positions. Most notably, she supported the Equal Rights Amendment and a proposal for women's economic equity. She did not seek a fourth term in the House; instead, she ran for the U.S. Senate but lost in the Republican primary.

After leaving Congress, Fiedler was a government and public affairs consultant. In 1993, she was appointed to the Board of Commissioners of the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency.

Born in Santa Monica, California, Fiedler attended Santa Monica City College and Santa Monica Technical School from 1955 to 1959. She was an interior decorator from 1957 to 1960 and owned a drugstore from 1969 to 1977. Opposed to a busing plan to desegregate Los Angeles schools, she and others organized BUSTOP in 1976, which led to her election to the Los Angeles School Board, where she served from 1977 to 1981.

See also Congress, Women in; Economic Equity Act; Equal Rights Amendment

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America: Members of Congress in Washington and at Home* (1983); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1991* (1991).

Fifteenth Amendment

The Fifteenth Amendment sought to guarantee suffrage to male former slaves following the Civil War. Congress sent the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution to the states on 27 February 1869, and it was ratified on 30 March 1870. As with the Fourteenth Amendment ratified before it, woman suffragists fought to include women in the Fifteenth Amendment but failed.

The text of the first section of the Fifteenth Amendment is as follows: “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

Although some abolitionists insisted that former slaves needed the protection granted by the amendment, woman suffragists opposed the amendment's passage and ratification because it did not include African American women or other women and granted suffrage only to African American males. Republicans who supported the amendment believed that they could depend upon African Americans to vote Republican, but women's votes would not be as reliable.

With the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, the woman suffrage movement became increasingly racist. Woman suffrage leaders, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Carrie Chapman Catt, began calling for enfranchisement of women to counter African American males' votes. Women gained suffrage rights with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, but except for a brief period in the 1870s during

Reconstruction, no African Americans—women or men—living in the South could fully exercise their rights until passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

See also Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman; Fourteenth Amendment; Nineteenth Amendment; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage; Voting Rights Act of 1965

Finney, Joan (b. 1925)

Democrat Joan Finney served as governor of Kansas from 1991 to 1995. Finney entered politics as a member of a U.S. senator's staff in 1953, was Kansas commissioner of elections from 1970 to 1972, and was administrative assistant to the mayor of Topeka from 1973 to 1974. An unsuccessful candidate for the U.S. House in 1972, Finney won election as Kansas state treasurer, serving from 1975 to 1991. After serving one term as governor, she did not run for reelection.

Born in Topeka, Kansas, Joan Finney earned her bachelor's degree from Washburn University in 1974.

See also Governors, Women

References Mullaney, *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States 1988–1994* (1994).

Flint Auto Workers' Strike

On 30 December 1936, auto workers at the Flint, Michigan, General Motors (GM) plant sat down, beginning a strike that spread to 140,000 GM workers and involved more than 50 percent of the company's plants. They demanded recognition of the United Auto Workers (UAW) as their exclusive bargaining agency. On 31 December, fifty women formed the Women's Auxiliary to support the striking men by cooking food for them, establishing a first aid station, and distributing literature. They also established a day care center for striking women, ran picket lines, managed a speakers' bureau, and organized entertainment.

When police attempted to stop women from taking food to the strikers, turned off the heat, and lobbed tear gas into an occupied building, women formed the Women's Emergency Brigade. Armed with rolling pins, brooms, and mops for weapons, members of the brigade formed a line around male pickets, forcing police to shoot at them first. On 11 February 1937, strikers and GM reached an agreement that included recognition of the UAW as the collective bargaining agent and GM's pledge that it would not interfere with employees joining unions.

The Women's Emergency Brigade became a model for union supporters in other automobile manufacturing cities. The Women's Auxiliary

and the Women's Emergency Brigade helped sustain strikers' morale and contributed to the success of the strike. In addition, women gained new organizational and leadership skills and developed a sense of power.

See also Coalition of Labor Union Women; Lawrence Textile Mill Strike; Shirtwaist Workers Strike; Triangle Shirtwaist Company Fire

References Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement: From the First Trade Unions to the Present* (1982); Wertheimer, *We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America* (1977).

Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley (1890–1964)

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was president of the U.S. Communist Party from 1961 until her death in 1964. Flynn entered the political arena when she was a high school student, giving speeches on soapboxes in New York. Arrested in 1906 during a speech, she was expelled from high school and began organizing for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Between 1908 and 1917, Flynn's work took her across the country as she participated in the IWW's fights for freedom of speech in Montana, Washington, and other western states and in labor strikes in Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, working on behalf of textile and silk workers and cooks and waiters. She left the IWW in 1917 because of a disagreement over strategy.

In the 1920s, Flynn worked to free Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Italian-born anarchists accused of murdering two men during a payroll robbery. She organized mass rallies, raised money for their defense, and engaged lawyers to represent them. Their executions in 1927 convinced Flynn that capitalist justice was no justice.

A founding member of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in 1920, Flynn's commitment to the organization's importance came from her own experiences. She believed that her civil rights had been violated every time she had been arrested. She served on the ACLU's board until 1940, when she was expelled from it because of her membership in the Communist Party.

Flynn's leadership in the U.S. Communist Party began with her election to its governing board in 1941. She became more visible when she led resistance to the Internal Securities Act, which required all Communist groups to register with the U.S. attorney general. One of the 135 plaintiffs in an unsuccessful lawsuit to have the act declared unconstitutional, she was convicted of conspiracy to overthrow the government in 1951 and was sentenced to three years in prison and fined \$6,000.

Elected the first woman president of the U.S. Communist Party in 1961, Flynn successfully challenged the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. Flynn's passport was revoked in 1962 for her Communist Party activities. She appealed and won in 1964, when the U.S. Supreme Court

Elizabeth Gurley
Flynn, Communist
activist (Brown
Brothers)



found that she had been denied due process of law. She went to Moscow, where she died. A state funeral was held for her in Red Square.

Born in Concord, New Hampshire, Flynn published *I Speak My Own Piece: Autobiography of the "Rebel Girl"* in 1955.

References Camp, *Iron in Her Soul: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and the American Left* (1995); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook*, 1961 (1961).



Anti-Vietnam War activist Jane Fonda visited the Bach Mai Hospital in Hanoi, Vietnam, which was bombed by U.S. forces (undated, MTI/Eastfoto)

Fonda, Jane Seymour (b. 1937)

Actress Jane Fonda became a national political figure in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Her vocal support for the Black Panthers and American Indian militants and her outspoken opposition to the war in Vietnam placed her on the Nixon administration's enemies list. Her 1972 trip to North Vietnam and her broadcasts over Radio Hanoi urging U.S. pilots to stop bombing the North earned her the appellation "Hanoi Jane"; some members of Congress introduced measures that called for her to be tried for treason. Describing herself as "a revolutionary woman," Fonda encountered difficulty securing movie roles in the early 1970s. When her popularity was restored, Fonda made several movies in which a woman's consciousness is raised through personal experience.

Born in New York City, Jane Fonda is the daughter of actor Henry Fonda. She attended Vassar College in 1955 and 1956, studied art in Paris, and studied acting under Lee Strasberg. She has worked on the Broadway stage and has made several physical fitness videos.

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1986* (1986).

Ford, Elizabeth Ann (Betty) Bloomer (b. 1918)

Wife of President Gerald R. Ford, Betty Ford was first lady from 1974 to 1977. The Fords entered the White House following Richard Nixon's resignation from the presidency for his role in the Watergate scandal. Betty Ford's candor in discussing personal and political topics worried her husband's political advisers, embarrassed her children, scandalized some observers, and endeared her to many Americans. She continued her



First Lady Betty Ford discussed a new report on the impact of substance abuse on American women, 1996 (Archive Photos)

characteristic forthrightness and leadership after she and her husband returned to private life.

Born in Chicago, Illinois, Betty Ford attended the Bennington School of Dance for two summers beginning in 1936 and studied under Martha Graham in New York City. In 1941, she returned to Grand Rapids, Michigan, where she had spent her youth and formed her own dance group. There, she married Gerald R. Ford in 1948. Two weeks after their wedding, Gerald Ford won election to Congress.

The Fords raised their family in Alexandria, Virginia, where Betty Ford was involved in family activities and Republican women's organizations. In 1973, upon the resignation of Vice President Spiro Agnew, Nixon chose Gerald Ford for vice president. When Nixon resigned in August

1974, Gerald Ford became president of the United States, and Betty Ford became first lady.

Diagnosed with breast cancer in September 1974, Betty Ford told the nation that she had the disease, a matter that she could have kept confidential. Instead, she became an advocate for increased awareness of breast cancer and other women's health concerns and encouraged women to examine themselves for lumps and to regularly get mammograms in order to detect breast cancer early.

Ford's openness during a taped interview for the television news program "60 Minutes" created a flurry of speculation that she had become a political liability for her husband. She had commented that premarital sex might lower the divorce rate, that she favored the U.S. Supreme Court's decision legalizing abortion, that she did not think her children used drugs, and that if her daughter were having an affair, she would want to know the man and to counsel her daughter. The strong initial reaction to the interview concerned the president's advisers until public opinion polls placed her popularity at 75 percent.

During her years in the White House, Betty Ford became an active advocate for feminist issues. A strong supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment, she gave speeches and wrote to and called state legislators, urging them to vote for its ratification. In addition, she encouraged her husband to appoint women to high offices in the federal government and

convinced him to decline invitations to the annual Gridiron Club dinner until the group elected a woman member.

In 1978, she entered treatment for dependence on alcohol and prescription medications. Years of suffering from arthritis and a pinched nerve had left her addicted to pain medication, which was complicated by her use of alcohol. As with her experience with cancer, Betty Ford became an advocate for improved awareness, education, and treatment of alcohol and other drug dependencies. She cofounded the Betty Ford Center in Rancho Mirage, California, a facility that helps women, men, and their families recover from the disease. Since the center opened in 1982, Betty Ford has been active as the chair of the board of directors.

The first volume of her autobiography, *The Times of My Life*, chronicled her experience with cancer as well as her life in the White House. The second volume, *Betty: A Glad Awakening*, recounts her recovery from chemical dependence in 1978.

See also Abortion; Equal Rights Amendment; *Roe v. Wade*

References Ford, *The Times of My Life* (1978), *Betty: A Glad Awakening* (1987).

Fourteenth Amendment

The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was sent to the states on 16 June 1866 and was ratified on 28 July 1868. The amendment includes the first specific statement of equality in the Constitution, which is embodied in its equal protection clause. When it was proposed, the amendment created a schism between abolitionists and suffragists because its second section refers to “male inhabitants” as citizens, the first time the gender qualification appeared in the Constitution. Abolitionists insisted that the newly freed slaves needed the protection that the amendment offered, saying the time was “the Negro’s hour,” whereas suffragists demanded that the amendment include women. Suffragists lost, but in the 1970s the Fourteenth Amendment became an important tool for fighting sex discrimination.

The text of the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment is as follows:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Early decisions made by the U.S. Supreme Court confirmed that the Fourteenth Amendment was not intended to place women on the same political and economic planes as men and confirmed that its intent was to address racial issues. In *Minor v. Happersett* (1875), the Court said that the privileges and immunities clause did not grant any rights that a citizen did not have before the amendment. Courts initially limited the equal protection clause to race but later expanded it to national origin and alienage. The U.S. Supreme Court expanded the amendment to cover sex discrimination for the first time in *Reed v. Reed* (1971) and subsequently decided other sex discrimination cases from that perspective.

See also *Reed v. Reed*; Sex Discrimination

References Baer, *Women in American Law* (1996); Freeman, “From Protection to Equal Opportunity: The Revolution in Women’s Legal Status” (1990); Ginsburg, “Gender in the Supreme Court: The 1973 and 1974 Terms” (1976).



Representative Tillie Fowler (R-FL), with Representative Jennifer Dunn (R-WA), displayed a letter from a six-year-old constituent during the impeachment inquiry of President Clinton, 1998 (Associated Press AP)

Fowler, Tillie Kidd (b. 1942)

Republican Tillie Fowler of Florida entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1993. She held the leadership positions of House deputy majority whip in the 104th and 105th Congresses (1995–1997 and 1997–1999) and vice chair of the Republican Conference in the 106th Congress (1999–2001). Fowler ran opposed in the 1994, 1996, and 1998 general elections. She supports term limits and has pledged to serve only eight years. Her congressional priorities include a strong national defense, support for military personnel, transportation, improvement of the public works infrastructure, congressional reform, a balanced budget amendment, reproductive rights, and affordable health care.

When allegations of sexual harassment on several military training bases emerged in 1996, Fowler worked with Democrat Jane Harman and Republican Steve Buyer to discover the reasons that Army policies to prevent the problems had failed. Some members of Congress argued that men and women should not be trained together, but Fowler disagreed. She expressed concern that some of the sexual harassment victims had not reported the events and hoped to identify ways to encourage reporting.

Born in Milledgeville, Georgia, Tillie Fowler earned her bachelor’s degree in 1964 and her law degree in 1967, both from Emory University.

A legislative assistant to a member of Congress from 1967 to 1970, she then worked in the Nixon administration as counsel for the Office of Consumer Affairs in 1970–1971. She changed her party affiliation from Democrat to Republican, moved to Florida, and married. A member of the Jacksonville City Council from 1985 to 1992, she also chaired the Florida Endowment for the Humanities from 1989 to 1991.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; Military, Women in the; Sexual Harassment

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/fowler/bio_fowler.html.

Frahm, Sheila Sloan (b. 1945)

Republican Sheila Frahm of Kansas served in the U.S. Senate from 11 June 1996 to 5 November 1996. When Bob Dole resigned from the U.S. Senate, Kansas governor Bill Graves appointed Frahm to the position, which she held until the November election. Frahm entered the primary election to become the Republican nominee to complete the Senate term but lost.

Born in Colby, Kansas, Sheila Frahm received her bachelor of science degree from Ft. Hays State University in 1967 and attended the University of Texas at Austin. She served on the State of Kansas Board of Education from 1985 to 1988, served in the Kansas Senate from 1989 to 1995, and was Senate majority leader from 1994 to 1995. Lieutenant governor of Kansas from January 1995 to June 1996, she was appointed vice chair of the governor's cabinet and secretary of the Department of Administration in 1995.

Frahm was appointed executive director of the Kansas Association of Community Colleges in February 1997.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References "Sheila Frahm, R-Kansas" (1996).

Franklin, Barbara Hackman (b. 1940)

Republican Barbara Franklin served as secretary of commerce from 1992 to 1993. She entered government service in 1971 when President Richard Nixon appointed her to direct the first White House program ever developed to recruit women for high-level positions in the federal government. Nixon appointed her to a six-year term on the newly created U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission in 1973, where she advocated a cost-benefit analysis as part of the regulatory process, worked on child safety, and helped coordinate the federal government's work to control carcinogens and toxic materials.

In 1979 Franklin joined academia as a senior fellow and director of the government and business program at Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, working there until 1988. She formed a consulting firm in 1984, of which she was president and chief executive officer until 1992. President George Bush appointed her an alternate representative to the United Nations before he appointed her secretary of commerce. Her priorities as secretary included advocacy for U.S. business in the areas of international trade and environmental policy. Franklin believed that U.S. business had two advantages in the international market, its creativity and its entrepreneurial spirit.

Born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Franklin earned her bachelor's degree from Pennsylvania State University in 1962 and a master's degree in business administration from Harvard University in 1964.

See also Cabinet, Women in; Federal Women's Program

References "Barbara Hackman Franklin, Secretary of Commerce, Advocate for U.S. Business" (1992).

Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994

Passed in 1994, the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act was intended to protect women seeking abortions and the physicians performing them by making it a federal crime to obstruct entrances to abortion clinics. The measure came as an attempt to reduce violence at clinics, including 123 arson cases; thirty-seven bombings; and 1,500 cases of stalking, assault, and sabotage between 1982 and 1994. Democratic congresswoman Patricia Schroeder of Colorado was primarily responsible for the bill's passage.

See also Abortion; Schroeder, Patricia Nell Scott

References Bingham, *Women on the Hill: Challenging the Culture of Congress* (1997).

Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein (b. 1921)

Author Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique*, published in 1963, identified a haunting sense of dissatisfaction that many women shared, motivated women to change their lives, and in the process helped launch the modern feminist movement. A founder of the National Organization for Women and the National Women's Political Caucus, Friedan's leadership in the feminist movement brought her acclaim and criticism both inside and outside the movement she helped create.

Born in Peoria, Illinois, Betty Friedan earned her bachelor's degree from Smith College in 1942 and studied at the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Iowa, and the Esalen Institute. A journalist,



*National Organization
for Women founder
and author of *The
Feminine Mystique*,
Betty Friedan, 1970
(UPI/Corbis)*

Friedan did freelance work following her marriage and the births of her children. In preparation for her Smith College class's fifteenth anniversary reunion in 1957, she wrote and sent a questionnaire to her former classmates. In the hope that she would be able to develop a magazine story from the event, she constructed the questions to probe her classmates' experiences since graduation.

The survey responses revealed "the problem that has no name," as Friedan described it. She found that her classmates, like herself, had married well and had successful husbands, talented children, and lives with amenities, but also harbored the aching questions: "Is this all? Is there

nothing more in my life?” Friedan wrote an article based on the survey and other research, but magazines rejected it. She expanded the research and wrote a book-length manuscript, *The Feminine Mystique*.

Friedan soon became the leader of a group that had no organization, no structure, and no agenda but nevertheless clamored for changes in women’s status. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission provided a unifying cause when it refused to enforce the ban against sex discrimination in employment contained in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, preferring to focus on complaints of race discrimination instead. Friedan and others founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966 to press the commission to fulfill its mandate and to advocate other legal and social changes. Friedan was founding president of the group, serving until 1970.

Friedan insisted: “This is a two-sex revolution, and when it is completed we will have new and honest patterns of life and profession, where ability and not gender counts.” She added: “Man is not the enemy. He is the fellow victim.” Her refusal to accept an antimale ideology and her belief that feminism needed to be more inclusive of family life led to a break between her and the movement she had started. For many women, however, she remained a symbol and leader of the feminist movement.

In the 1980s, Friedan turned her attention to aging, explaining that “now I am in uncharted territory. It isn’t that I have stopped being a feminist, but women as a special separate interest group are not my concern any more.” From her research, Friedan concluded in *The Fountain of Age* (1993) that women and men who continued to grow and develop aged the most successfully. She also wrote *It Changed My Life: Writing on the Women’s Movement* (1976) and *The Second Stage* (1981).

See also Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; *The Feminine Mystique*; Feminist Movement; National Organization for Women; National Women’s Political Caucus

References *New York Times*, 29 November 1970, 15 September 1993.

***Frontiero v. Richardson* (1973)**

In *Frontiero v. Richardson* (1973), the U.S. Supreme Court decided that family members of women in the armed services have the same rights to benefits as the family members of men in the armed services under the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment.

Sharron Frontiero, a lieutenant in the U.S. Air Force, sought to claim her husband as a dependent, which would have granted her a larger housing allowance and provided her husband with medical and dental benefits. The uniformed services automatically granted dependent status to the

wives of men in the services, but women in the services had to demonstrate that their husbands were dependents.

The Court noted: “There can be no doubt that our Nation has had a long and unfortunate history of sex discrimination,” and “by according differential treatment to male and female members of the uniformed services for the sole purpose of achieving administrative convenience, the challenged statutes violate the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment insofar as they require a female member to prove the dependency of her husband.”

In addition, four members, a plurality of the Court, concluded that “classifications based upon sex, like classifications based upon race, alienage, or national origin, are inherently suspect, and must therefore be subjected to strict judicial scrutiny.” If one more justice, making a majority, had agreed with the previous statement, the decision would have set a precedent, and sex discrimination would have come under strict scrutiny instead of the intermediate level of scrutiny used in *Reed v. Reed* (1971).

As head of the Women’s Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, later a U.S. Supreme Court justice, argued the case.

See also American Civil Liberties Union; Ginsburg, Ruth Joan Bader; *Reed v. Reed*; Sex Discrimination

References *Frontiero v. Richardson*, 411 U.S. 677 (1973).

Fuller, Margaret (1810–1850)

A major force behind the nineteenth-century American feminist movement, Margaret Fuller called for sexual and social equality for women. Suffrage leader Elizabeth Cady Stanton said that Fuller provided “the vindication of woman’s right to think.” Fuller’s most notable work, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845), was the beginning of many women’s “awakening” to their legal and social status. Fuller demanded equality for women; called for the end of separate spheres of activity; and argued that women needed to develop their intellectual abilities, use their intuitive and creative powers, and become independent before marrying. In her call for women’s emotional and financial independence, Fuller insisted that women must free themselves from men because even the men most sympathetic to women cannot understand women’s needs or represent them. She believed that by joining together and forming a sisterhood, women could help each other and take action on social issues, such as opposing the expansion of slavery. To demonstrate women’s power, Fuller catalogued the lives of historical and mythological women and offered them as role models.

Margaret Fuller, one of the first feminists, advocated women's equality in Woman in the Nineteenth Century (1845) (Library of Congress)



Born in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, Fuller received her early education from her father, a member of New England's intellectual elite and the U.S. House of Representatives. Despite her father's disappointment that his firstborn was a daughter, he recognized her intellectual ability and taught her Latin from the time she was six years old. She later attended girls' schools in Boston and Groton, Connecticut.

Fuller taught for a time, but frustration with the classroom led her to develop a series of seminars that leading ladies of Boston paid to attend. Calling the series "conversations," she wrote that they offered "a point of union to well-educated and thinking women . . . where many of mature age wish for some place of stimulus and cheer . . . and for those younger, a place where they could state their doubts and difficulties, with a hope of gaining aid from the experience or aspirations of others." Begun in 1839,

the conversations used Greek mythology to explore the power of human will, sources of creative energy, and development of the arts. The conversations lasted for five years, influencing a nucleus of thinkers who became leaders in the later feminist and abolitionist movements.

Editor of *The Dial*, a Transcendentalist literary and philosophical journal, from 1840 to 1842, she traveled to the Great Lakes, a trip that became the basis for her book *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843* (1844), and then wrote for the *New York Tribune*. In Europe as the *Tribune's* foreign correspondent, she wrote thirty-three dispatches on the plight of oppressed people and reported on the 1848 revolution in Italy. During her stay in Italy, Fuller married Giovanni Ossoli and had a son. On the family's return to the United States in 1850, the ship foundered and all three of them drowned.

See also Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage

References Matthews, *Women's Struggle for Equality* (1997); Spender, ed., *Feminist Theorists* (1983); von Mehren, *Minerva and the Muse* (1994).

Fulmer, Willa Lybrand (1884–1968)

Democrat Willa Fulmer of South Carolina served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 7 November 1944 to 3 January 1945. Following the death of her husband, Congressman Hampton Pitts Fulmer, Willa Fulmer won the special election to fill the vacancy. Congress adjourned a month after Willa Fulmer took office. She did not receive any committee assignments, nor did she seek another term.

Born in Wagener, South Carolina, Willa Fulmer attended Greenville Female Seminary before marrying Hampton Fulmer.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Furse, Elizabeth (b. 1936)

Democrat Elizabeth Furse of Oregon served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1993 to 3 January 1999. Furse did not seek a fourth term because she believes in term limits. Cofounder and director of the Oregon Peace Institute in 1985, Furse's motivation to run for Congress was her opposition to the Gulf War. Although she had not been elected to any other office, her years of community activism provided her with a strong network of allies for her candidacy. Furse served on the House Armed Services Committee and worked to cut the defense budget because, she said, the "budget includes every exotic weapon you could possibly think of," but the nation's real enemies are "decaying schools,

neglected children, violent streets, too few jobs, disgraceful housing.” She passed an amendment that cut the ballistic missile defense program by \$150 million and attempted to end funding for the C-17 cargo plane.

Born in Nairobi, Kenya, Furse grew up in South Africa and became a U.S. citizen in 1972. She received her bachelor’s degree from Evergreen State College in 1974. A community organizer in Watts in the 1960s, she was director of the Restoration Program for Native American Tribes and lobbied Congress from 1980 to 1986 to pass legislation restoring legal status to three Oregon tribes. In 1982, she managed the successful Oregon ballot measure for a nuclear freeze.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995); www.house.gov/furse/efbio2.htm.

Futrell, Mary Alice Franklin Hatwood (b. 1940)

As president of the National Education Association from 1983 to 1989, Mary Futrell was one of the most powerful African American women in the United States and head of the largest employees’ union in the country. Futrell’s vision for education included partnerships between business and schools and programs to reduce high school dropout rates. She also sought policies to improve and expand Head Start programs, provide child care programs for young families, develop effective drug prevention programs in the schools, ensure adequate resources for schools, and expand the use of computers in teaching. She became president at a time when education was under intense scrutiny and teachers were being criticized for the quality of their work. Futrell countered: “Teachers are easy prey. We’re easy people to blame. If we should be blamed for anything, it should be for not standing up to protest against all the burdens that society puts on us.”

Born in Alta Vista, Virginia, Futrell earned her bachelor’s degree from Virginia State College in 1962, her master’s degree in 1968, and her doctorate in education in 1992, the two graduate degrees from George Washington University. She also studied at the University of Virginia from 1978 to 1979 and the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University from 1979 to 1980. A high school teacher in Alexandria, Virginia, from 1963 to 1980, Futrell was president of the Virginia Education Association from 1976 to 1978, secretary-treasurer of the National Education Association from 1980 to 1983, and president of the organization from 1983 to 1989.

Futrell became dean of the Graduate School of Education and Human Development at George Washington University in 1995.

References *New York Times*, 3 July 1983.

G

Gage, Matilda Joslyn (1826–1898)

During the 1800s, Matilda Gage helped develop women's consciousness of their contributions to society through her research and writing. The author of *Woman as Inventor* (1870), Gage illustrated women's contributions to the invention or development of embroidery, bread, the cotton gin, pillow lace, and medical science. In *Woman, Church, and State* (1893), she indicted organized religion for its teachings of women's inferiority and their responsibility for introducing sin into human affairs. Gage also collaborated with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony on *Declaration of the Rights of Women* (1876) and *History of Woman Suffrage*, a multivolume work published from 1881 to 1922. Underlying her work was the belief that the social, political, and economic frameworks created by men needed reconstruction.

Born in Cicero, New York, Gage obtained her education at the Clinton Liberal Institute in New York. She made her first public speech on women's rights at the Third National Women's Rights Convention in Syracuse in 1852. She argued that women did not need to prove their worth to be eligible to vote because they had demonstrated it in the arts, sciences, government, and literature. On another occasion, she described women as political slaves. A member of the first advisory council of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), Gage wrote for the organization's newspaper, *The Revolution*. She also held several offices in the New York State Woman Suffrage Association and organized education campaigns under its auspices.

Gage founded and was president of the Woman's National Liberal Union in 1890, an organization that criticized social mores and advocated the clear separation of church and state.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the; Anthony, Susan Brownell; National Woman Suffrage Association; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage; Temperance Movement, Women in the

References Spender, ed., *Feminist Theorists* (1983); Whitman, ed., *American Reformers* (1985).

Gasque Van Exem, Elizabeth Mills Hawley (1886–1989)

Democrat Elizabeth Gasque of South Carolina served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 13 September 1938 to 3 January 1939. Following the death of her husband, Congressman Allard Gasque, Elizabeth Gasque won a special election to fill the vacancy. She was not sworn in because Congress did not reconvene that session. She did not run for reelection.

Born on Rice Creek Plantation, Richland County, South Carolina, Elizabeth Gasque attended South Carolina Coeducational Institute and received a degree in expression from Greenville Female College in 1907.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

***Geduldig v. Aiello* (1974)**

In *Geduldig v. Aiello*, an employed woman argued that California's disability insurance program discriminated against women because it did not cover pregnancy. The insurance program was managed by the state for private employees who contributed 1 percent of their income to it. The U.S. Supreme Court decided that the plan did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause, explaining: "There is no risk from which men are protected and women are not. Likewise, there is no risk from which women are protected and men are not."

Congress passed the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978, which required employers to include pregnancy and related disabilities in their insurance programs.

See also *California Federal Savings and Loan v. Guerra*; Fourteenth Amendment; *General Electric v. Gilbert*; *Nashville Gas Co. v. Satty*; Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978

References *Geduldig v. Aiello*, 417 U.S. 484 (1974).

Gender Gap

The gender gap measures the difference between the proportion of women who vote for a candidate or support an issue and the proportion of men who vote the same or support the same issue. Despite suffragists' hopes that women would become a voting bloc, the first hints of that phenomenon did not appear until 1952, thirty-two years after women gained voting rights. In 1952, women voted for successful Republican presidential nominee Dwight D. Eisenhower in greater percentages than men did. Women's hopes that he could end the Korean War, which had begun in 1950, contributed to their support for Eisenhower. Almost another thirty years passed before political observers recognized another appearance of the gender gap. Since 1980, women have tended to vote for Democrats, and men have been more likely to vote for Republicans. Since the 1980 presidential race between Democrat Jimmy Carter and Republican Ronald Reagan, the proportion of women voting for Democratic presidential candidates has grown. In 1996, Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton was elected, with 11 percent more women than men voting for him.

The gender gap also appears in senatorial races. For example, in California Democratic candidate Barbara Boxer's 1992 race for the U.S. Senate, 57 percent of the women voted for her and 43 percent for her Republican opponent, whereas 43 percent of the men voted for Boxer and 51 percent of the men voted for her opponent. Women's votes provided the winning margin in dozens of Democratic candidates' congressional and senatorial races in the 1980s and 1990s. The pattern continues even when the Republican candidate is a woman. In Maine's 1996 Senate race, Republican Susan Collins won with 43 percent of women's votes and 56 percent of men's votes. Her Democratic opponent lost with 48 percent of women's votes and 39 percent of men's votes.

See also Democratic Party, Women in the; Republican Party, Women in the

References Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute, Rutgers University; www.feminist.org.

***General Electric v. Gilbert* (1976)**

In *General Electric v. Gilbert*, decided in 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court found that excluding pregnancy from a disability plan does not violate Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. General Electric provided a disability plan that paid benefits to employees for nonoccupational sickness and accidents but excluded pregnancy from the covered disabilities. In its decision, the Court explained: "Pregnancy-related disabilities constitute an *additional* risk, unique to women, and the failure to compensate them for

this risk does not destroy the presumed parity of the benefits, accruing to men and women alike” (emphasis in original).

Congress responded to the decision by passing the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978. The measure requires employers to treat pregnancy the same as other temporary disabilities.

See also *California Federal Savings and Loan v. Guerra*; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Employment Discrimination; *Geduldig v. Aiello*; *Nashville Gas Co. v. Satty*; Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978

References *General Electric v. Gilbert*, 429 U.S. 125 (1976).

General Federation of Women’s Clubs

Founded in 1890, the General Federation of Women’s Clubs (GFWC) is the oldest nonpartisan, nondenominational women’s volunteer organization in the world and, until 1900, was the largest women’s organization in the country. It has 6,500 affiliated clubs with more than 1 million members.

GFWC has its roots in Sorosis, a woman’s literary club organized by journalist Jane Cunningham Croly in 1868. After the all-male New York Press Club denied Croly and other women admittance to an 1868 banquet honoring Charles Dickens, Croly formed Sorosis for women only. *Sorosis* is a Greek word meaning an aggregation: a sweet flavor of many fruits.

Sorosis’s founders thought that they were starting a new movement but learned that other independent women’s clubs had formed across the country. In 1889, Croly convened a national conference that brought together delegates from sixty-one women’s clubs. A constitution and an organizational plan were developed and approved the next year. At the first GFWC conference, the group adopted the motto “Unity in Diversity.”

Self-improvement and development were the early focuses of women’s clubs, with the agenda expanded to include arts, conservation, education, home life, international affairs, and public affairs. As women’s clubs grew in popularity across the country, groups of African American women formed and sought membership in the GFWC. Initially, the GFWC refused to admit clubs dominated by black women, who responded by forming their own federations, including the Colored Women’s League and the National Federation of Afro-American Women, which merged into the National Association of Colored Women. Some African American women, however, belonged to local women’s clubs that were affiliated with GFWC. When two of these women, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin and Mary Church Terrell, sought to address GFWC’s national convention in 1900, GFWC leaders refused the request and a controversy ensued. Some GFWC member clubs threatened to leave the organization if Ruffin and Terrell were not permitted to speak and others threatened to leave if they were. GFWC resolved the problem at its 1902

convention by declaring that each state affiliate could determine which clubs could belong to it, and that all clubs that belonged to a state affiliate also belonged to the GFWC.

GFWC established a national model for juvenile courts, and worked to establish the first Forest Reserve in the county in 1899. GFWC also helped pass the 1906 Pure Food and Drugs Act, and worked for the eight-hour day, the first child labor law, the child labor amendment, the woman suffrage amendment, and independent citizenship for women. Opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment in 1922, GFWC changed its position in 1940 and became a supporter of the ERA. Through its network of grassroots volunteers, GFWC continues to work for a range of issues, including protecting children from abuse and promoting adoption, implementing tax credits for purchasing health insurance, requiring clothing labels that identify articles made without abusive and exploitative child labor, passing equal pay legislation, requiring child safety locks on handguns, and increasing child literacy.

See also Cable Acts; Child Labor Amendment; Colored Women's League; Croly, Jane Cunningham; Equal Rights Amendment; National Association of Colored Women; Pay Equity; Protective Legislation; Ruffin, Josephine St. Pierre; Suffrage; Terrell, Mary Eliza Church; Women's Joint Congressional Committee

References Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (1973); www.gfwc.org.

Gibbs, Florence Reville (1890–1964)

Democrat Florence Gibbs of Georgia served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1 October 1940 to 3 January 1941. Following the death of her husband, Congressman Willis Gibbs, she won the special election to fill the vacancy. She did not run for reelection.

Born in Thomson, Georgia, Florence Gibbs graduated from Brenau College.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins (1860–1935)

Humanist and feminist intellectual Charlotte Perkins Gilman argued for women's economic independence as the route to their equality with men. Her most influential work, *Women and Economics: A Study of the Economic Relation between Men and Women as a Factor in Social Evolution*, published in 1898, examined the economic relationship between men and women. She concluded that a woman's survival depended upon her ability to attract



Charlotte Perkins Gilman argued for economic independence and freedom from domestic servitude for women, ca. 1900 (Library of Congress)

and keep a husband, making her relationship with her husband into an economic relationship. Claiming that the sexual division of labor stifled and limited women and condemning households as prisons, Gilman asserted that women held the role of servant, even though the work they did was essential to human life.

Gilman believed that each person should be allowed to develop her or his potential and that women should be permitted to pursue the paid employment for which they were best qualified. Her vision included central kitchens that employed cooks to prepare meals for several families and child care centers that provided supervision and education for children from infancy to school age. She also proposed em-

ploying expert housekeepers for cleaning. With household and family chores assumed by paid workers, women whose talents lent themselves to other endeavors would become free to pursue them for wages. By providing her own economic sustenance, a woman could be equal to her husband.

Gilman's theories emerged at least in part from her own experiences. Born in Hartford, Connecticut, she finished private school when she was sixteen and began searching for ways to become economically independent. She attended the Rhode Island School of Design and took correspondence classes. Despite her intention to remain single, she married in 1884 and had a daughter in 1885. Two years later, she found work writing a local newspaper column and selling greeting cards, but those jobs did not last long.

Plagued with depression and unable to care for her home, husband, and daughter, she consulted doctors who recommended enforced rest, passivity, and acceptance of male dominance. She and her husband separated in 1888, and Gilman and her daughter moved to California. She wrote poetry and fiction and, in 1890, began a lecture series on the need for women's economic independence, the importance of collective enterprise, and community effort as the only possibility for solving some problems.

Gilman and her husband divorced in 1894, but he remained one of her closest friends. When he remarried, Gilman sent their daughter to live with him and his new wife, freeing herself from domestic responsibilities. Gilman moved into Chicago's Hull House in 1895 and continued to lecture. In 1900, Gilman married her first cousin, George Houghton Gilman. She wrote *Concerning Children*, published in 1900, and *The Home: Its*

Work and Influence, published in 1903. She was popular on the lecture circuit until 1915, but her ideas lost their appeal as war began in Europe and other national and international events contributed to changing the climate of opinion.

See also Congressional Union; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman's Party; Suffrage

References Lane, *To Herland and Beyond: The Life and Work of Charlotte Perkins Gilman* (1991).

Ginsburg, Ruth Joan Bader (b. 1933)

On 10 August 1993, Ruth Bader Ginsburg became the nation's 107th justice and second woman on the U.S. Supreme Court. After earning her law degree at Columbia University Law School in 1959, Ginsburg applied to U.S. Supreme Court justice Felix Frankfurter to serve as his law clerk, but Frankfurter refused her because she was a woman. Instead, she clerked for a justice in the U.S. District Court in New York from 1959 to 1961. The second woman on the Rutgers University Law School's faculty when she joined it in 1963, she accepted several sex discrimination cases referred to her by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Despite Frankfurter's refusal to hire her because of her sex, as well as comparable experiences in law school, Ginsburg had not categorized such incidents as sex discrimination. As she worked on the cases referred to her by the ACLU, however, she concluded that gender distinctions affected every aspect of life. She explained: "Once I became involved, I found the legal work fascinating and had high hopes for significant change in the next decade."

In the 1970s, Ginsburg headed the Women's Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union, argued six sex discrimination cases before the U.S. Supreme Court, and won five of them. The cases these decisions overturned included an Idaho law that gave precedence to men over women in serving as the administrator of an estate (*Reed v. Reed*, 1971), an Oklahoma law that specified different legal drinking ages for women and men (*Craig v. Boren*, 1976), and a Missouri law that made jury duty optional for women but not for men. She successfully argued that military benefits for husbands of military personnel must be granted on the same basis as those for wives of military personnel (*Frontiero v. Richardson*,



Appointed in 1993, Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg was only the second woman to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court (Courtesy: U.S. Supreme Court)

Frontiero v. Richardson, 1973). She successfully argued that military benefits for husbands of military personnel must be granted on the same basis as those for wives of military personnel (*Frontiero v. Richardson*,

1973). Two years later she persuaded the Court that a Social Security program providing benefits to widows with minor children based upon the deceased husband's contributions should be extended to widowers with minor children (*Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld*, 1975). Sworn in as a member of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in 1980, she wrote more than 300 opinions in the next thirteen years.

Although she supports reproductive rights, Ginsburg believes that *Roe v. Wade* "went too far in the changes it ordered." During her confirmation hearings for the Supreme Court, Ginsburg said: "[Abortion] is something central to a woman's life, to her dignity. It's a decision she must make for herself. And when government controls that decision for her, she's being treated as less than a fully adult human responsible for her own choices."

Born in Brooklyn, New York, Ginsburg received her bachelor's degree from Cornell University in 1954 and attended Harvard Law School from 1956 to 1958 before transferring to Columbia University Law School.

See also Abortion; American Civil Liberties Union; *Craig v. Boren*; *Frontiero v. Richardson*; *Reed v. Reed*; *Roe v. Wade*; *Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld*

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 103rd Congress, 1st Session . . . 1993* (1994); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1994* (1994); <http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/justices.bio.html>.

Glass Ceiling Commission

Created as part of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, the Glass Ceiling Commission had twenty-one members appointed by the president and Congress. The commission focused on barriers and opportunities in three areas: selection of candidates for management and decisionmaking positions, skill development programs, and compensation and reward systems. Chaired by the secretary of labor, the commission completed its work in 1996. It defined "glass ceiling" as "artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational biases that prevent qualified women and minorities from advancing upward into management-level positions."

See also Civil Rights Act of 1991

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 102nd Congress, 1st Session . . . 1991* (1992).

Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft

See *Wollstonecraft, Mary*

Goesaert v. Cleary (1948)

In *Goesaert v. Cleary*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in 1948 that discrimination on the basis of sex did not violate the equal protection clause

of the Fourteenth Amendment. The case addressed a Michigan law that forbade a female to be a bartender unless she was the wife or daughter of the male owner of a licensed liquor establishment. The Court explained: “The fact that women may now have achieved the virtues that men have long claimed as their prerogatives and now indulge in vices that men have long practiced, does not preclude the states from drawing a sharp line between the sexes, certainly in such matters as the regulation of the liquor traffic.” Even though women could be waitresses in bars regardless of their relationship to the owner, the Court wrote: “Michigan evidently believes that the oversight assured through ownership of a bar by a barmaid’s husband or father minimizes hazards that may confront a barmaid without such protecting oversight.”

Following the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Court found sex discrimination in employment unconstitutional.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Employment Discrimination; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Fourteenth Amendment

References *Goesaert v. Cleary*, 335 U.S. 464 (1948).

Goldman, Emma (1869–1940)

Anarchist and feminist Emma Goldman argued that sexual oppression was as important as class oppression in causing human suffering. Born in Kovno, Lithuania, Goldman emigrated to the United States in 1885 to avoid an arranged marriage. After the Chicago Haymarket Square riot in 1886 and the subsequent execution of the Haymarket anarchists, she declared herself an anarchist.

In 1893, Goldman told unemployed workers: “Demonstrate before the places of the rich, demand work. If they do not give you work, demand bread. If they deny you both, take bread. It is your sacred right.” Arrested for inciting people to riot, she served one year in prison. She was again arrested in 1901, following the arrest of anarchist Leon Czolgosz for shooting President William McKinley. Authorities believed that she had been involved but were unable to find evidence linking her to the crime, and she was released. Goldman began publishing a monthly anarchist magazine, *Mother Earth*, in 1906 and began a national lecture tour to publicize and support it. She continued publishing *Mother Earth* until 1917, when another prison sentence forced her to abandon the magazine.

A certified midwife and nurse, Goldman worked among poor immigrant women. Repeated pregnancies damaged their health and contributed to a high infant mortality rate. The plight of women bearing unwanted children they could not afford to feed or house and women’s attempts to abort their pregnancies convinced Goldman that women



Famous anarchist Emma Goldman spoke at Union Square in New York City, 1916 (UPI/Corbis-Bettmann)

needed birth control information. Contraceptive information, however, was classified as obscene under the Comstock law passed in 1873. In 1915, Goldman lectured on contraception and offered pamphlets that gave specific instructions on contraceptive methods. She was arrested at a lecture in New York for selling or advertising contraceptives, even though her lecture dealt with the need to make the materials available and she was not describing contraceptive methods. She used her trial to attract publicity for birth control and the necessity of its availability. She was jailed for two weeks in 1916.

Opposed to U.S. involvement in World War I, Goldman believed that war enslaved workers while enriching masters. She helped men who refused to register for the military, leading to her arrest in 1917 for conspiring against the draft. As she had in her birth control trial, Goldman used the trial to publicize her anarchist views and her opposition to the Selective Service. She was sentenced to two years in prison.

Deported to Russia in 1919, Goldman descried the increasing centralization, bureaucratization, and militarization of the country and moved to England in 1921. She exposed the excesses of the revolution in

articles for the *New York World* and wrote *My Disillusionment in Russia* (1923); *My Further Disillusionment in Russia* (1924); and her autobiography, *Living My Life* (1931).

See also Dennett, Mary Coffin Ware; Sanger, Margaret Louise Higgins

References Solomon, *Emma Goldman* (1987); Spender, *Feminist Theorists* (1983).

Governors, Women

The first woman governor was Democrat Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming. Ross, who followed her husband in office after his death, won a special election and served from 1925 to 1927. Democrat Miriam Ferguson of Texas became governor fifteen days after Ross, serving from 1925 to 1927 and from 1933 to 1935. More than thirty years would pass before Democrat Lurleen Wallace of Alabama would serve as governor from 1967 to 1968.

The first woman governor whose husband had not held the office before her was Democrat Ella Grasso of Connecticut. Grasso took office in 1975 and served until late 1980, when she resigned for health reasons. Three other Democratic women governors were Dixie Lee Ray of Washington (1977–1981), Martha Layne Collins of Kentucky (1984–1988), and Madeleine Kunin of Vermont (1985–1991). Kay Orr of Nebraska (1987–1991) was the first Republican woman to serve as governor and the first female gubernatorial candidate to run against another female candidate. Democrat Rose Mofford of Arizona became governor following the impeachment and conviction of the incumbent governor and served from 1988 to 1991. The first woman to defeat an incumbent governor, Democrat Joan Finney of Kansas, served from 1991 to 1995. Both Ann Richards (D-TX) and Barbara Roberts (D-OR) served from 1991 to 1995. Republican Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey was elected in 1993, and Democrat Jeanne Shaheen of New Hampshire began serving in 1997. After another incumbent's removal from office in Arizona (for fraud), Republican Jane Dee Hull became governor in 1997.

See also Collins, Martha Layne Hall; Ferguson, Miriam Amanda Wallace; Finney, Joan; Grasso, Ella Rosa Giovanna Oliva Tambussi; Hull, Jane Dee Bowersock; Kunin, Madeleine May; Mofford, Rose Perica; Orr, Kay Avonne Stark; Ray, Dixy Lee; Richards, Ann Willis; Roberts, Barbara Hughey; Ross, Nellie Tayloe; Roy, Vesta M.; Shaheen, Jeanne; Wallace, Lurleen Burns; Whitman, Christine Todd

References Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

Granahan, Kathryn Elizabeth O'Hay (1894–1979)

Democrat Kathryn Granahan of Pennsylvania served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 6 November 1956 to 3 January 1963. Following the death of her husband, Congressman William Granahan, Kathryn Granahan succeeded him as Democratic leader of Philadelphia's Fifty-second Ward and became the party's nominee to complete his term. She won two elections on the same day, one to fill the vacancy and the other to a full term. While in Congress, Granahan worked to eliminate obscenity in literature and in movies, arguing that it contributed to juvenile delinquency and had ill effects on everyone. She was chief sponsor of bills that required mandatory jail sentences for operating a pornographic mail order business and that strengthened the Post Office's power to impound mail addressed to people suspected of mailing pornographic materials. She also asked the U.S. Supreme Court to issue clear guidelines defining pornography.

When Pennsylvania lost a House seat following the 1960 census, Democratic Party leaders decided to sacrifice Granahan's seat, and she retired. Appointed treasurer of the United States by President John F. Kennedy, she served from 1963 to 1966.

Born in Easton, Pennsylvania, Kathryn Granahan attended Mount St. Joseph Collegiate Institute. She was supervisor of public assistance in the Pennsylvania state auditor general's office from 1940 to 1943.

See also Congress, Women in

References Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Granger, Kay (b. 1943)

Republican Kay Granger of Texas entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1997. She began her political career serving on the Fort Worth City Council from 1989 to 1991 and was mayor of the city from 1991 to 1995. To lower the city's crime rate, Granger persuaded the Texas legislature to permit cities to create crime districts, impose a 0.5 percent sales tax, and use the money for crime prevention. By trying a variety of approaches to reduce crime, discarding those that did not work, and expanding the successful ones, Granger and the community reduced crime in Fort Worth by 50 percent. The city's loss of thousands of jobs prompted Granger to develop public-private partnerships that diversified the economy and made it more stable.

Her freshman year, Congresswoman Granger introduced the Higher Education and Learning Promotion Act of 1997 to allow taxpayers receiving the child tax credit to place the money in a tax-free educational sav-



Representative Kay Granger (R-TX), with Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert (R-IL), at a news conference in Fort Worth, Texas, on gun control legislation, 1999 (Associated Press AP)

ings account. Included in a tax cut bill, it was signed into law. She negotiated a plan to restore funds for manufacturing the F-16 fighter jet, which is built in her district and employs 11,000 workers. Granger supports tax cuts for families and small business, reproductive rights, and a balanced federal budget.

Born in Greenville, Texas, Kay Granger received her bachelor of science degree from Texas Wesleyan University in 1965. Before entering politics, she taught school and founded an insurance agency. She held the leadership position of assistant majority whip in the 105th and 106th Congresses (1997–2001).

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1998 (1997); www.pbs.org/newshour/.

Grasso, Ella Rosa Giovanna Oliva Tambussi (1919–1981)

Democrat Ella Grasso of Connecticut served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 21 January 1971 to 3 January 1975 and was governor of Connecticut from 1975 to 1980. She was the first woman to become governor whose husband did not precede her in office.

Grasso's political involvement began when she joined the League of Women Voters (LWV) in 1943. After years of working for other candidates, she ran for the Connecticut House of Representatives, where she served from 1953 to 1957. While in the House, Grasso led a reorganization of state government that eliminated counties, a concept she had worked on as a member of the LWV. After leaving the House, in the late 1950s she was a primary leader in the development of a new state constitution,

which went into effect in 1960. Connecticut secretary of state from 1959 to 1971, Grasso became one of the state's best-known politicians and was increasingly visible in the Democratic Party.

As a member of Congress, Grasso worked for the Emergency Employment Act of 1971, the Higher Education Act of 1972, appropriations to fight sickle-cell anemia and Cooley's anemia, benefits for veterans, and assistance for the elderly. She supported an increase in the minimum wage and played a major role in drafting the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. She opposed reproductive rights.

During her 1974 campaign for governor, she commissioned an investigation that revealed significant overcharges by Connecticut's three major utilities and vowed to reform them. Keeping her pledge once in office, she proposed new financing methods for the utilities' capital improvements, management audit teams, and the creation of an ombudsman's office. When Grasso took office, she discovered that Connecticut had significant financial problems. She reduced state spending and avoided implementing a state income tax. Voters showed their appreciation by reelecting her in 1978. She resigned the governorship on 31 December 1980 because she had ovarian cancer that had spread to other organs.

Born in Windsor Locks, Connecticut, Grasso received her bachelor's degree in economics and sociology in 1941 and her master's degree in 1942, both from Mount Holyoke College.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; Governors, Women; State Legislatures, Women in

References Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1975* (1975); *New York Times*, 6 February 1981.

Graves, Dixie Bibb (1882–1965)

Democrat Dixie Graves of Alabama served in the U.S. Senate from 20 August 1937 to 10 January 1938. When incumbent U.S. senator Hugo Black was appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court, Alabama governor Bibb Graves appointed his wife, Dixie Graves, to fill the vacancy until an election could be held. During her brief tenure, Senator Graves made a speech to the Senate tearfully pleading with her colleagues to defeat the antilynching bill before them. She argued that the South's law enforcement system could decrease lynching without federal involvement. The extent of her influence on the Senate is unknown, but the speech made her so popular in Alabama that a write-in campaign to make her a candidate for the balance of the term began. She declined, however, and did not run.

Born on a plantation near Montgomery, Alabama, Graves's formal education was limited. As a member of the State Literacy Commission

and as chair of the General Federation of Women's Clubs' Commission on Literacy, she worked to end illiteracy. Active in the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association, she served on the state's ratification committee, but Alabama failed to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment. She was president of the Alabama Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy from 1915 to 1917 and vice president of the Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs in 1929.

See also Antilynching Movement; Congress, Women in; General Federation of Women's Clubs; Nineteenth Amendment; Suffrage

References Boxer, *Strangers in the Senate: Politics and the New Revolution of Women in America* (1994); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Yelverton, *They Also Served: Twenty-Five Remarkable Alabama Women* (1993).

Green, Edith Louise Starrett (1910–1987)

Democrat Edith Green of Oregon served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1955 to 31 December 1975. An unsuccessful candidate for secretary of state for Oregon in 1952, Green emphasized education in her successful campaign for Congress in 1954. In her first term, she introduced and passed a bill for a \$7.5-million appropriation for library services in rural areas. She played a key role in the passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958, authored the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1965, and provided leadership in establishing the first federal program for undergraduate scholarships. Her amendments to the 1965 Vocational Rehabilitation Act expanded its scope to include urban youth in vocational training.

Appointed to the President's Commission on the Status of Women and chair of its Civil and Political Rights Committee in the early 1960s, Green authored and introduced the successful Equal Pay Act of 1963, a measure that had been introduced in various forms since the 1940s and that the commission endorsed. The next year, she was the only woman in the House of Representatives who voted against including sex in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, saying that it was neither the time nor the place for addressing discrimination on the basis of sex in employment.

A member of the Women's Equity Action League's (WEAL) advisory board, Green was familiar with the organization's initiatives to end sex discrimination in education. In 1970, Green held the first congressional hearings on the topic and hired Bernice Sandler of WEAL to write a report on them. Green distributed thousands of copies of the report, giving advocates for educational equity a valuable tool as they worked with other activists and members of Congress. In 1971, several members of Congress introduced a variety of plans to prohibit sex discrimination in

education, but it took several months to negotiate a plan for accomplishing the goal.

Green declined to run for reelection in 1974. She was a professor of government at Warner Pacific College and in 1979 was appointed to the Oregon Board of Higher Education.

Born in Trent, South Dakota, Edith Green attended Willamette University from 1927 to 1929. She began teaching in 1930 and attended college when she could afford it, receiving her bachelor of science degree from the University of Oregon in 1939. She left teaching in 1941 and became a radio announcer and a freelance scriptwriter.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Congress, Women in; Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX; Equal Pay Act of 1963; President's Commission on the Status of Women; Women's Equity Action League

References Kaptur, *Women of Congress: A Twentieth Century Odyssey* (1996); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Green Party USA

The Green Party USA was begun as the Green Committees of Correspondence in 1984 by activists familiar with Green parties in Europe. Organized in forty-six states, the Green Party USA supports ten key values: ecological wisdom, social justice, grassroots democracy, nonviolence, decentralization, community-based economics, feminism, respect for diversity, personal and global responsibility, and future focus/sustainability. Members are guided by the concept of thinking globally and acting locally.

The Green Party USA entered its first presidential campaign in 1996, when Ralph Nader was the party's candidate for president and Winona LaDuke was its vice presidential candidate. The slate attracted more than 700,000 votes, approximately 1 percent of the votes nationwide.

See also LaDuke, Winona

References www.greens.org.

Greene, Enid (b. 1958)

Republican Enid Greene of Utah served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1995 to 3 January 1997. Her congressional priorities included the line item veto, the elimination of unfunded mandates to state and local governments, congressional reform, and improvements in the budget process.

Greene ran for Congress and was elected as Enid Greene Waldholtz, but she resumed her family name after divorcing Joseph Waldholtz in

1996. Treasurer for Greene's 1994 campaign, Waldholtz pleaded guilty to making false statements to the Federal Election Commission, admitted that he had provided Greene with false information that she had used in her 1993 taxes, and was indicted for bank fraud. Waldholtz was sentenced to prison for thirty-seven months. Investigators could not find any proof that Greene had participated in the illegal activities, but the scandal ended her congressional career. She did not run for reelection in 1996.

Born in San Rafael, California, Greene received her bachelor of science degree from the University of Utah in 1980 and her law degree from Brigham Young University in 1983. She was corporate counsel to Novell and a commercial litigator for seven years and served as deputy chief of staff to a Utah governor.

See also Congress, Women in

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 104th Congress, 2nd Session . . .* 1996 (1997); *Congressional Quarterly, Politics in America 1996* (1995).



Congressional candidate Enid Greene (R-UT) and her then husband, Joe Waldholtz, waited to vote in the general election in which she won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1994 (Associated Press AP)

Greenway King, Isabella Selmes (1886–1953)

Democrat Isabella Greenway of Arizona served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 October 1933 to 3 January 1937. Elected Democratic national committeewoman in 1928, she began her involvement in politics by campaigning for Democratic candidates. When the incumbent member of Congress resigned to accept an appointment, Greenway won the special election to fill the vacancy. Greenway obtained congressional approval for a Public Works Administration irrigation project for Arizona that put 3,000 men to work for three years. She worked for the transfer of lands to benefit the Yavapai Indians, to protect land from soil erosion, and to establish subsistence farm projects. She also introduced legislation to assist veterans. Greenway declined to run again in 1936.

Born in Boone County, Kentucky, Isabella Greenway attended Miss Chapin's School in New York City, where she became a friend of Eleanor Roosevelt. She homesteaded near Tyrone, New Mexico, in 1910 and became chair of the Women's Land Army of New Mexico in 1918. In 1929, Greenway opened the Arizona Inn in Tucson and established a furniture

factory that employed disabled veterans. She owned and operated a cattle ranch and owned Gilpin Air Lines, based in Los Angeles.

See also Congress, Women in

References Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Tolchin, *Women in Congress: 1917–1976* (1976).

Griffiths, Martha Edna Wright (b. 1912)

Democrat Martha Griffiths of Michigan served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1955 to 31 December 1974. Griffiths was one of the foremost congressional leaders for women's rights in the 1960s and 1970s. Through her efforts, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act included a prohibition against sex discrimination in employment, and Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in 1972 and sent it to the states for ratification.

Born in Pierce City, Missouri, Martha Griffiths earned her bachelor's degree from the University of Missouri in 1934. She married Hick Griffiths after they had both completed their undergraduate work. He intended to attend law school and wanted Martha to join him. Accepted by Harvard University Law School, Hick Griffiths chose instead to attend law school at the University of Michigan because Harvard University Law School did not accept women and Michigan did. Martha Griffiths received her law degree from the University of Michigan Law School in 1940. Following law school, they worked for the American Automobile Insurance Company. After World War II, they opened a law firm and practiced together.

When Martha Griffiths was recruited to run for the Michigan legislature in 1948, she first declined, but with her husband's encouragement, she agreed to run. She served from 1949 to 1953. After unsuccessfully running for Congress in 1952, she was appointed recorder and judge of Records Court in Detroit in 1953. The next year, she again ran for Congress, campaigning on unemployment, education, and high food prices, and won.

A pay increase for postal workers was the first bill Griffiths passed. She supported housing programs, urban renewal, food stamp programs, and increased federal aid to education and hospital construction. Critical of Defense Department spending and its apparent wastefulness, she worked on the issues throughout the 1950s.

In 1962, she became the first woman on the House Ways and Means Committee, where tax bills begin. Seeking simplified and equitable tax laws, she proposed the repeal of the excise tax on automobiles, tax relief for single parents, and a reduction in Social Security taxes for low-income

families. With discrimination against women in tax laws her greatest concern, she sought to eliminate the inheritance tax for surviving spouses and to end the inequities of the marriage tax, under which married couples paid higher income taxes than two single people with the same income.

A strong supporter of equality for women and men, she began introducing equal pay bills in the 1950s and helped pass the Equal Pay Act of 1963. When Congress considered the 1964 Civil Rights Act, primarily intended to address race issues, Griffiths believed that if Title VII of the act, prohibiting discrimination in employment, did not include sex as a protected category, then white women would be left without protection. She considered offering an amendment to add sex but encountered opposition from the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson, and others who feared that adding sex would threaten passage of the whole act. Then, she explained: “I made up my mind that all women were going to take one giant step forward, so I prepared an amendment that added ‘sex’ to the bill.” When she learned that conservative congressman Howard W. Smith of Virginia intended to offer the amendment, she applauded his decision, believing that under his sponsorship the amendment would attract at least 100 votes that it would not under her sponsorship. She turned her attention to finding the rest of the needed votes.

House debate on the amendment quickly turned into a farce. Smith said that he offered it to correct the “imbalance of spinsters,” and another congressman called the amendment “illogical, ill timed, ill placed, and improper.” As her colleagues laughed at the amendment, Griffiths entered the debate, reviewed relevant court cases, and said: “A vote against this amendment today by a white man is a vote against his wife, or his widow, or his daughter, or his sister.” The amendment passed 168 to 133. She continued to work for the bill’s passage in the Senate, where it passed.

The act included the creation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to enforce the provisions. The EEOC’s executive director, however, felt that the commission’s focus should be on race and dismissed the prohibition against sex discrimination in employment, calling it “a fluke . . . conceived out of wedlock.” Although sex discrimination complaints accumulated, the EEOC mocked the provision. In 1966, Griffiths attacked the commission’s disregard for complying with its mandate, asking: “What is this sickness that causes an official to ridicule the law he swore to uphold and enforce? . . . What kind of mentality is it that can ignore the fact that women’s wages are much less than men’s, and that Negro women’s wages are least of all?”

The other outstanding example of her leadership was the Equal Rights Amendment, first introduced in Congress in 1923. For more than

twenty years, it had been locked in the Judiciary Committee by Representative Emanuel Celler, until Griffiths gathered the 218 signatures from her congressional colleagues to bring it to the House floor for debate. On 10 August 1970, the House passed the amendment, 352 to 15, with seventy-four members not voting, but the Senate did not approve it. Griffiths introduced the amendment again in 1971, making two compromises: a seven-year limit on the ratification period and a two-year delay in implementing it following ratification. In 1972, Congress approved the amendment and sent it to the states for ratification, but it failed in the states.

Griffiths decided against running in 1974. She returned to politics in 1982, when she won the race for Michigan's lieutenant governor, serving from 1983 to 1991.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Congress, Women in; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendment; Peterson, Esther; Smith, Howard Worth; State Legislatures, Women in

References George, *Martha W. Griffiths* (1982); Kaptur, *Women in Congress* (1996); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Grimké, Angelina Emily (1805–1879) and Sarah Moore (1792–1873)

The daughters of slaveowners in the South and the only white southern women leaders in the abolitionist movement, Angelina and Sarah Grimké worked to end slavery. As agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the sisters described the horrors of slavery to New England audiences and helped found female antislavery societies.

Born in Charleston, South Carolina, the Grimké sisters were educated at home and in private schools to become members of Charleston's society. Sarah Grimké was particularly resentful that her brothers had received a good advanced education, an opportunity denied to her.

In 1819, Sarah Grimké met a prominent Quaker with whom she had extensive conversations during a sea voyage from Philadelphia to Charleston. When she returned home, she continued to study Quakerism. Sarah reported that she heard voices that told her to return to Philadelphia, which she did in 1821, the year she became a Quaker. Angelina joined her sister in Philadelphia in 1828 and also became a Quaker.

By 1836, the sisters had become committed to the abolitionist movement. That year, Angelina Grimké wrote *Appeal to the Christian Women of the South* and Sarah Grimké wrote *An Epistle to the Clergy of the Southern States*, published by the American Anti-Slavery Society. The works were significant for their condemnation of slavery by women who had been

part of a slave society. The next year, the women were leaders in a women's antislavery convention that has been described as the "first major organizational effort of American women."

As the first female agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the Grimké sisters went on several speaking tours between 1837 and 1839. These lectures were among the greater of their contributions to the abolitionist movement, and their public speeches placed them among the pioneers of the women's rights movement. The speeches, however, proved controversial because of social mores that questioned the appropriateness of women speaking in public and because they spoke to audiences of women and men. Of the controversies, Angelina wrote: "We Abolition Women are turning the world upside down." In 1837, the Ministerial Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts issued a public "Pastoral Letter" that was clearly directed at Angelina Grimké, condemning her for speaking before audiences of women and men. In addition, the press attacked her for the same reasons.

The Grimké sisters believed that women and men were equal as moral beings, had equal moral duties as children of God, and had an equal right to fulfill them. In their belief system, if an act was morally right for a man to do, it was also morally right for a woman. Angelina Grimké developed her argument for women's rights from her understanding of her biblical duty to take action in moral areas, which led her to an insistence that women had a right to a voice in all the laws under which they lived and that women had a right to sit in Congress or be president.

In her feminist writings, Sarah Grimké argued that parallels existed between slavery and women's status, explaining that in both situations, one group exerted power over another group—whites over slaves and men over women—and that when power is used in such a way, one group benefits and the other group is exploited. She said that women "ought to feel a peculiar sympathy in the colored man's wrong, for like him, she has been accused of mental inferiority, and denied the privileges of a liberal education." Sarah Grimké believed that men had usurped women's power and that women had accepted the concept of men's superiority. She wrote: "I ask no favors for my sex. All I ask of our brethren is, that they take their feet from off our necks, and permit us to stand upright on that ground which God designed us to occupy." Her development of these concepts made her a major feminist theorist and pioneer, but they aroused opposition to the Grimké sisters both inside and outside the abolitionist movement. Some thought that adding women's issues to the debate would increase opposition to the abolitionist movement.

In 1838, Angelina Grimké married Theodore Weld, one of the leading abolitionists of the time. The two sisters and Weld wrote *American*

Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses (1839), considered the most important antislavery document written before Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. They continued to do research, assist local African Americans, and work for women's rights, but their period of intense activity ended in 1839.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the; Public Speaking; Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher

References Lerner, *The Feminist Thought of Sarah Grimké* (1998); Matthews, *Women's Struggle for Equality: The First Phase, 1828–1876* (1997).

***Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965)**

In its 1965 decision in *Griswold v. Connecticut*, the U.S. Supreme Court expanded the concept of the right to privacy that had been articulated in other cases, but from different perspectives. In its decision the Court overturned a Connecticut law that prohibited the dissemination and use of contraceptive devices and drugs.

Planned Parenthood had twice tried to take a case to court to overturn the law, but on both occasions, the court invoked procedural grounds to avoid making a decision. In 1961, executive director of the Planned Parenthood League of Connecticut Estelle Griswold and Yale Medical School's department of gynecology and obstetrics professor C. Lee Buxton had established a birth control clinic in New Haven, Connecticut, to provoke another test case. Griswold and Buxton were arrested and convicted of giving birth control information to married women and were fined \$100 each.

The Court resisted deciding the case on the basis of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, choosing instead to explain that within the rights articulated in the Constitution reside peripheral rights without which "the specific rights would be less secure." Noting that "the First Amendment has a penumbra where privacy is protected from governmental intrusion," the Court also found a variety of guarantees creating zones of privacy in the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Amendments. Based upon this reasoning, the Court wrote:

The present case, then, concerns a relationship lying within the zone of privacy created by several fundamental constitutional guarantees. And it concerns a law which, in forbidding the use of contraceptives . . . seeks to achieve its goals by means having a maximum destructive impact upon that [marital] relationship. . . . Would we allow the police to search the sacred precincts of marital bedrooms for telltale signs of the use of contraceptives? The very idea is repulsive to the notions of privacy surrounding the marriage relationship.

In 1973, the right of privacy identified in *Griswold v. Connecticut* became fundamental to the Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade*, which ruled that laws prohibiting abortions were unconstitutional.

See also Abortion; Fourteenth Amendment; *Roe v. Wade*

References *Griswold v. Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 (1965).

***Grove City College v. Bell* (1984)**

In *Grove City College v. Bell*, the U.S. Department of Education sought to enforce its understanding of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits sex discrimination in “any education program or activity receiving federal assistance.” The Department of Education understood that to mean that if any program or person received federal funds, the whole institution had to file an assurance of compliance report. Grove City College refused, arguing that it did not directly receive federal funds. The Department of Education replied that because students attending the college received Basic Educational Opportunity Grants, the college's compliance was necessary for the students to continue receiving the financial assistance.

The U.S. Supreme Court decided that the Department of Education could terminate students' grants, that doing so would not be an infringement of their rights, and that institution-wide coverage under Title IX was not required because some students received financial assistance. The decision limited the Department of Education's authority to investigate discrimination complaints, especially in women's athletics. The decision outraged some feminists and women members of Congress, who believed that if any federal funds went to an educational institution, even if it were direct assistance to a student, the whole institution had to comply with Title IX. Congress passed the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988 to overturn the decision.

See also Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988; Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX

References *Grove City College v. Bell*, 465 U.S. 555 (1984).

Guinier, Lani (b. 1950)

African American lawyer Lani Guinier's nomination to head the civil rights commission of the U.S. Department of Justice in 1993 evoked strong protests from congressional conservatives who accused her of having dangerously radical views on minority rights. The concepts under attack included a wide range of ways to enhance minority power, such as cumulative voting in elections, which permits voters to concentrate on selected candidates. In legislative bodies, Guinier proposed requiring

Lani Guinier, with Benjamin Chavis, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, addressed the NAACP convention in Indianapolis, 1993 (Associated Press AP)



supermajorities on some votes and permitting minorities veto power on some issues. U.S. senator Orrin Hatch called her ideas “frightening,” and U.S. senator Bob Dole said: “The key concept has always been access, not proportionality.”

Guinier appeared on television news programs to explain her ideas, and her supporters claimed that her views had been distorted, but the attempts to save her nomination failed. President Bill Clinton withdrew Guinier’s nomination without permitting her to defend her ideas before the Senate Judiciary Committee, angering members of the Congressional Black Caucus, who viewed the withdrawal as evidence of weak leadership by Clinton.

Born in New York City, Guinier graduated from Radcliffe College in 1971 and received her law degree from Yale Law School in 1975. While in law school, she met Hillary Rodham Clinton and Bill Clinton. In the late 1970s, Guinier worked for the civil rights division of the U.S. Department

of Justice, and from 1981 to 1988, she worked for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense and Education Fund. She was an adjunct professor at the New York University School of Law from 1985 to 1989 and became a law professor at the University of Pennsylvania Law School in 1988.

Guinier wrote *The Tyranny of the Majority* (1994). She teaches at the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 103rd Congress, 1st Session . . . 1993* (1994).

H. L. v. Matheson (1984)

In *H. L. v. Matheson*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that a Utah law requiring a physician to notify the parents of an immature, dependent minor woman before performing an abortion did not violate her right to privacy. The Court said the law was constitutional because the parents did not have to give their consent to the procedure but only had to be notified. Because the woman in the case did not assert that she was mature, the Court did not rule on the law's constitutionality if a mature minor woman were seeking the procedure.

See also Abortion

References *H. L. v. Matheson*, 450 U.S. 398 (1984); www.naral.org.

Hall, Katie Beatrice Green (b. 1938)

Democrat Katie Hall of Indiana served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 2 November 1982 to 3 January 1985. Hall entered politics as a volunteer for Richard Hatcher's campaigns for mayor of Gary, Indiana, beginning in 1967 and through his 1975 campaign. She served in the Indiana House of Representatives from 1973 to 1975 and the state Senate from 1975 to 1982. She focused on education, labor, and women's issues and passed a measure that clarified the state's divorce laws by defining marital property. A strong advocate of the Equal Rights Amendment, she successfully worked for Indiana's ratification of it.

When the incumbent member of Congress died in the fall of 1982, Mayor Hatcher, as chair of the district's party organization, had the power

to name the Democratic candidate to fill the vacancy. He named Hall, who ran simultaneously to complete the deceased member's term and for a full term of her own. Hall's campaign issues included support for the expansion of unemployment benefits, job training, and other forms of assistance and opposition to unlimited military spending, high interest rates, and economic programs that benefited large corporations at the expense of middle-income people.

In Congress, Hall introduced and passed the bill that made Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a federal holiday. Measures for recognizing King's contributions to American civil rights had been introduced by others for fifteen years, and support for the idea had been steadily building when Hall introduced it. She also worked for programs to alleviate unemployment, which was high in Indiana; to revitalize the steel industry; and to prevent child abuse and family violence. Defeated in the 1984 primary, she also failed in subsequent primaries in 1984 and 1990.

Born in Mound Bayou, Mississippi, African American Katie Hall received her bachelor of science degree from Mississippi Valley State University in 1960 and her master of science degree from Indiana University in 1968. She taught social studies from 1961 to 1975.

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Rights Amendment; State Legislatures, Women in

References Catlin, "Organizational Effectiveness and Black Political Participation: The Case of Katie Hall" (1985); Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1994 (1993).

Hamer, Fannie Lou Townsend (1917–1977)

One of the Deep South's most influential African American civil rights leaders, Fannie Lou Hamer, a sharecropper, went into cotton fields and soybean fields to urge African Americans to register to vote, defying sheriffs, landowners, and tradition. Powerful and compelling when she testified before the 1964 Democratic National Convention's credentials committee, she described her attempts to register to vote and helped the nation understand the cruelty and violence of racism. Hamer's religious faith sustained her through the physical violence she endured and the injuries that resulted. By expressing her faith through hymns of hope, supplication, and praise, she shared her courage and strengthened others.

Born on a Montgomery County, Mississippi, plantation, Fannie Lou Hamer began working in the fields picking cotton when she was six years old. She had about six years of formal education. Her involvement in civil rights began after she attended rallies organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at the Ruleville Baptist Church in 1962. She explained: "They talked about how it was our rights as human



beings to register and vote. I never knew we could vote before. Nobody ever told us.”

With seventeen others, Hamer attempted to register on 31 August 1962, but she failed to pass the oral examination on a technical legal question regarding de facto laws. As the group returned to Ruleville on a private bus, police stopped the group because the private bus that was transporting them was too yellow and allegedly could be confused with a school bus. The police arrested and jailed them, and a local judge fined them and then released them. When Hamer finally got home, the owner of the plantation on which she lived told her to stop her registration attempts. She explained that she was not attempting to register for his benefit but for her own. The owner evicted her and her family that night. Hamer told the members of the Ruleville Baptist Church her story, saying: “They kicked me off the plantation, they set me free. It’s the best thing that could happen. Now I can work for my people.” After repeated attempts to register, Hamer learned early in 1963 that she had passed the voter registration test but still could not vote. She had not paid the poll tax the previous two years, which she had been prohibited from paying because she was not a registered voter. Recognizing the power of Hamer’s presence on an audience, her intelligence, and her leadership, SNCC leaders recruited her to be a movement speaker.

On 9 June 1963, Hamer and other civil rights workers were on a bus returning home from a workshop in Charleston, South Carolina, when

Fannie Lou Hamer, voting rights activist, testified before the credentials committee at the Democratic National Convention, 1964 (Library of Congress)

they attempted to integrate the bus station in Winona, Mississippi. Arrested and jailed, they were beaten by law enforcement officers, who then commanded other inmates to continue the attacks. Hamer was beaten on her head, upper back, lower back, buttocks, legs, and feet. For the rest of her life, Hamer suffered from a blood clot that affected her sight in one eye and damage to her kidneys. The Justice Department filed civil and criminal charges against the officers, but all were found not guilty. The civil rights workers were each convicted of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest and fined.

In 1964, Hamer and other civil rights leaders sought ways to break through the race barriers in Mississippi's Democratic Party. Hamer entered the party's primary as a candidate for Congress, knowing that she would not win. Another strategy was the creation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), an alternative to the white party organization. The MFDP held precinct, county, and state conventions to elect delegates to the Democratic National Convention to be held that summer, intending to challenge the all-white Mississippi delegation's credentials. Throughout the summer, Hamer and her colleagues were kept under surveillance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

When Hamer testified before the Democratic National Convention's credentials committee, she told the story of her attempts to register, her work to help other African Americans register to vote, the threats of violence, and the horror of the beating she had endured. She had hoped that her testimony would influence not only the credentials committee but also expose the nation to the injustices under which African Americans lived in the South. She wept in frustration and anger when she learned that President Lyndon Johnson had called an impromptu press conference to preempt her testimony and that the television networks had broadcast his conference instead of her testimony. That evening, however, television networks repeatedly replayed her testimony, and her words electrified the nation as she pleaded for justice.

Excluded from the negotiations that followed the MFDP's testimony, she refused to accept the agreement that male civil rights leaders had reached with Democratic Party officials to seat two MFDP delegates and permit the rest of the delegates to watch the convention. She asked the credentials committee: "Do you think I came here to compromise and to sit in the back seat at this convention? . . . There's got to be a change, not only for the people in the U.S. but all over the world." The convention seated the white delegation in 1964.

In 1968 Hamer was one of the twenty-two African American delegates seated at the Democratic National Convention. At the 1972 convention, Hamer and Gloria Steinem nominated Frances "Sissy" Farenthold

for vice president, but the effort failed. In 1975 and 1976, Hamer helped unite the party in Mississippi, resulting in an integrated delegation to the 1976 Democratic National Convention.

Hamer also continued her work on the local level. In 1969, she founded Freedom Farm, a nonprofit effort to help needy families raise food and livestock. The organization also offered social services, minority business opportunities, and scholarships and educational grants. When the county in which she lived refused to develop an effective school desegregation plan, Hamer filed a class action lawsuit in 1970 and won. Hamer unsuccessfully ran for the Mississippi state senate in 1971.

Despite the injustices she experienced, Hamer refused to hate white people, saying: "I feel sorry for anybody that could let hate wrap them up. Ain't no such thing as I can hate anybody and hope to see God's face."

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Democratic Party, Women in the; Farenthold, Frances (Sissy) Talton; Steinem, Gloria Marie

References Mills, *This Little Light of Mine: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (1993); *New York Times*, 16 March 1977.

Hansen, Julia Caroline Butler (1907–1988)

Democrat Julia Hansen of Washington served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 8 November 1960 to 31 December 1974. Hansen served on the Cathlamet, Washington, City Council from 1938 to 1946 and in the state House of Representatives from 1939 to 1960, where she was speaker pro tempore from 1955 to 1960. She developed expertise in transportation issues and chaired the Western Interstate Committee on Highway Policies from 1951 to 1960.

When the incumbent member of Congress died in office, Hansen ran for and won the seat as well as election for a full term. The first woman to serve on the Appropriations Committee, she was also the first woman to chair an Appropriations subcommittee. As chair of the subcommittee that controlled funding for the Interior Department, she became one of the most influential members of Congress. Her subcommittee dealt with allocations to the National Park Service, the Bureau of Mines, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Of the issues addressed in her subcommittee, the plight of Native Americans drew most of her attention, prompting her to travel to observe their living conditions. She declined to run for an eighth term.

Born in Portland, Oregon, Julia Hansen attended Oregon State College from 1924 to 1926. Working as a dietitian and swimming instructor, she supported herself as she pursued her degree at the University of Washington, earning it in 1930. Hansen served a six-year term on the Washington State Toll Bridge Authority beginning in 1975 and chaired the Washington State Transportation Commission from 1979 to 1980.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Nixon/Ford Years* (1979).

Harden, Cecil Murray (1894–1984)

Republican Cecil Harden of Indiana served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1949 to 3 January 1959. Harden became involved in Republican Party politics in 1932, serving as a precinct vice committeewoman. She chaired the Fountain County Republican Party from 1938 to 1950 and was Republican national committeewoman for Indiana from 1944 to 1959 and from 1964 to 1972. Congresswoman Harden obtained congressional approval for flood control and recreational projects in her district. After losing her attempt for a sixth term, Harden was the special assistant for women's affairs to the postmaster general from 1959 to 1961. She served on the National Advisory Committee for the White House Conference on Aging in 1970.

Born in Covington, Indiana, Harden attended the University of Indiana and taught in public schools from 1912 to 1914.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography: Who's News and Why, 1949* (1949).

Harman, Jane Frank (b. 1945)

Democrat Jane Harman of California served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1993 to 3 January 1999. She began her political career as chief legislative assistant to a senator and then served as chief counsel and staff director to the Senate Judiciary Committee on constitutional rights from 1975 to 1977. She was hired as deputy secretary to the White House cabinet from 1977 to 1978 and special counsel to the Department of Defense until 1979, when she went into corporate law. Harman was counsel for the Democratic Platform Committee in 1984 and chaired the Democratic National Committee's National Lawyers' Counsel from 1986 to 1990.

Congresswoman Harman introduced and successfully managed an amendment to fully fund the C-17 cargo plane and secured funding for the F/A-18 Milstar satellite, measures important to her district's aerospace industry. She led the fight to keep the Los Angeles Air Force Base open and supported innovative defense conversion, reinvestment, and transition projects.

The daughter of immigrants and a member of a House task force on immigration, Harman successfully fought reductions in the number of legal immigrants admitted to the United States each year, saying that “legal immigration is the lifeblood of the country, enriching it both economically and culturally.”

She cosponsored the Freedom of Choice Act and the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994 and played a leading role in the investigations of sexual misconduct in the military. She has supported deficit reduction, term limits, tough crime laws, and investments in technology and children. In 1998, Harman was a candidate for governor of California but lost in the primary election.

Born in New York, New York, and raised in Los Angeles, Jane Harman received her bachelor’s degree from Smith College in 1966 and her law degree from Harvard University in 1969.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994; Military, Women in the

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/harman/.

Harriman, Pamela Beryl Digby Churchill Hayward (1920–1997)

A devoted Democrat who helped rebuild her party in the 1980s, Pamela Harriman served as U.S. ambassador to France from 1993 to 1997. A wealthy socialite first known for her ability to entertain, Harriman developed a base of power and influence through her willingness to contribute money to the Democratic Party and related groups and through her skill for raising funds for those interests.

Born in Kent, England, Harriman was the daughter of a baron. She received her education at a finishing school in Paris. In 1939, Harriman married Randolph Churchill, one of Winston Churchill’s sons. Through her father-in-law, Pamela gained access to the inner circles of British politics and became acquainted with U.S. political and military leaders who were frequent visitors during World War II. Entertaining international leaders became a part of her life when she was a young woman. Divorced in 1945, she married Leland Hayward in 1959. A Broadway producer, Hayward introduced Pamela Harriman to U.S. entertainment figures, and again she was an active hostess.

She married former New York governor W. Averell Harriman in 1971, became a naturalized U.S. citizen, and through her husband became active in the Democratic Party. After President Jimmy Carter and several Democratic members of Congress lost their races in 1980, Pamela Harriman sought ways to rejuvenate the party. Harriman held a series of issues dinners to discuss and develop strategies and started a political action

committee (PAC) named “Democrats for the 80s,” raising \$1.3 million in its first two years. When she disbanded the PAC in 1990, she had raised \$12 million with it. The party rewarded her with an invitation to address its 1984 national convention. Gloria Steinem introduced her at the convention as “the woman who proved that all feminists don’t have to wear combat boots,” a reference to Harriman’s elegance and grace. In 1986, Averell Harriman died, but Pamela Harriman continued her interest in party politics and renewed her interest in foreign policy.

When Bill Clinton, who had attended one of her issues dinners, ran for president in 1992, she gave him her support, primarily by raising money for his campaign. Clinton showed his appreciation by appointing her ambassador to France. Harriman dealt in international trade issues, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) expansion, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations. When disagreements over farm and audiovisual trade matters created uncommonly high levels of irritation between the United States and France, Harriman’s familiarity with French life and culture helped resolve the differences. She described her role: “I was a sort of messenger going back and forth, explaining to Washington why the French think and argue the way they do and also in the other direction, telling the French why our farmers are just as important to us as theirs are to them.”

See also Democratic Party, Women in the; Steinem, Gloria Marie

References *New York Times*, 2 March 1977, 1 October 1982, 6 February 1997; Smith, *Reflected Glory: The Life of Pamela Churchill Harriman* (1997).

Harris, LaDonna (b. 1931)

An advocate for Native Americans, LaDonna Harris founded Americans for Indian Opportunity in 1970. She advocates the development of policies that recognize the government-to-government relationship between federal agencies and Native American tribes. Through a leadership program that she developed, Harris uses traditional tribal values to prepare a new generation of tribal leaders.

Harris became politically active when her husband Fred Harris entered the Senate in 1965. She organized the first intertribal organization in Oklahoma, Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, bringing together sixty tribes for economic development. The first U.S. senator’s wife to testify before a congressional committee, she helped return Blue Lake to the people of Taos Pueblo and helped the Menominee Tribe regain federal recognition. President Lyndon Johnson appointed LaDonna Harris to the National Council on Indian Opportunity in 1968, but she resigned, saying that federal agencies were not responding quickly enough to proposals to assist Native Americans.

Disillusioned with President Jimmy Carter's social policies, she accepted the Citizens Party's nomination for vice president in 1980. Harris shared the party's positions on environmental protection and social and economic justice. Realizing that her candidacy and that of her running mate, Barry Commoner, had little chance for success, LaDonna Harris said: "You do things symbolically so people become used to seeing women in these positions."

Harris was born in Temple, Oklahoma, and raised by her Comanche grandparents. She was a founder of the National Women's Political Caucus and served on its national board for several years. She also served on the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year.

See also Deer, Ada Elizabeth; National Women's Political Caucus

References Bataille, ed., *Native American Women* (1993); *New York Times*, 11 July 1970, 27 October 1980.

Harris, Patricia Roberts (1924–1985)

Patricia Roberts Harris served as secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and as secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services. She began her public service career as ambassador to Luxembourg from 1965 to 1967, the first female African American ambassador to represent the United States.

In 1977, President Jimmy Carter appointed her secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. During her confirmation hearings, Democratic senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin questioned whether she would be able to defend the interests of the poor. Harris responded:

I am one of them. You do not seem to understand who I am. I am a black woman, the daughter of a dining car worker. I am a black woman who could not buy a house eight years ago in parts of the District of Columbia. I didn't start out as a member of a prestigious law firm, but as a woman who needed a scholarship to go to school. If you think that I have forgotten that, you are wrong.

She served as head of the department until 1979. When the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was reorganized as the Department of Health and Human Services, Harris became its first secretary, serving from 1979 to 1981.

Born in Mattoon, Illinois, Patricia Harris earned her bachelor's degree from Howard University in 1945, did postgraduate work at the University of Chicago from 1945 to 1947 and at American University from

1949 to 1950, and received her law degree from George Washington University in 1960. Program director at the Chicago Young Women's Christian Association from 1946 to 1949, Harris was also assistant director for the American Council of Human Rights from 1953 to 1959 and a research associate at George Washington University from 1959 to 1960. After working as a trial attorney for the U.S. Department of Justice from 1960 to 1961, she taught law at Howard University from 1961 to 1965 and from 1967 to 1969, the year she became dean of the university's law school.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography 1965* (1965); *New York Times*, 14 October 1971, 24 March 1985; Smith, ed., *Epic Lives* (1993).

***Harris v. Forklift Systems* (1993)**

The U.S. Supreme Court decided in *Harris v. Forklift Systems* that an employee does not need to show serious psychological damage or other injury to prove sexual harassment as prohibited by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The decision made it easier to prove the hostility, abusiveness, or offensiveness of a workplace.

Teresa Harris claimed that her employer asked women employees to retrieve items from his front pants pocket, dropped items on the floor and asked women to pick them up, and called a female employee "a dumb ass woman." In addition, her employer insulted Harris because of her gender and subjected her to sexual comments. Harris did not claim that she suffered psychological damage or was unable to perform her job, but she did insist that the employer's behavior created a hostile environment. The Court agreed, saying that "Title VII comes into play before the harassing conduct leads to a nervous breakdown."

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Sexual Harassment

References Fallon, "Sexual Harassment" (1995); Hoff, *Law, Gender, and Injustice* (1991).

***Harris v. McRae* (1980)**

In *Harris v. McRae*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Medicaid does not require states to pay for medically necessary abortions. The case resulted from passage of the Hyde Amendment of 1976, which prohibited the use of Medicaid funds to pay for abortions except to save the life of the mother or for victims of rape or incest. The constitutionality of the prohibition was challenged on the grounds that it violated the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment and the religion clauses of the First Amendment.

The Court found that the Hyde Amendment does not place governmental obstacles before a woman seeking an abortion and that a woman's

freedom of choice does not include a constitutional entitlement to financial resources to exercise her right. The statutory issue was whether the Medicaid Act requires a state to fund the cost of medically necessary abortions for which federal reimbursement is unavailable under the Hyde Amendment. The constitutional issue was whether the Hyde Amendment, by denying public funding for certain medically necessary abortions, interferes with the equal protection guarantees of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment or the religion clauses of the First Amendment. The Court decided that the Hyde Amendment does not violate the establishment clause of the First Amendment, even though the funding restrictions reflect the religious tenets of the Roman Catholic Church.

See also Abortion

References *Harris v. McRae*, 448 U.S. 297 (1980).

Hawkins, Paula Fickes (b. 1927)

Republican Paula Hawkins of Florida served in the U.S. Senate from 1 January 1981 to 3 January 1987. Hawkins focused much of her attention on issues related to children. After conducting a Senate investigation on missing children, she passed the Missing Children Act of 1982 and the Missing Children's Assistance Act in 1984. Hawkins brought national attention to the issue of child abuse when she disclosed that she had been a victim of it. Saying that the administrative and judicial systems were inadequate to deal with child abuse, she sponsored a bill to provide remedies. The Senate passed her bill, but the House did not. She lost her reelection attempt in 1986.



Senator Paula Hawkins (R-FL) was accompanied by President Ronald Reagan on a visit to her home state, 1980s (Corbis/Wally McNam)

Born in Salt Lake City, Utah, Hawkins attended Utah State University from 1944 to 1947. Appointed to the Florida Governor's Commission on the Status of Women in 1968, she served until 1971. She served on the Florida Public Service Commission from 1973 to 1979, leaving to become vice president of consumer affairs for Air Florida. She is the author of *Children at Risk*, published in 1986.

See also Congress, Women in

References Boxer, *Strangers in the Senate* (1994); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1985* (1985); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Health Care, Women and

The history of women's health as a political issue has its roots in the early nineteenth century, when states began to make abortion illegal. Although women's reproductive health has persisted as a political issue, other aspects of women's health, from health insurance coverage to funding for medical research and the characteristics of the human participants, have also entered the political arena.

Women's reproductive health has easily been the most political and controversial area of women's health, one that has been surrounded by intense moral debates. Social reformer Anthony Comstock played an early role in establishing the federal and state governments' regulation of women's health. In 1873, Comstock persuaded Congress to pass an "Act for the suppression of trade in, and circulation of, obscene literature and articles of immoral use." Known as the Comstock law, the measure made it a crime to send obscene material and any "article or thing designed or intended for the prevention of conception or procuring of abortion." Over the next forty years, most states enacted comparable measures. This criminalization of the use of the postal system for the distribution of birth control and abortion information and devices effectively limited women's access to controlling their reproductive lives. Birth control pioneers Mary Ware Dennett, Margaret Sanger, and others lobbied state legislatures and Congress for decades to remove the classification, but it was the federal appeals court 1936 decision in *United States v. One Package of Japanese Pessaries* that removed birth control from the list of obscene materials. Since the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 decision legalizing abortion in *Roe v. Wade*, abortion has been the most politicized women's health issue, generating intense moral and ethical debates.

Another reproductive health concern emerged when the oral contraceptive Enovid, also known as the Pill, was introduced to the U.S. market in 1960. As women taking the Pill experienced increased rates of thromboembolism (blood clotting), stroke, arterial dysfunction, and other

health hazards, concerns about the drug's risk grew. Some medical authorities advised against using it, whereas others argued that it was safe. The Pill, unpleasant experiences with physicians, and other factors contributed to women's wanting explanations of medical terms and procedures and more information about their bodies and health care alternatives. Women read medical journals and other medical sources, formed discussion groups to share their knowledge, and established clinics. The Boston Women's Health Clinic published *Our Bodies, Ourselves* in 1969 and gave new energy to women's quest to understand and control their own bodies.

A variety of women's health issues emerged as visible political issues in 1986 when the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues (CCWI) challenged health research priorities and practices and sought remedies for the exclusion of women and minorities from clinical studies of drugs and other medical treatments. In 1990, CCWI introduced the Women's Health Equity Act, parts of which passed Congress that year and in subsequent years.

The National Breast Cancer Coalition emerged as a powerful lobby in the early 1990s, dramatically increasing research funding for the disease. In 1991, the group sought to generate 175,000 letters to Congress and the president, choosing the number because it represents the number of women annually diagnosed with breast cancer. They surpassed their goal, and 600,000 letters supporting breast cancer research went to members of Congress and the president. The letters of support helped increase funding to \$145 million for 1992, about \$52 million more than in 1991, or a 55 percent increase. In 1993, the coalition succeeded in increasing the appropriation by \$325 million, an increase of 160 percent over 1992.

See also Abortion; Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues; Dennett, Mary Coffin Ware; *Roe v. Wade*; Sanger, Margaret Louise Higgins; Women's Health Equity Act

References Bingham, *Women on the Hill: Challenging the Culture of Congress* (1997); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 103rd Congress, 1st Session . . . 1993* (1994); Linden-Ward and Green, *American Women in the 1960s: Changing the Future* (1993).

Heckler, Margaret Mary O'Shaughnessy (b. 1931)

Republican Margaret Heckler of Massachusetts served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1967 to 3 January 1983. Heckler was secretary of health and human services from 1983 to 1985 and ambassador to Ireland from 1985 to 1989. As a member of Congress, Heckler worked for federal funding of child day care for low-income families, sought to protect the pension rights of employed women on maternity leave, and advocated establishing shelters for victims of domestic violence.

A leading proponent of the Equal Rights Amendment, she cosponsored the measure to extend the deadline for its ratification. With Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman (D-NY), she founded the Congresswoman's Caucus, later known as the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, in 1977 and served as its cochair for five years. Heckler lost the race for a ninth term.

President Ronald Reagan appointed her secretary of health and human services in 1983. In that office, Heckler established new guidelines for Social Security disability programs, campaigned to increase funding for research and patient care for people with acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) and Alzheimer's disease, and supported tax credits for day care.

Born in Flushing, New York, Heckler studied at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands in 1952, earned her bachelor's degree from Albertus Magnus College in 1953, and received her law degree from Boston College Law School in 1956. Heckler entered politics as a member of the Wellesley Town Meeting, serving from 1958 to 1966.

See also Abortion; Cabinets, Women in Presidential; Congress, Women in; Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues; Equal Rights Amendment; Holtzman, Elizabeth

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1983* (1983); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Height, Dorothy Irene (b. 1912)

President of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) for more than forty years, Dorothy Height has been an advocate for women's rights and African American rights. An adviser to Eleanor Roosevelt and a civil rights strategist, Height's leadership extended from the neighborhood to the international levels.

Born in Richmond, Virginia, Height earned a college scholarship by winning a national oratorical contest sponsored by the Elks Club. Height applied to Barnard College, but the school told her that it already had two African American students and that she would have to wait a term for admission. Accepted at New York University, she earned her bachelor's and master's degrees there and later studied at the New York School of Social Work.

In 1937 Height joined the Young Women's Christian Association's (YWCA) staff at its Harlem branch and NCNW, two associations that worked together to enhance her effectiveness as a civil rights advocate. A leader in both organizations, she became a member of the YWCA's national board in 1944. Height led the YWCA's campaign to integrate pub-



lic swimming pools in the early 1960s, helped develop and was director of the YWCA's Center for Racial Justice, and directed a voter registration drive sponsored by the YWCA and a New York City radio station. She worked to bring black and white women together in several Alabama communities, hoping that talking to each other might help them work together. Height retired from the YWCA in 1977.

Elected NCNW president in 1957, she gained tax-exempt status for the organization, a change that helped it attract large foundation grants. Also under her leadership, NCNW established the Mary McLeod Bethune Museum and Archives for Black Women's History and led the campaign to erect the Bethune statue in Washington, D.C., the first memorial to an African American in that city. Height organized Black Family Reunion celebrations to affirm the importance of strengthening black families and expanded NCNW programs to include child care centers in urban and rural areas, housing initiatives, health care, and career education for girls. She retired from the NCNW presidency in 1997.

Height has testified before congressional committees in a wide range of areas, including the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the war on poverty, the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1967, housing legislation, Social Security and welfare proposals, extension of the ratification deadline for the Equal Rights Amendment, teen pregnancy, and racism in National Football League field management, recruitment, and hiring practices. National president of Delta Sigma Theta sorority from

Dorothy Height (center), president of the National Council of Negro Women, talked with Susan Taylor, editor of Essence magazine, and poet Maya Angelou at a national teleconference, 1997 (Associated Press AP)

1947 to 1956, Height was a founder of the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971.

See also Bethune, Mary Jane McLeod; Delta Sigma Theta Sorority; Equal Rights Amendment; National Council of Negro Women; National Women's Political Caucus; YWCA of the USA

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993); Hine, ed., *Black Women in America* (1993); *New York Times*, 13 August 1979; www.ncnw.com.

Herman, Alexis Margaret (b. 1947)

Alexis Herman became secretary of labor in 1997, the first African American to hold the position and the highest-ranking African American woman in President Bill Clinton's cabinet. She began her public service career as director of the Women's Bureau in 1977, making her the senior black woman in the Labor Department. She was also the youngest director in the bureau's history. Herman focused her efforts on eliminating discrimination based on gender, age, and race. She believed that the problems facing women included limited marketable job skills, the availability of child care, and rigid work schedules. After Ronald Reagan's election, she left government service and in 1981 started her own consulting firm to help businesses comply with affirmative action training programs.

She worked in Jesse Jackson's 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns, coordinating his activities at each Democratic National Convention (DNC). DNC chairman Ron Brown appointed her his chief of staff in 1989 and then deputy party chairwoman, a position she held until 1991. As chief executive officer of the 1992 DNC Committee, Herman's management of the convention contributed to Bill Clinton's increased popularity immediately after he received the party's presidential nomination.

Following Clinton's election in 1992, Herman became deputy director of the Clinton-Gore Presidential Transition Office. Appointed assistant to the president, director of the Public Liaison Office, she provided a link between the White House and the public and worked with several special interest groups. Herman's ability to work with disparate groups and to bring them together on issues contributed to her selection as secretary of labor in 1997. Her priorities include increasing the number of job-retraining programs, welfare-to-work programs involving businesses, and company-based child day care centers as well as implementing pension reform and new initiatives in job safety.

Born in Mobile, Alabama, Herman attended Heart of Mary Roman Catholic High School, a school for African Americans. During her sophomore year, she confronted a diocesan official and asked him to explain the reasons her school did not have the same annual religious pageant that



Secretary of Labor
Alexis Herman was
the first African
American to hold the
position, 1997
(Associated Press AP)

was held at the white schools in the diocese. The school suspended her for the question but readmitted her after parents of other African American students protested. Herman earned her bachelor's degree from Xavier University in 1969 and did graduate work at the University of South Alabama from 1970 to 1972. After graduating from college, Herman returned to Mobile and helped desegregate the city's parochial schools.

See also Affirmative Action; Cabinets, Women in Presidential; Women's Bureau

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1998* (1998); *New York Times*, 31 August 1994, 21 December 1996.

Hernandez, Aileen Clarke (b. 1926)

The first woman appointed to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), African American Aileen Hernandez was a founder and the second president of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and a founder of the National Women's Political Caucus. Hernandez began her civil rights activism in the mid-1940s, picketing the National Theater, Lisner Auditorium, and a restaurant chain to protest segregation. From 1951 to 1961, she worked for the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) as an organizational assistant, assistant educational director, and director of public relations and education. She was assistant chief of the California Fair Employment Practices Commission from 1962 to 1965.

In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson appointed Hernandez to the EEOC, created the year before as part of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to enforce prohibitions against employment discrimination on

the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex. She played a pivotal role in changing airline companies' policy of firing stewardesses when they married, but she privately acknowledged that the EEOC was weak and that women needed an organization comparable to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She explained: "Behind the scenes, I was actively involved in getting women's organizations protesting some of the things that were not happening at the commission." After eighteen months, Hernandez left the commission out of frustration with the poor progress made in enforcing laws against discrimination.

A founding member of NOW, Hernandez served as executive vice president of the organization from 1966 to 1970 and as president from 1970 to 1971. She was elected executive vice president, effective after the date of her resignation from the EEOC. She saw the repeal of abortion laws, free day care centers, equal employment opportunities, and passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) as the organization's priorities. In 1970 and 1971, Hernandez appeared before congressional committees in support of the ERA and in 1973 offered testimony on women's economic problems.

Hernandez said that NOW had an "embarrassingly elitist and middle-class image," one that she hoped to change by addressing problems confronting low-income women and women in menial jobs. After leaving the presidency, she created the Minority Women's Task Force in 1972 and organized a minority women's survey. The survey highlighted the sense of isolation felt by minority women that she had articulated.

Born in Brooklyn, New York, Hernandez earned her bachelor's degree in political science and sociology from Howard University in 1947 and graduated from the ILGWU labor college in 1951. She also attended the University of Oslo in Norway, New York University, the University of California at Los Angeles, and the University of Southern California, receiving her master's degree from Los Angeles State College in 1959.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Equal Rights Amendment; National Organization for Women; National Women's Political Caucus

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1971* (1971); Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993); *New York Times*, 2 May 1970.

Hicks, (Anna) Louise Day (b. 1923)

Democrat Louise Hicks of Massachusetts served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1971 to 3 January 1973. Hicks started her political career as a member of the Boston School Committee in 1961, where she opposed busing to integrate public schools. From 1963 until a court-ordered plan went into effect in 1974, Hicks led Boston's antibusing supporters, insisting that she favored neighborhood schools. An unsuccessful

candidate for mayor of Boston in 1967, she was later elected to the Boston City Council, serving from 1969 to 1971. As a member of Congress, Hicks continued her opposition to school busing. She supported voluntary school prayer and tax credits for students attending private schools and worked for proposals to allow direct federal aid to low-income students and to allow tax credits to parents of students attending nonpublic schools. When her district was redrawn after reapportionment, she lost her attempt for a second term.

Born in South Boston, Louise Hicks graduated from Wheelock Teachers' College in 1938 and taught elementary school for two years. She completed her bachelor of science degree in education in 1955 at Boston University and earned her law degree from Boston University School of Law in 1958.

See also Congress, Women in

References Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Nixon/Ford Years* (1979).

Hill, Anita Faye (b. 1956)

Law professor Anita Hill became a national figure in October 1991 when she accused U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexually harassing her when he was her boss. Her televised testimony before the U.S. Senate's Judiciary Committee brought sexual harassment to the nation's attention in unprecedented ways. In addition, the image of the committee of white men questioning an African American woman about the experience outraged many women across the nation, motivating some of them to become candidates for public office and resulting in record numbers of women serving in Congress following the 1992 elections.

Hill's accusations stemmed from the years she had been Thomas's assistant, beginning in 1981, when he was assistant secretary for civil rights in the U.S. Department of Education. Three months after they began working together, Thomas suggested a social relationship, but Hill declined because she did not want to mix her personal and professional lives and she was not attracted to him. Thomas then began scheduling lunch meetings with Hill and turned the topic to his sexual interests, topics that Hill explained she did not want to discuss. Eventually, Hill had fewer personal conversations with Thomas, and his objectionable behavior stopped.

By 1982, Hill was concerned that the Department of Education would be abolished and that her job would end. When Thomas was appointed head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), he offered Hill a position as his assistant, and she accepted it. Hill's responsibilities included reviewing the commission's position on sexual harassment in the workplace as part of its antidiscrimination enforcement mandate. In

Anita Hill, whose sexual harassment allegations against Clarence Thomas nearly derailed his appointment to the U.S. Supreme Court, discussed the Lewinsky scandal while at the University of Southern California, 1998 (Associated Press AP)



the process, Hill realized that the EEOC had pursued cases involving behavior similar to what she had endured. She did not discuss the matter with Thomas because it embarrassed her. She did not file a charge against him, believing that the outcome was uncertain. (The U.S. Supreme Court did not decide that sexual harassment was sex discrimination until 1986.) Later in 1982, Thomas resumed making comments containing sexual innuendo to Hill.

When Hill received a job offer to teach at Oral Roberts University, it appealed to her because it offered her an escape from Thomas. In 1986, Hill accepted a teaching position at the University of Oklahoma College of Law.

When President George Bush nominated Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1991, one of Senator Howard Metzenbaum's aides received a tip that Thomas had sexually harassed Hill when she had worked for him in the 1980s. In response to an inquiry and because she had been told that her response would be confidential, Hill prepared a statement that was part of a report sent to Senate Judiciary Committee members.

During the Judiciary Committee's hearings on Thomas's nomination, Hill's allegations were not considered. The committee voted seven to seven on Thomas's nomination and sent its report with no recommendation to the Senate. During Senate debate, Hill's name and other material were leaked to *Newsday* and to National Public Radio. On 6 October 1991, when both news agencies made the information public, some observers believed that President Bush would withdraw Thomas's name after learning of the sexual harassment allegations Hill had made. Instead, Thomas's confirmation procedure continued.

On Tuesday, 8 October 1991, three Democratic senators used their one-minute speeches to challenge and protest Thomas's pending confirmation. Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) organized a group of seven Democratic women members of the House to go to the Senate to explain to senators their concerns regarding Thomas's potential confirmation and their belief that the charges against him were serious. Television cameras and newspaper photographers recorded the women's march on the Senate and sent the image across the nation. Their action, along with public pressure, led to the Senate's reopening of Thomas's hearings.

From Friday, 11 October 1991, to Sunday, 13 October 1991, the Senate hearings on Hill's allegations of Thomas's sexual harassment captured both the media's and the public's attention. Throughout the hearings, the committee focused its questions on Hill's integrity, her recollections, and her veracity rather than on Thomas's behavior or the general issue of sexual harassment. Even though three other women had been identified as targets of sexual harassment by Thomas, the committee refused to call them or an expert on sexual harassment as witnesses. The committee members' seeming intent to discredit Hill outraged women across the country, who viewed the committee's questions as unwarranted attacks on Hill.

In unprecedented ways, however, the nation focused on the question of sexual harassment, what constituted it, and what the consequences of it should be. In the months following the hearing, the number of formal sexual harassment complaints filed with the EEOC increased more than 50 percent. Women's political organizations gained new members and received increased financial support following the hearings. Several women ran for and won political office, among them Carol Moseley-Braun, who became the first African American woman to serve in the U.S. Senate, and Cynthia McKinney, for whom Hill provided "a moral context" for her decision to run for the U.S. House of Representatives.

Hill returned to teaching at the University of Oklahoma College of Law, but she experienced a great deal of backlash from other professors and even from the Oklahoma legislature, which tried to revoke her position. She was a visiting professor at the University of California at Berkeley and eventually moved on to Brandeis University.

Born near Morris, Oklahoma, Anita Hill earned her bachelor of science degree from Oklahoma State University in 1977 and her law degree from Yale Law School in 1980. She was in private practice from 1980 to 1981.

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; McKinney, Cynthia Ann; Moseley-Braun, Carol; Schroeder, Patricia Nell Scott; Sexual Harassment

References Boxer, *Strangers in the Senate* (1994); Hill, *Speaking Truth to Power* (1997).

Hills, Carla Helen Anderson (b. 1934)

Carla Hills served as U.S. secretary of housing and urban development from March 1975 to January 1977 and as special trade representative from 1989 to 1993. Hills began her public service career in 1974 as assistant attorney general in charge of the civil division of the Department of Justice, the highest-ranking woman in the department. President Gerald Ford appointed her secretary of housing and urban development in 1975, making her the third woman to hold a cabinet-level position. A fiscal conservative, she focused on rehabilitating existing housing for low- and moderate-income families rather than on new construction. Hills generally opposed public housing, characterized it as wasteful and expensive, and supported rent subsidies instead. Hills served until 1977 and then went into a private law practice.

Hills returned to public life in 1989 when President George Bush appointed her U.S. trade representative. As President Bush's principal adviser on international trade policy and the nation's chief trade negotiator, she helped negotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and agreements with Japanese companies to open their markets to U.S. imports. During negotiations to limit European governments' assistance to farmers, the talks came to a stalemate and Hills threatened to impose prohibitive tariffs on French wines and other products. Instead of the international trade war that observers predicted, Hills negotiated an agreement acceptable to both the European Community and the United States.

Born in Los Angeles, California, Hills studied at St. Hilda's College in Oxford, England, in 1954 and earned her bachelor's degree from Stanford University in 1955 and her law degree from Yale University in 1958.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1993* (1993); *New York Times*, 14 February 1975, 7 December 1988, 18 December 1992; Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Nixon/Ford Years* (1979).

Hishon v. King and Spalding (1984)

Elizabeth Hishon worked for King and Spalding, a large law firm that had more than fifty partners and about fifty associate attorneys. The firm had never had a woman partner in 1980, when Hishon filed her lawsuit accusing the firm of sex discrimination in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. When she had been recruited in 1972 by the law firm, she had been led to believe that, after five or six years, advancement to partner was a matter of course for associates whose work was satisfactory. After working for the firm for twelve years as an associate, she had not been invited to become a partner, prompting the lawsuit. The district

court dismissed her lawsuit on the ground that Title VII did not apply to the selection of partners in a partnership. The U.S. Supreme Court disagreed with the district court and said that Title VII covers partners in a partnership and bans discrimination on the basis of race or sex.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Employment Discrimination

References *Hishon v. King and Spalding*, 467 U.S. 69 (1984).

Hobby, Oveta Culp (1905–1995)

The first secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Democrat Oveta Culp Hobby was also the first director of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps. Hobby began her public service career as a dollar-a-year executive with the War Department in the women's interest section of the Bureau of Public Relations. The next year, she developed plans for the newly created Women's Auxiliary Army Corps and became the first director of the corps in 1942, holding the rank of colonel. The corps ended its auxiliary status in 1943 and became the Women's Army Corps (WAC) with full military status. Many of Hobby's initial duties involved establishing policies and procedures for military women, recruiting them, and integrating them into the armed forces. She dealt with both substantive and trivial issues. African Americans questioned how a southerner such as Hobby would deal with training and appointing officers, prompting Hobby's announcement that African American women would be appointed officers in proportion to the number of African American women in the general population. She appeared before Congress's Military Affairs Committee to gain approval for the positions women could hold in the army and obtained its consent on 239 job classifications. Throughout her tenure as head of the corps, Hobby fought sex biases. For example, the military proposed dishonorable discharge for women who became pregnant without prior approval, but Hobby objected by proposing that men who fathered children out of wedlock should also receive a dishonorable discharge. Hobby won her point, and pregnant WACs received honorable discharges. The press questioned her on whether or not women would be able to wear makeup. Hobby concluded that they could wear modest amounts of it. At the end of World War II, about 100,000 women had served in the corps. In 1945, Hobby resigned and returned to Houston.

Although Hobby considered herself a conservative Democrat, she supported Republican governor Thomas E. Dewey's unsuccessful 1948 presidential campaign. As coeditor and publisher of the *Houston Post*, she announced her support for Republican General Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1952 presidential candidacy and spent several months in New York working in the Citizens for Eisenhower headquarters. After winning the election,

Eisenhower appointed Hobby to head the Federal Security Agency, which became the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). As secretary of HEW, Hobby supervised the development of nurse-training programs and a hospital reinsurance program. Her most important contribution was likely her decision to license six drug companies to manufacture the Salk vaccine for polio in 1955.

Born in Killeen, Texas, Hobby studied law at Mary Hardin–Baylor College and completed her studies at the University of Texas Law School. In 1919, when she was in high school, Hobby’s father was elected to the Texas legislature, and she went with him to Austin to work for him. In 1925, she became parliamentarian of the Texas legislature, holding the position for six years, and served in the position again in 1939 and 1941. She wrote *Mr. Chairman*, a textbook on parliamentary procedure, in 1937.

Married to former Texas governor and newspaper owner William Pettis Hobby, Oveta Hobby was an editor and executive vice president of the newspaper as well as executive director of a radio station her husband owned. Following her retirement from government service, Hobby returned to Houston and resumed her role in the newspaper and the family’s other business enterprises.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential; Military, Women in the; Rogers, Edith Frances Nourse

References Crawford and Ragsdale, *Women in Texas* (1992); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography: Who’s News and Why, 1942* (1942), *Current Biography: Who’s News and Why, 1953* (1953); *New York Times*, 17 August 1995; Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Eisenhower Years* (1977).

***Hodgson v. Minnesota* (1990)**

Hodgson v. Minnesota challenged a 1981 Minnesota law requiring that the parents of a female child under eighteen years of age be notified before she could obtain an abortion. Under the law, both parents of the minor female seeking an abortion had to be given notice forty-eight hours before the procedure could be performed. The law included a judicial bypass procedure, which meant that if the young woman did not wish to notify her parents, she could go to a judge for notification. To obtain a court order, the minor female had to prove that she was mature and capable of giving informed consent. The law also specified exceptions to the two-parent notification, including divorce; emergency treatment to save the woman’s life; and sexual or physical abuse, in which case the proper authorities had to have been notified.

Abortion clinics, physicians, pregnant minors, and others filed suit, claiming the law violated the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court invalidated the two-parent noti-

fication without a judicial bypass procedure, saying that it had no rational basis. The Court upheld the forty-eight-hour waiting period and the two-parent notification that included a procedure for a judicial waiver.

See also Abortion; Fourteenth Amendment

References *Hodgson v. Minnesota*, 497 U.S. 417 (1990).

Holt, Marjorie Sewell (b. 1920)

Republican Marjorie Holt of Maryland served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1973 to 3 January 1987. Holt entered Congress with an agenda of reducing nonmilitary spending and increasing military spending, and in 1978 she introduced an alternative budget and came within five votes of passing it. Holt continued to regularly develop and introduce her Republican version of the budget, which became part of her party's national political strategy. She adamantly opposed school busing, introduced measures to end it, and gained House approval for a constitutional amendment to ban it.

Born in Birmingham, Alabama, Marjorie Holt earned her bachelor's degree from Jacksonville University in 1945 and her law degree from the University of Florida in 1949. After several years in private law practice, Holt was circuit court clerk for Anne Arundel County Court from 1966 to 1972. She served on the Maryland Governor's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice from 1970 to 1972.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America: Members of Congress in Washington and at Home* (1983); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Holtzman, Elizabeth (b. 1941)

Democrat Elizabeth Holtzman of New York served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1973 to 3 January 1981. When Holtzman entered the 1972 Democratic primary, she challenged incumbent congressman Emanuel Celler, who had represented the district for fifty years. Celler, whose campaign was well financed and whose campaign organization was far more sophisticated than Holtzman's, dismissed her candidacy. She conducted a grassroots campaign, emphasized her opposition to the war in Vietnam, argued that Celler had become removed from his constituency, and pointed to the amount of time he was absent from Congress. Her victory in the primary election all but ensured her election to Congress.

Shortly after Holtzman entered Congress, President Richard Nixon ordered the bombing of Cambodia, and she filed suit in U.S. district court to stop the bombings. The court ordered them to stop, but the decision

was overturned on appeal. She took the matter to the U.S. Supreme Court, but her request for a hearing was denied.

In 1979, Holtzman discovered that fifty alleged Nazi war criminals resided in the United States, and she began a crusade to have them deported. For years, she challenged the Immigration and Naturalization Service to respond to her demands for deportation action, and eventually more than 100 Nazi war criminals were expelled from the United States.

A feminist, Holtzman was one of the organizers and one of the first cochairs of the Congresswomen's Caucus, later known as the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, created to bring women members of Congress together to discuss matters of common interest. Holtzman served on the President's National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, the group that planned the 1977 National Women's Conference. A strong Equal Rights Amendment supporter, Holtzman told one group: "Sooner or later, inevitably and inexorably, our Constitution will embody the principle of women's equality under the law." In 1978, she passed a bill that helped protect the privacy of rape victims by preventing cross-examination into their prior sexual experience.

Holtzman entered the 1980 Democratic primary for the U.S. Senate instead of running for a fifth term. She won the primary but lost the general election. In 1981, Holtzman won the race for district attorney of Brooklyn, where she served until 1989, the year she was elected comptroller of New York City. After serving from 1990 to 1994, she returned to private law practice.

Born in New York, New York, Holtzman received her bachelor's degree from Radcliffe College in 1962 and her law degree from Harvard Law School in 1965. While in law school, she spent the summer of 1963 in Georgia working with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a civil rights organization. The next summer she worked for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense and Education Fund.

See also Congress, Women in; Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues; Equal Rights Amendment; Heckler, Margaret Mary O'Shaughnessy; National Women's Conference

References Holtzman, *Who Said It Would Be Easy: One Woman's Life in the Political Arena* (1996); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Honeyman, Nan Wood (1881–1970)

Democrat Nan Honeyman of Oregon served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1937 to 3 January 1939. Honeyman strongly supported New Deal policies and was accused of subordinating her dis-

trict's needs to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's national political concerns. She was defeated in her attempt for a second term in 1938 and in 1940. She was senior representative for the Pacific Coast of the Office of Price Administration in 1941 and 1942 and collector of customs for Portland, Oregon, from 1942 to 1953.

Born in West Point, New York, Nan Honeyman graduated from St. Helens Hall in 1898 and later attended Finch School in New York to study music. Honeyman served in the Oregon House of Representatives from 1935 to 1937 and filled a vacancy in the Oregon Senate in 1942.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

hooks, bell (b. 1952)

African American intellectual bell hooks has criticized the feminist movement for its racism and has argued that it must recognize that women have a variety of backgrounds and experiences and that race and class affect women's lives as much as gender. She seeks to understand race, gender, and class biases by beginning with her own experiences and the experiences of other women and developing theories from them. She further seeks to use her theories to alter the ways people live their lives, which she calls the practical phase of her work. To involve a larger audience than academics, hooks uses popular culture to link familiar movies or books to theory, providing a base from which to engage students and readers and then move them to considering theory.

College professor and mentor, hooks has published several works, including *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (1981); *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center* (1984); *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (1990); *Breaking Bread: Insurgent Black Intellectual Life* (1991); and *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (1994).

Born in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, bell hooks was given the name Gloria Jean Watkins, taking her maternal great-grandmother's name when she began her writing career. She uses lowercase letters instead of capital letters because she believes that who has written something is less important than what they have written. hooks completed her undergraduate studies at Stanford University in 1973 and earned her master's degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1976 and her doctoral degree from the University of California at Santa Cruz in 1983. She has taught at various California universities, Yale University, Oberlin College, and the City College of New York.

See also Feminist Movement

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1995* (1995); hooks, with Mckinnon, "Sisterhood: Beyond Public and Private" (1996).

Hooley, Darlene (b. 1939)

Democrat Darlene Hooley of Oregon entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1997. During her congressional campaign, Hooley pledged to work for income tax deductions for college tuition and for improved vocational programs for people needing professional retraining. Hooley's congressional priorities include protecting funding for early childhood education, preserving Social Security and Medicare, and protecting abortion rights.

Hooley became an activist for safer playgrounds in the 1970s, served on the park district board, and then served on the West Linn City Council from 1977 to 1981. While in the Oregon State House of Representatives from 1981 to 1987, she passed welfare reform legislation that moved people from welfare to work. She authored the state's first recycling laws, rewrote the state's land use laws, and wrote and passed equal pay laws.

Hooley accepted an appointment to fill a vacancy on the Clackamas County Commission in 1987 and then won reelection to it until 1996. On the commission, she worked to improve county roads, implement welfare reform, increase the number of police, and create new jobs in the private sector. She helped establish a pilot project in which welfare recipients received counseling to reduce the number of people on welfare assistance.

Born in Williston, North Dakota, Darlene Hooley attended Pasadena Nazarene College from 1957 to 1959 and received her bachelor's degree from Oregon State University in 1961.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/hooley.

Horn, Joan Kelly (b. 1936)

Democrat Joan Horn of Missouri served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1991 to 5 January 1993. Horn was active in the Democratic Party, the Missouri Women's Political Caucus, and the Freedom of Choice Council, connections that provided her with an important network when she sought a seat in Congress, her first political office. In addition, she and her husband were partners in a research and polling firm, which gave her additional political experience. She lost reelection attempts in 1992 and 1996.

Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Joan Horn earned her bachelor's degree

in 1973 and her master's degree in 1975 from the University of Missouri at St. Louis.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1992 (1991).

Howe, Julia Ward (1819–1910)

Best known for writing “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” Julia Ward Howe provided leadership in the areas of woman suffrage, women's education, and peace. Married in 1843 to social reformer Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, she bore six children in the next sixteen years. In addition to caring for them, she attended lectures; studied foreign languages, religion, and philosophy; and wrote poetry and dramas, interests she developed because her husband did not want her involved in public life.

Julia Howe's entrance into public life began when she anonymously published *Passion-Flowers*, a collection of poems in 1854, and a second collection, *Words for the Hour*, in 1857. She wrote “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” in 1861, *Atlantic Monthly* published it in 1862, and it became a Civil War anthem. With its success, Julia Howe actively engaged in her literary career, publishing a literary magazine in 1867.

She also became active in the woman suffrage movement. In 1868, she was a founder and the first president of the New England Woman Suffrage Association, serving until 1877 and again from 1893 to 1910. She became a leader in the newly organized American Woman Suffrage Association in 1869. President of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association from 1870 to 1877 and from 1891 to 1893, she founded a weekly woman suffrage magazine, *Woman's Journal*, in 1870, and edited it for twenty years.

Also in 1870, she wrote “Appeal to Womanhood throughout the World,” a call to women to become active in peace issues. She organized the Woman's Peace Conference in London in 1872.

Howe's husband died in 1876 and with her new freedom, she went on her first speaking tour that year, advocating the development of a national women's club movement. A founder of the New England Women's Club in 1868, she was its president for most of the rest of her life, beginning in 1870. She was also a founder of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1890.

In addition to her commitments to woman suffrage and the women's club movement, Howe continued her literary career, publishing collections of her lectures, a biography of Margaret Fuller, and her memoirs.

See also American Woman Suffrage Association; General Federation of Women's Clubs; Peace Movement; Suffrage

References Garraty and Carnes, eds., *American National Biography* (1999).

Hoyt v. Florida (1961)

The U.S. Supreme Court decided in *Hoyt v. Florida* that being judged by an all-male jury did not violate an accused person's Fourteenth Amendment rights. At the time, women could not serve on state juries in three states, and in twenty-six states and the District of Columbia women could claim exemptions not available to men. In Florida, women who wanted to serve on a jury had to register with the clerk of the circuit court, which few did.

In *Hoyt*, a woman convicted of killing her husband appealed on the grounds that she had been denied her Fourteenth Amendment rights because Florida's law unconstitutionally excluded women from jury service. The woman argued that her case demanded women on the jury because women would have been more sympathetic than men in considering her temporary insanity defense.

The Court rejected her appeal, saying first that "woman is still regarded as the center of home and family life. We cannot say that it is constitutionally impermissible for a State, acting in pursuit of the general welfare, to conclude that a woman should be relieved from the civic duty of jury service unless she herself determines that such service is consistent with her own special responsibilities." From that perspective, the Court said that it was reasonable "for a state legislature to [assume] that it would not be administratively feasible to decide in each individual instance whether family responsibilities of a prospective female juror were serious enough to warrant an exemption."

In 1975, the Court overturned this decision in *Taylor v. Louisiana*.

See also Fourteenth Amendment; Juries, Women on; *Taylor v. Louisiana*

References Getman, "The Emerging Constitutional Principle of Sexual Equality" (1973); *Hoyt v. Florida*, 368 U.S. 57 (1961).

Huck, Winifred Sprague Mason (1882–1936)

Republican Winifred Huck of Illinois served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 7 November 1922 to 3 March 1923. The daughter of Congressman William Mason, who died in office, Winifred Huck won the special election to fill the vacancy. She introduced legislation to grant independence to the Philippine Islands, to grant self-government to Cuba and Ireland, and to require a direct popular vote before U.S. armed forces could be involved in an overseas war. She was denied the party's nomination for the full term that began in 1923.

In 1925, Huck investigated the criminal justice system and prisons. With the cooperation of Ohio's governor, she was arrested for a minor crime, convicted, incarcerated for a month, and pardoned by the governor. She then began a trip to New York, seeking employment as an ex-

convict along the way and writing a series of syndicated articles about her experiences. In 1928 and 1929, she was an investigative reporter for *Chicago Evening Post*.

Huck was born in Chicago, Illinois.

See also Congress, Women in

References James, ed., *Notable American Women 1607–1950* (1971); *New York Times*, 26 August 1936.

Huerta, Dolores (b. 1930)

Dolores Huerta has sought economic and employment justice for Hispanic American agricultural workers since the early 1960s, when she and Cesar Chavez cofounded the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). A folk hero in the Mexican American community for her work as a contract negotiator, strike organizer, lobbyist, and boycott coordinator, Huerta has been arrested more than two dozen times and has experienced harassment and violence.

Huerta entered the migrant labor movement in part out of frustration at teaching migrants' children because, she later explained: "I couldn't stand seeing kids come to class hungry and needing shoes. I thought I could do more by organizing farm workers than by trying to teach their hungry kids." In 1955, she met a representative of the Community Service Organization (CSO), a Mexican American self-help association that sought to empower Latinos through political action. A founding member of the Stockton, California, CSO, Huerta served as the group's lobbyist to the California legislature in the late 1950s and early 1960s. She helped pass more than a dozen bills, including measures requiring businesses to provide pensions to legal immigrants and allowing farmworkers to receive public assistance, retirement benefits, and disability and unemployment insurance regardless of their status as U.S. citizens.

Through CSO, Huerta worked with Chavez, who proposed creating a union for farmworkers. In 1962, they formed the NFWA, went into fields, and explained the anticipated benefits of organizing to farmworkers. Chavez and Huerta endured threats from landowners and law enforcement officers. When the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) initiated a strike against California grape growers, the NFWA joined the effort in 1965. The AFL-CIO group and the NFWA merged into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) in 1966. For her involvement in the strike as an organizer, Huerta was repeatedly arrested and placed under surveillance by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Huerta was named chief negotiator for UFWOC, even though she was



Dolores Huerta, cofounder of the United Farmworkers of America, with raspberry worker Valentin Leon during a lawsuit against a California grower (Associated Press AP)

not a lawyer, had no experience as a labor negotiator, and had never read a union contract before the strike began. By 1967 she had negotiated contracts that gave workers an hourly raise, health care benefits, job security, and protection from pesticide poisoning. Despite the success with some growers, the majority resisted the UFWOC, and the organization called for a national boycott of table grapes in 1968. As director of the boycott, Huerta moved to New York and mobilized unions, political activists, Hispanic associations, community organizations, and others in support of the boycott, one of the most successful boycotts in the United States. In 1970, Huerta negotiated collective bargaining agreements with more than two dozen growers and obtained many new benefits for grape workers. The success attracted new members to UFWOC, and membership reached 80,000. In 1972, the UFWOC became an independent affiliate of the AFL-CIO and was renamed the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO (UFW).

More boycotts followed in the 1970s, with Huerta managing the lettuce, grape, and Gallo wine boycotts. One of the successes of the boycotts was the passage of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act in 1975, the first law that recognized collective bargaining rights of California farmworkers.

Huerta described the achievements of the organizing efforts: “I think we brought to the world, the United States, anyway, the whole idea of boy-

cotting as a nonviolent tactic. I think we showed the world that nonviolence can work to make social change. . . . I think we have laid a pattern of how farm workers are eventually going to get out of their bondage. It may not happen right now in our foreseeable future, but the pattern is there and farm workers are going to make it.”

From 1991 to 1993, she took a leave of absence from UFW to work on the Feminist Majority’s Feminization of Power campaign, a project that encourages Latinas to run for public office. She then returned to the UFW and began organizing the 20,000 workers in California’s strawberry industry.

Born in Dawson, New Mexico, Huerta earned her associate’s degree from Stockton College.

See also The Feminist Majority

References Felner, “Dolores Huerta” (1998); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1997* (1997); Garcia, “Dolores Huerta: Woman, Organizer, and Symbol” (1993).

Hufstedler, Shirley Ann Mount (b. 1925)

The first secretary of the U.S. Department of Education, Shirley Hufstedler served from 1979 to 1981. Creating the department had been one of President Jimmy Carter’s pledges in his 1976 campaign and Congress had authorized establishing the Department of Education in September 1979. Confirmed by the Senate on 30 November 1979, Hufstedler’s initial task was to bring together 152 federal education programs previously administered by the Defense Department and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. She explained: “The federal government cannot simply ‘set policy’ in terms of what should be done to help school systems. The most we can do is to help them help themselves and to try to create a climate in which people can begin to think in cooperation terms instead of confrontation terms.” The department officially opened on 4 May 1980.

Born in Denver, Colorado, Shirley Hufstedler earned her bachelor’s degree in business administration in 1945 and her law degree from Stanford University in 1949. In private law practice from 1950 to 1960, she was special legal consultant to the California state attorney general. Appointed to fill an unexpired term as judge on the Los Angeles Superior Court in 1961, she was elected to a full term the next year and served until 1966, when she was appointed to the California State Court of Appeals for the Second District. In 1968, President Lyndon Johnson appointed Hufstedler to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, the second woman to serve on the federal appellate bench.

Hufstedler chaired the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, which was created by Congress in 1990 and dissolved in 1997.

Governor Jane Dee Hull (R-AZ) was joined by her grandson at campaign headquarters in Phoenix, Arizona, to celebrate her nomination for the governorship, 1998 (Associated Press AP)



See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1980* (1980).

Hull, Jane Dee Bowersock (b. 1935)

Republican Jane Dee Hull became governor of Arizona on 5 September 1997. Hull entered politics in 1965 as a precinct committeewoman, worked in Republican campaigns, and served in the Arizona House of Representatives from 1979 to 1993. In 1989, she served as the state's first female speaker of the house and was Arizona secretary of state from 1995 to 1997. Her tenure in the office ended when incumbent Arizona governor Fife Symington III was convicted of fraud and removed from office. The state constitution provides that the secretary of state becomes governor when the office is vacant. Hull was elected governor in 1998 for a full term.

Born in Kansas City, Missouri, Jane Hull earned her bachelor of science degree from the University of Kansas, did postgraduate work in political science and economics at Arizona State University, and graduated from the Josephson Ethics Institute.

See also Governors, Women; State Legislatures, Women in

References www.governor.state.az.us/news/html.

Humphrey Brown, Muriel Fay Buck (1912–1998)

Democrat Muriel Humphrey of Minnesota served in the U.S. Senate from 25 January 1978 to 7 November 1978. Her life as a political wife began in 1943, when her first husband, Hubert Humphrey, ran for mayor of Min-

neapolis, Minnesota. She campaigned for him during his many races for the U.S. Senate as well as his campaign for vice president of the United States in 1964, which he won, and for president in 1968, which he lost. When he died in office in 1978, Muriel Humphrey was appointed to fill the vacancy.

In office, Muriel Humphrey passed an amendment to enhance the job security of federal employees who expose waste or fraud and cosponsored the resolution to extend the ratification deadline of the Equal Rights Amendment. After a granddaughter was born mentally disabled, Humphrey worked for people with mental disabilities. Humphrey declined to run in the special election to complete the term. She remarried in 1981 but remained vocal in the political arena. When liberalism and liberal ideas came under attack in the late 1980s, Muriel Humphrey announced: "I'm a liberal and I'm proud of it. In fact, I was probably a little more liberal than Hubert was."

Born in Huron, South Dakota, Humphrey attended Huron College in the 1930s, leaving when she married Hubert Humphrey in 1936. She worked as a bookkeeper in a utility company to put her husband through college. A shy woman, she strove to overcome her shyness as her husband's political career developed. After he received the Democratic Party's nomination for president, she explained: "I just wanted to be a housewife. I didn't even know how I'd be a mother. I would have been horrified to have thought of this."

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Rights Amendment

References *New York Times*, 21 September 1998; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Hurley, Ruby (1909–1980)

African American Ruby Hurley was known as "the queen of civil rights" for her work with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the 1950s and 1960s. Appointed youth secretary of the NAACP in 1943, she directed the organization of youth councils and college affiliates across the country. Assigned to Birmingham, Alabama, in 1951 when the organization opened a southeastern regional office, she left when the state banned the organization and reopened the regional office in Atlanta, Georgia. She helped investigate bomb threats made to an NAACP field secretary in Florida in 1951 and the murder of the Reverend George W. Lee, who was registering African American voters. She monitored the trial of two white Mississippians accused of murdering Emmett Till, a young African American. Hurley was involved in the desegregation of the University of Alabama, the University of Georgia, and the University of Mississippi.

During a sit-in demonstration at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, Hurley cited the Constitution as the basis for her actions and then explained: “What we’re saying, Mr. White Folks, is this: ‘You wrote it and all we want you to do is live by it!’”

Born in Washington, D.C., Ruby Hurley graduated from Miner Teachers College and attended the Robert H. Terrell Law School.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the

References *New York Times*, 15 August 1980.

Hutchinson, Anne Marbury (1591–1643)

Puritan Anne Hutchinson was born in Alford, Lincolnshire, England; became a member of Puritan minister John Cotton’s congregation in Boston, England; and with her husband, William Hutchinson, and their children followed Cotton to colonial Boston in 1634. Cotton preached the covenant of grace, a belief that redemption came from God’s grace and that faith provided the basis for salvation. The covenant of works was the opposing belief, one that espoused that obedience to moral law was the way to salvation and that one’s outward behavior indicated that one had been redeemed. Hutchinson interpreted the covenant of grace to mean that the spirit of Christ lived within each person, leading her to argue that men and women were equal. People who shared her beliefs were called antinomians and were charged with heresy by the church.

A midwife and respected woman in the community, Hutchinson’s advice was sought by other women. Through their conversations, Hutchinson realized that some women had accepted the covenant of works rather than the covenant of grace, in which she believed. To offer women an opportunity to speak openly and freely about their beliefs, Hutchinson organized weekly meetings in her home to discuss, criticize, and interpret the week’s sermon. So many people, men and women, attended that she initiated a second weekly meeting. As her following grew, one minister attacked her in his sermons, and she responded by criticizing his theology.

Hutchinson’s challenge to ministerial authority led to her famous trial, although she was not charged with any specific crime. Her offense was that she had not accepted the limits placed on women at the time. She was tried in civil court in 1637 for sedition for leading discussions on sermons and on her theological ideas, found guilty, and banished. Hutchinson was tried again before an ecclesiastical court in early 1638 for heresy and was excommunicated. Anne and William Hutchinson and their children joined another religious dissident, Roger Williams, in Rhode Island, living there until 1642 when William died and they moved to New York. Hutchinson and all but one daughter were killed by Native Americans in 1643.

References Cameron, *Anne Hutchinson, Guilty or Not? A Closer Look at Her Trials* (1994).

Hutchison, Kathryn (Kay) Ann Bailey (b. 1943)

Republican Kay Hutchison of Texas entered the U.S. Senate on 14 June 1993. When incumbent Texas senator Lloyd Bentsen left office to join President Bill Clinton's cabinet, Hutchison won the special election to complete the term. She won election to a full six-year term in November 1994. Hutchison held the leadership position of Senate deputy majority whip in the 104th, 105th, and 106th Congresses (1995–2001).

Senator Hutchison has passed a measure creating the homemakers' individual retirement account. Before passage of the measure, only employed persons could establish individual retirement accounts, leaving homemakers who are not employed in the labor market without the opportunity to take advantage of the tax savings associated with the accounts. With passage of the measure, a married person not employed in the labor market can establish an account and the homemaker and wage-earning spouse can save for retirement at the same rate as two-income families. Hutchison also passed a measure that makes stalking across state lines a federal offense. With Texas and Mexico sharing a border, Hutchison has focused her attention on reducing illegal immigration and the movement of drugs across the border. She has worked for campaign finance reform, military preparedness and a strong defense budget, simplification of the process for small businesses to become government suppliers, congressional term limits, cuts in personal income taxes, and a balanced budget. She held the leadership position of Senate deputy majority whip in the 104th and 105th Congresses (1995–1997 and 1997–1999).

A political and legal affairs correspondent for a Houston television station from 1969 to 1971, Hutchison then went to Washington, D.C., to serve as press secretary to Republican Party cochair Anne Armstrong. Hutchison returned to Texas and served in the state House of Representatives from 1973 to 1977, where she cosponsored rape reform legislation with Sarah Weddington. President Gerald Ford appointed her vice chair of the National Transportation Safety Board in 1976, where she served until 1978, when she moved to Dallas. She was senior vice president and general counsel of Republic Bank Corporation and later cofounded Fidelity National Bank of Dallas and owned McCraw Candies. She ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1982. Hutchison served as Texas state treasurer from 1991 to 1993.

Born in Galveston, Texas, Hutchison attended the University of Texas from 1961 to 1964 and earned her bachelor of laws degree in 1967 from the University of Texas Law School and her bachelor of arts degree in 1992 from the University of Texas.

Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX), with Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-MS), listened to testimony during a Senate Rules Committee hearing on campaign fundraising, 1997 (Associated Press AP)



See also Congress, Women in; Stalking; State Legislatures; Women in; Wedding-ton, Sarah Ragle

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995); www.senate.gov/~hutchison/bio.htm.

Hyde, Henry John (b. 1924)

Republican Henry Hyde of Illinois entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1975. During his first term in office, Hyde passed an amendment prohibiting federal funding for abortions except to save the life of the mother. He has succeeded in attaching the amendment to every subsequent annual appropriations bill. After the amendment was challenged in the courts, the U.S. Supreme Court found it constitutional in *Harris v. McRae* (1980). One of the most ardent abortion opponents in Congress, Hyde seeks a constitutional amendment banning abortions except to save the life of the mother. Criticized for his exclusion of abortion funding for pregnancies resulting from rape or incest, Hyde has explained: "The fetus has committed no crime. Killing the unborn child would be an admission that there are values superior to human life and I don't recognize any value superior to human life."

Born in Chicago, Hyde earned his bachelor of science degree from Georgetown University in 1947 and his law degree from the Loyola University School of Law in 1949. An unsuccessful candidate for Congress in 1962, Hyde served in the Illinois House of Representatives from 1967 to 1975.

See also Abortion; *Harris v. McRae*

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1989* (1989).

Independent Women's Forum

Founded in 1992 to provide an alternative female voice in political debates, the Independent Women's Forum (IWF) began informally to support Clarence Thomas's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court. With about 500 members, IWF espouses conservative views on social issues and bases its positions on the belief that the family is the foundation of society and is the center of most women's lives.

IWF members include businesswomen, economists, lawyers, teachers, and homemakers who support individual responsibility, strong families, and less government. IWF has supported the Virginia Military Institute's attempt to remain all-male, Paula Jones's sexual harassment suit against President Bill Clinton, welfare reform, single-sex educational programs, and mandatory testing for human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and disclosure of the results. It opposes affirmative action and worked against the Violence Against Women Act.

See also Affirmative Action; Hill, Anita Faye; Sexual Harassment; *United States v. Virginia*; Violence Against Women Act of 1994

References Burkett, *The Right Women* (1998); www.iwf.org.

Ireland, Patricia (b. 1945)

Patricia Ireland became president of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1991. Ireland became involved in the feminist movement through a personal experience. A flight attendant for Pan American World Airlines from 1967 to 1975, Ireland learned that the company's



Patricia Ireland,
president of the
National Organization
for Women
(Corbis/Bettmann)

health insurance policy covered male employees' families but not female employees' families. She protested the company policy and contacted NOW for advice. Following NOW's recommendations, she successfully challenged the policy, but only for women who were heads of households. The company later granted women the same insurance coverage as men. Years later, Ireland noted: "The vice president of the labor task force at Dade County NOW is now the dean of women lawmakers in the Florida legislature. I am the president of NOW. And Pan Am is bankrupt."

Ireland discovered that she could create change; that although laws existed to protect women's rights, they were not consistently enforced; and that NOW's feminist agenda related to her. She also found satisfaction in having power. Increasingly dissatisfied with the control that Pan Am exercised over her life as well as that of other flight attendants, Ireland sought new avenues to gain status and power. She entered law school while still working for Pan Am to support herself and her husband. Following graduation in 1975, she joined a private law firm, where she worked for twelve years. During those years, she also did pro bono work for women and through that work learned how legal barriers limited women's options and prohibited women from fully exercising their human rights. Her exposure to the inequities of divorce laws and inheritance laws, the crimes of violence permitted under marriage laws, and the economic travesties perpetuated by businesses and governments contributed to her growing commitment to the feminist agenda.

Ireland's continued involvement in NOW led to her election as vice president of the organization in 1987 and her appointment to the presidency in 1991, when incumbent president Molly Yard resigned because of illness. Controversy over her personal life immediately accompanied Ireland's move to the president's office. A gay rights magazine article revealed that Ireland, who had been married for twenty years, also had a woman companion. Questions of her sexual orientation surrounded her, but Ireland resisted engaging in a battle or even fully responding. She explained: "This is how I live my life and I'm not ashamed. Here I am. Here's my whole set of skills. You get the parts of me you like and also the parts that make you uncomfortable. You have to understand that other people's comfort is no longer my job. I am no longer a flight attendant."

During her tenure as president of NOW, Ireland has led its members in the Women-Friendly Workplace Campaign and has called on corporations to end sexual harassment and other workplace discrimination. Through her leadership, NOW initiated an innovative lawsuit using racketeering laws to stop attacks on abortion clinics. The case, *Now v. Scheidler*, went to the U.S. Supreme Court and was decided in NOW's favor. Ireland developed NOW's Elect Women for a Change campaign in 1992 and the organization's Victory 2000 campaign to elect 2,000 new feminists to office by the turn of the century. She also enhanced NOW's involvement in international issues by nurturing its Global Feminist Program, working with African women to end genital mutilation and with other groups to end the gender apartheid imposed by the Taliban in Afghanistan. Ireland's term as president of NOW ends in the year 2001.

Born in Oak Park, Illinois, Patricia Ireland earned her bachelor's degree in German from the University of Tennessee in 1966 and her law degree from the University of Miami Law School in 1975. Ireland wrote her memoir, *What Women Want*, in 1996.

See also Feminist Movement; National Organization for Women; *NOW v. Scheidler*

References Ireland, *What Women Want* (1996); *New York Times*, 3 March 1992; www.now.org.

Jackson Lee, Sheila (b. 1950)

Democrat Sheila Jackson Lee of Texas entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1995. Elected president of the Democratic freshman class, Jackson Lee helped found the bipartisan Congressional Children's Caucus during her second term. She has introduced and passed legislation relating to adoption, jobs for public housing residents, and research grants for historically black colleges and universities as well as those serving Hispanics. Flood control and support for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) are two areas important to her constituents that she has also worked on.

Jackson Lee has supported affirmative action programs, saying that, as an African American, she would not have attended Yale University without them. She explained: "It is so intensely personal, I have trouble containing myself when I debate this issue." When Congress considered the crime bill, she offered an amendment to use money normally reserved for building prisons for building boot camps for offenders. The amendment passed, but the funds became part of block grants that allowed states to determine their use. Believing that block grants contributed to segregationist policies, Jackson Lee voted against the bill. Her achievements included an amendment to provide adequate funding for the African Development Foundation, a U.S. federal agency that supports community-based self-help initiatives to alleviate poverty and promote sustainable development in Africa.

Homelessness, gun safety and responsibility, welfare reform emphasizing back-to-work programs, and science and technology issues are

Representative Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX) delivered her opening statement to the House Judiciary Committee during the impeachment hearings of President Bill Clinton, 1998 (Associated Press AP)



among Jackson Lee's legislative priorities. She advocates funds for anti-violence programs in schools, full funding for Head Start, and increased support for school lunch programs.

Born in Jamaica, New York, Sheila Jackson Lee earned her bachelor's degree in political science from Yale University in 1972 and her law degree from the University of Virginia Law School in 1975. Jackson Lee worked for the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Assassinations as staff counselor from 1977 to 1978. She moved to Houston, Texas, and entered into private law practice for the next several years.

Appointed an associate judge on the Houston Municipal Court in 1987, Jackson Lee later served on the Houston City Council from 1990 to 1994. As a council member, she sponsored and won passage of a gun safety law containing penalties for adults who do not have their guns locked away from children. She expanded the summer hours for city parks and recreation areas as a way to discourage gang activity, and she created a city-authorized committee on homelessness.

See also Affirmative Action; Brady, Sarah Jane Kemp; Congress, Women in; Lesbian Rights

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1996 (1995); Doherty, "Surface Racial Harmony on Hill Hides Simmering Tensions" (1998); Gill, *African American Women in Congress* (1997); www.house.gov/jacksonlee/bio.

Jenckes, Virginia Ellis (1877–1975)

Democrat Virginia Jenckes of Indiana served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 4 March 1933 to 3 January 1939. Jenckes based her con-

gressional campaign on ending Prohibition, arguing that because alcohol used grain in its manufacture, legalizing it would improve the market for the grain raised by her constituents. As a member of Congress, flood control legislation was her chief concern, but she did not serve on a committee that dealt with the issue, which limited her ability to use her expertise in the area. She ran for a fourth term but lost in the general election.

During her tenure in Congress, Jenckes was a U.S. delegate to the 1937 Paris meeting of the Interparliamentary Union, a world organization of parliaments that provides forums for international dialogues between nations with peace as its primary goal. In 1956, she gained attention for her role in helping five priests escape from Hungary during the 1956 uprising in that country. She later worked for the American Red Cross.

Born in Terre Haute, Indiana, Jenckes became a farmer in 1912. She was a founder and secretary of the Wabash Maumee Valley Improvement Association, serving from 1926 to 1932.

See also Congress, Women in

References Breckenridge, *Women in the Twentieth Century* (1933); Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Johnson, Claudia Alta (Lady Bird) Taylor (b. 1912)

Lady Bird Johnson was first lady from 1963 to 1969, the years her husband Lyndon Baines Johnson was president of the United States. As first lady, Johnson promoted her husband's Great Society programs, making three or four national tours annually to bring attention to them. A strong supporter of its education components, she served as honorary chair of Head Start. An environmentalist, she organized the 1965 White House Conference on Natural Beauty, played a significant role in the passage of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, and led a national beautification project that included recruiting friends to help plant thousands of tulip and daffodil bulbs in Washington, D.C. Through Project Green Thumb, Johnson enlisted retired farmers who volunteered to improve highway borders. After leaving the White House, she continued her environmental work, serving on national boards and founding the National Wildlife Research Center.

Born in Karnack, Texas, Lady Bird Johnson's given name is Claudia Alta Taylor, but when a nurse caring for her as a baby said that she was as "pretty as a lady bird," it became her name. Johnson earned her bachelor's degree in history in 1933 and a journalism degree in 1934, both from the University of Texas. She married Lyndon Johnson in 1934.

Lady Bird Johnson campaigned for her husband throughout his career, including his congressional, senatorial, vice presidential, and presidential



First Lady Claudia "Lady Bird" Johnson conferred with her assistant Elizabeth Carpenter while planning a dinner, 1963 (Corbis/Bettmann)

campaigns. During World War II, she managed his congressional office after he enlisted in the military and directed many of the couple's financial investments, including the purchase of a radio station in the 1940s and other property. During the years that Lyndon Johnson was vice president, Lady Bird Johnson traveled more than 120,000 miles and visited thirty foreign countries on behalf of the United States. Lady Bird Johnson was riding in the Dallas, Texas, motorcade the November 1963 day that President John Kennedy was assassinated. Her husband became president of the United States a few hours after the shooting. Johnson wrote *A White House Diary* (1970) and coauthored *Wildflowers across America* (1988).

References Crawford and Ragsdale, *Women in Texas* (1992); Gould, "First Lady as Catalyst: Lady Bird Johnson and Highway Beautification in the 1960s" (1986).

Johnson, Eddie Bernice (b. 1935)

Democrat Eddie Bernice Johnson of Texas entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 5 January 1993. Johnson held the leadership position of Democratic deputy whip in the 106th Congress (1999–2001). Johnson's first career was in nursing, as chief psychiatric nurse at a Veterans Administration hospital from 1956 to 1972. She is the only member of Congress who is a registered nurse. Congresswoman Johnson's dominant concerns are unemployment and the attendant social concerns. She believes that

education and job training are the keys to solving those problems. She explained: “I’m not opposed to cracking down on crime and eliminating violence in the country, but I’ve always believed that education and job training are the best crime fighters around.”

Her other congressional priorities include the economy, the environment, accessible health care, and job opportunities for minorities. She has sponsored measures for expanded research on osteoporosis and related bone diseases, to protect access to reproductive health care services, to expand health care services under Medicare, and to reform tax policies related to deducting health insurance costs. Other legislation she has sponsored would encourage women to enter scientific and technical professions.

A member of the Texas House of Representatives from 1973 to 1977, Johnson passed legislation for age-appropriate public education programs for self-reliance and preventative health care, and she and Sarah Weddington passed a bill prohibiting school districts from firing pregnant teachers. She held hearings to examine and expose racism in city and state hiring and contracting.

In 1977, President Jimmy Carter appointed Johnson regional director for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), where she served until 1979. She became executive assistant to the HEW administrator for primary health care in 1979 and held the office until 1981. She resumed her political career in 1987, when she entered the Texas Senate, and served until 1993.

Born in Waco, Texas, African American Eddie Johnson earned her nursing diploma at St. Mary’s College at the University of Notre Dame in 1955, her bachelor of science degree from Texas Christian University in 1967, and her master’s degree in public administration from Southern Methodist University in 1976.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; Weddington, Sarah Ragle

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1996 (1995); Gill, *African American Women in Congress* (1997); www.house.gov/ejohnson/bio.htm.



Representative Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX) spoke on the floor during the U.S. House debate over the four articles of impeachment against President Bill Clinton, 1998 (Associated Press APTN)

Johnson, Lady Bird

See Johnson, Claudia Alta (Lady Bird) Taylor

Johnson, Nancy Lee (b. 1935)

Republican Nancy Johnson of Connecticut entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1983. Congresswoman Johnson has been a leader in health care reform, introducing the first comprehensive bill to provide universal access to care and to control costs. She is also involved in developing trade export policies and assisting the ball-bearing and roller-bearing industry, an important employer in Connecticut. Johnson developed a comprehensive child care package that would have provided vouchers to pay the fees.

As chair of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, Johnson led the two-year investigation of Speaker Newt Gingrich's fund-

Representative Nancy Johnson (R-CT) shook hands with a small girl during her campaign for reelection, 1998 (Associated Press AP)



raising activities, organizations in the fundraising activities, and the financing of the college course he taught. Accused by Democrats of attempting to protect Gingrich, Johnson also underwent intense pressure from Republicans who wanted her to avoid a vendetta against Gingrich. In December 1996, Gingrich admitted that he had failed to properly manage the financing of his political activities and that he had given the ethics committee misleading information. In January 1997, the House voted to reprimand Gingrich and to impose a penalty of \$300,000 against him. Johnson held the leadership position of secretary of the Republican Caucus in the 103rd Congress (1993–1995).

Born in Chicago, Illinois, Nancy Johnson earned her bachelor's degree from Radcliffe College in 1957 and attended the University of London from 1957 to 1958. Before entering politics, Johnson was a community activist and an adjunct professor of political science at Central Connecticut State University. She served in the Connecticut Senate from 1977 to 1983.

See also Congress, Women in; Reproductive Rights; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), *Politics in America 1998* (1997).

Johnson v. Transportation Agency of Santa Clara County (1987)

In *Johnson v. Transportation Agency*, the legality of an affirmative action plan for women was the issue. The U.S. Supreme Court decided in 1987 that the plan was permissible under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In 1978, the Santa Clara County Transit District Board of Supervisors adopted an affirmative action plan and included sex as one of the factors to be considered in deciding among qualified applicants for a position. When the job of road dispatcher opened, Diane Joyce, the county's first female road maintenance worker, applied for it. She and six men were certified eligible for the position, with Joyce receiving a seventy-three on the qualifying interview and Paul Johnson, another qualified applicant, receiving a score of seventy-five on the interview. After a second interview, Johnson was recommended for the job, but the agency director, who ultimately made the decision, chose Joyce. The Court found the affirmative action plan and the decision to hire Joyce acceptable.

See also Affirmative Action; Employment Discrimination

References Becker, "Prince Charming: Abstract Equality" (1988); *Johnson v. Transportation Agency of Santa Clara County*, 480 U.S. 616 (1987).

Representative Stephanie Tubbs Jones (center) (D-OH) gathered with other first-year Congressmembers on the steps of the U.S. Capitol; to the left is Representative Grace Napolitano (D-CA), 1998 (Associated Press AP)



Jones, Stephanie Tubbs (b. 1949)

Democrat Stephanie Tubbs Jones of Ohio entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1999. Jones's congressional priorities include using budget surpluses to fund Social Security, making child day care more available and less expensive, and increasing funding for Head Start and similar programs. Jones opposes mandatory sentencing, explaining that she believes it takes away the need for a judge. The former county judge and county prosecutor was elected to the Cleveland Municipal Court when she was thirty-one years old.

Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Jones earned her bachelor's degree in 1971 and her law degree in 1974, both at Case Western Reserve University. After serving on the municipal court, Jones was the first black woman in Ohio history to serve on the Court of Common Pleas, holding the position from 1983 to 1991. She was then Cuyahoga County prosecutor from 1991 until her election to Congress in 1998.

See also Congress, Women in

References "Stephanie Tubbs Jones" (1998).

Jordan, Barbara Charline (1936–1996)

Democrat Barbara Jordan of Texas served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1973 to 3 January 1979. Throughout her public career, Jordan reminded Americans of their nation's highest ideals and the

need to include all citizens in attaining them, using language so simple and direct that she carried her audiences with her.

Born in Houston, Texas, Barbara Jordan attended Houston's segregated public schools and earned her bachelor of arts degree in political science and history from Texas Southern University in 1956 and her law degree from Boston University in 1959. Following her admission to the bar, she opened a private practice. She entered politics in 1960, working in Harris County, Texas, on John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign. Organizing precincts to identify Kennedy supporters, she began speaking before increasingly larger groups and learned that her speaking style and message resonated with voters.

With her interest in politics sparked, Jordan ran for the Texas House of Representatives in 1960 but lost in the primary. She lost again in 1962, but reapportionment in 1966 placed her in a new district, and she won her race for the state Senate. When she took office in 1967, Jordan became the first African American woman to serve in the Texas legislature. Despite her status as an elected state official, racism continued to interfere in her life. For example, she could not eat at the segregated private clubs where her colleagues gathered for meetings, conversation, and meals.

In the legislature, Jordan sponsored and passed measures that created the Texas Fair Employment Commission, that improved workers' compensation, and that expanded minimum wage provisions to cover employees not included in the federal law. She introduced the state's first Fair Housing Act and chaired the Senate's Reapportionment Committee. She wrote and passed legislation that created the Texas Department of Community Affairs, developed programs for education and training programs for handicapped persons, and reformed the workers' compensation program. Jordan served in the state Senate until 1972, when she ran for Congress.

While campaigning for Congress, Jordan said: "All blacks are militant in their guts. But militancy is expressed in different ways." Jordan expressed her militancy with an elegance and intellectual clarity that compelled listeners to respond to her message. After winning her seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, Jordan sought the counsel of former president Lyndon B. Johnson, a fellow Texan, who advised her to seek a seat on the prestigious Judiciary Committee and used his influence to help her obtain it.

Americans came to recognize Jordan's intelligence and powerful oratory during the 1974 House Judiciary Committee's deliberations on the impeachment of Richard Nixon. In a memorable speech, she decried the Constitution's drafters' omission of black Americans: "'We the people'—it is a very eloquent beginning. But when the Constitution of the United States was completed on the seventeenth day of September in 1787, I was not included in that 'We the people.' I felt for many years that somehow

*Representative
Barbara Jordan
(D-TX) delivered
her second keynote
address to the
Democratic National
Convention in 1992
(Associated Press AP)*



George Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out by mistake. But through the process of amendment, interpretation and court decisions, I have finally been included in ‘We, the people.’” She continued: “My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total. I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator to the diminution, the subversion and the destruction of the Constitution.” After making her case against Nixon, she said that if the committee did not impeach Nixon, “then perhaps the eighteenth-century Constitution should be abandoned to a twentieth-century paper shredder.” The authority and confidence with which she spoke camouflaged her concern about voting to impeach a president. She wept after casting her vote.

Jordan worked to develop national programs to combat disease, to increase the minimum wage, and to improve the standard of living of im-

poverished Americans. She passed an amendment to the Law Enforcement Assistance Act that denied funds to jurisdictions that discriminated and an amendment to a revenue-sharing bill that created a civil rights provision in it. In addition, she was instrumental in passing the Extended Voting Rights Act in 1975, which added other people of color to the African Americans included in the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

At the 1976 Democratic National Convention, Jordan once again captivated listeners with her beautiful and resonant voice and her extraordinary thoughts. She electrified the convention hall by saying: “We are a people in search of a national community, attempting to fulfill our national purpose, to create and sustain a society in which all of us are equal. I have the confidence that the Democratic Party can lead the way. We cannot improve on the system of government handed down to us by the founders of the Republic, but we can find new ways to implement that system and to realize our destiny.” She did not seek a fourth term in Congress.

Jordan was diagnosed with multiple sclerosis in 1973, and by 1977 a second attack of the disease had significantly reduced her mobility. Initially, Jordan had managed to camouflage the affects of the disease, which became increasingly difficult after the second attack, but she steadfastly refused to reveal the disease from which she suffered until 1988. When she announced her retirement, she had no career plans.

In 1979, Jordan was named to the Lyndon B. Johnson Chair in National Policy at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. For the next five years, she retreated from public life and devoted herself to teaching.

She emerged from her self-imposed seclusion to actively campaign for presidential candidate Walter Mondale and vice presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro, as well as for other Democratic nominees in the 1984 general elections. In 1987, Jordan gained increased visibility as she raised her voice in opposition to Judge Robert Bork’s nomination for the U.S. Supreme Court. Because he had opposed civil rights cases, she joined others in mounting a significant campaign against Bork, who was not confirmed. When Ann Richards ran for governor of Texas in 1990, Jordan helped in the campaign, serving as Richards’s ethics counsel. After Richards’s election, Jordan met with the people Richards appointed to state government positions and discussed ethics in government with them.

Once again, at the 1992 Democratic National Convention, Jordan delivered a keynote address. She held the delegates’ attention by saying:

We can change the direction of America’s engine and become proud and competitive again. The American dream is not dead. True, it is gasping for breath, but it is not dead. However, there is no time to waste because the American dream is slipping

away from too many. It is slipping away from too many black and brown mothers and their children; from the homeless of every color and sex; from the immigrants living in communities without water and sewer systems. The American dream is slipping away from the workers whose jobs are no longer there because we are better at building war equipment that sits in warehouses than we are at building decent housing.

As chair of the Commission on Immigration Reform from 1993 to 1996, she objected to a proposal to deny automatic citizenship to children born in this country whose parents are illegal immigrants. She told Congress: "To deny birthright citizenship would derail this engine of American liberty." Jordan wrote her autobiography, *Barbara Jordan: A Self Portrait*, in 1979.

See also Congress, Women in; Democratic Party, Women in the; Ferraro, Geraldine Anne; Richards, Ann Willis; Voting Rights Act of 1965

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook 1993* (1993); Jordan and Hearon, *Barbara Jordan* (1979); Rogers, *Barbara Jordan: American Hero* (1998).



Betty Mae Jumper, chief of the Seminole Nation, 1998 (Courtesy: Seminole Nation)

Jumper, Betty Mae (b. 1923)

The first woman to serve as chair of the Seminole Tribal Council, Betty Mae Jumper worked to help the tribe move toward economic self-sufficiency. In 1957, when the Seminole tribe formally organized, Jumper was elected to the tribal council for a two-year term and then served on its board of directors for four years. She was elected chairperson of the Seminole Tribal Council in 1967, serving a four-year term, and was the first woman to chair any tribe in North America. As chair, Jumper worked to improve health, employment, education, welfare, and housing conditions for Seminoles. During her tenure, the tribe entered into land lease and other agreements to help it move toward economic self-sufficiency. Active in

the National Tribal Chairman's Association, Jumper was a founder of United Southeastern Tribes.

Born at Indiantown, Florida, Betty Mae Jumper completed a one-year nursing program at Kiowa Indian Hospital in Oklahoma. She returned to the Seminole reservation and worked with the public health nurse.

She wrote her memoir, . . . *And with the Wagon Came God's Word*, in 1980.

References Bataille, ed., *Native American Women* (1993); www.seminoletribe.com.

Juries, Women on

The English common law heritage that formed the basis of American colonial law persisted in several aspects of women's status, including their service on juries. During the American colonial period, jury duty was a responsibility reserved for white men, and women's role on juries was limited to determining if a defendant was pregnant in two situations, when the defendant made a request to have a stay of execution until after the birth of her child, and when a widow made the request to delay the disposition of her deceased husband's estate until after childbirth. The question of guilt or innocence was reserved for male jurors. By the end of the colonial period, even this restricted role was removed when male medical practitioners began deciding whether or not the defendant was pregnant and replaced the women.

The ratification of the Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, providing that "the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State," did little to change women's roles on juries. In addition, state constitutions written after the Revolution adopted common law practices of trial by jury, but they did not specifically include women jurors, policies upheld by the courts.

In *Stauder v. West Virginia* (1879), the Supreme Court held that excluding African Americans from juries denied blacks equal protection and due process under the Fourteenth Amendment, but the decision clearly stated that women could be excluded. Afterward, women's rights activists continued to point out that women suffered a disability because women had never been judged by a jury of their peers.

In Wyoming, women served on juries after the state constitution was ratified in 1890, but their service did not last long. An 1892 court decision found that women had no right to sit on juries unless specifically permitted by state statute. In 1898, women in Utah became the first U.S. women to qualify for jury service without subsequently losing the right.

With the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women suffrage rights in 1920, a few states made women automatically eligible for jury service. The Illinois state supreme court decided that because women had not been voters at the time the state's statutes on jury service had been written, women could not serve on juries. The Illinois state legislature defeated bills granting women the right to serve on juries in 1923, 1925, 1927, and 1929 and then sent the issue to the voters in 1930. The state supreme

court, however, ruled the referendum unconstitutional. Not until 1939 could Illinois women finally serve on juries. Connecticut women lobbied the state's legislature from 1921 to 1937, when they succeeded. In other states, women argued to serve on juries as a right and began organizing state legislative campaigns to remove the word *male* from jury statutes.

Opponents to women's jury service believed that women's obligations to their husbands and children should take precedence over their obligations to the state. Some states, however, permitted women to serve on juries if they went to the county courthouse and registered their willingness to be jurors, making jury service a right but not an obligation. Feminists opposed this permissive approach because if women were to be judged by a jury of their peers, then other women had to be willing to serve as jurors.

The permissive approach survived a challenge in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1961, when a Florida woman convicted of murder appealed the verdict on the basis of the all-male jury that decided her case. In arguing the case, *Hoyt v. Florida*, before the Court, the Florida assistant attorney general explained that women could not be required to serve on juries because they have "to cook the dinners!" The Court said that "woman is still regarded as the center of the home and family life" and found permissive jury duty constitutional.

Some changes, however, had occurred. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 made women eligible to serve on all federal juries. In 1921, thirty-seven states excluded women from jury service, but in 1965, only Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina prohibited women from serving on juries. By 1973, women could serve on juries in every state, but in nineteen states special exemptions for women remained.

In 1975, the U.S. Supreme Court reconsidered state policies that required women to register before becoming eligible for jury duty and found them a violation of Sixth Amendment and Fourteenth Amendment rights in *Taylor v. Louisiana*, ending different policies for jury service for women and men.

See also Fourteenth Amendment; *Hoyt v. Florida*; League of Women Voters; Nineteenth Amendment; Suffrage; *Taylor v. Louisiana*

References Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (1973); Mead and Kaplan, eds., *American Women: The Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women and Other Publications of the Commission* (1965); Sachs and Wilson, *Sexism and the Law* (1978); Schweber, "But Some Were Less Equal . . . the Fight for Women Jurors" (1979).

Kahn, Florence Prag (1868–1948)

Republican Florence Kahn of California served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 2 February 1925 to 3 January 1937. Married to Congressman Julius Kahn, Florence Kahn gained political experience working with him. After he died in office, she won election to fill the vacancy. When she entered the House, she was assigned to the Committee on Indian Affairs but refused to accept it, saying: “the only Indians in my district are in front of cigar stores and I can’t do anything for them.” She received an assignment to the committee on education and then to military affairs, her first choice. She was the first woman to serve on the House Appropriations Committee.

Kahn sought to end Prohibition because she was convinced that it could not be enforced. A supporter of enlarging the military and establishing military bases in California, she was also instrumental in obtaining congressional authorization for \$75 million to build the San Francisco Bay Bridge connecting San Francisco and Oakland. She lost her attempt for a seventh term and returned to private life.

Born in Salt Lake City, Utah, Florence Kahn graduated from the University of California at Berkeley in 1887. She then taught high school English and history.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Kaptur, Marcia (Marcy) Carolyn (b. 1946)

Democrat Marcy Kaptur of Ohio entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1983. She has focused on revitalizing the economy of industrial Ohio and promoting international trade issues relating to her district's interests. In addition to arguing for workers' rights and labor and environmental standards in nations that trade with the United States, she has opposed granting China most-favored-nation status because she believes that Chinese workers are exploited by their government and has worked to pass legislation prohibiting government officials from representing foreign interests for one year after they leave government. Kaptur supported the construction of a World War II memorial, to be financed through the minting of fiftieth-anniversary coins. Her other priorities include technology, energy and the environment, child care in public housing, home ownership, agriculture, and protecting individuals' bank deposits.

Born in Toledo, Ohio, Kaptur earned her bachelor of arts degree in history from the University of Wisconsin in 1968 and her master's degree in urban planning in 1974. From 1968 to 1983, Kaptur worked as an urban planner in addition to completing her graduate degree. Director of planning for the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs from 1975 to 1977, she was assistant director for urban affairs in the Carter administration from 1977 to 1979. While she was pursuing a doctorate in urban planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, local party officials recruited her to run for Congress.

Kaptur is the author of *Women of Congress: A Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (1996).

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); www.house.gov/kaptur/bio_oh09.htm.

Kassebaum Baker, Nancy Landon (b. 1932)

Republican Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas served in the U.S. Senate from 3 January 1979 to 3 January 1997. She was the first woman elected to the U.S. Senate who was not the widow of a congressman. As chair of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs, Kassebaum led the fight for economic sanctions on South Africa as a strategy to help end apartheid. She encouraged the United Nations to reform itself by reducing its bureaucracy and advocated reducing the United States' financial support to it. The first woman to chair a major Senate committee, the Labor and Human Resources Committee, she influenced the development of legislation involving education, labor relations, minimum wages, collective bargaining, health insurance reform, and welfare reform. For example, the

Kassebaum-Kennedy Health Insurance Reform Act of 1996 allows workers greater portability in transferring their benefits from one job to another. She also passed legislation to fund research and production of pharmaceuticals for uncommon diseases.

A moderate Republican, Kassebaum cofounded the Republican Majority Coalition to counter the religious right in the party. Prochoice, she supported international family planning programs. Kassebaum retired from the Senate in 1997.

Born in Topeka, Kansas, Nancy Kassebaum earned her bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Kansas in 1954 and her master's degree in diplomatic history from the University of Michigan in 1956. Kassebaum grew up in a political family. Her father was Alf Landon, governor of Kansas from 1933 to 1937 and Republican presidential candidate in 1936. Following her marriage in 1956, Kassebaum was involved in the family's radio stations and served on the Kansas Governmental Ethics Commission from 1975 to 1976 and the Kansas Committee on the Humanities from 1975 to 1979. She served on the Maize (Kansas) School Board from 1973 to 1975.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); Kaptur, *Women of Congress: A Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (1996).



Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS) at the Republican National Convention, 1998 (Corbis/Philip Gould)

Kee, Maude Elizabeth Simpkins (1895–1975)

Democrat Maude Kee of West Virginia served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 26 July 1951 to 3 January 1965. Following her husband John Kee's election to Congress in 1932, she became his executive secretary, a position she held until his death. Maude Kee won the special election to fill the vacancy. While in Congress, she investigated veterans' hospitals, which resulted in improved conditions at them. As representative of the largest bituminous coal-producing district in the nation, she worked with the United Mine Workers, the National Coal Association, and the Appalachian Electric Power Company to gain federal support for using coal to produce electricity. She also helped attract new industry to the area

and passed measures to establish centers to train coal miners for new jobs. She declined to seek an eighth term because of ill health. Her son James Kee, who had been her administrative assistant, won the seat.

Born in Radford, Virginia, Maude Kee graduated from Roanoke Business College and then was a secretary in the *Roanoke Times* business office. She later wrote a syndicated weekly newspaper column.

See also Congress, Women in

References Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Tolchin, *Women in Congress: 1917–1976* (1976).

Kelley, Florence (1859–1932)

Social reformer Florence Kelley played pivotal roles in the passage of wage and hours laws to protect women workers, in the creation of the Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, and in developing public support to prohibit child labor. As secretary of the National Consumers League, she organized dozens of local affiliates and two international conferences.

Born in Philadelphia, Kelley graduated from Cornell University in 1882. She began studies at the University of Zurich in 1883, became a socialist, and translated Friedrich Engels's *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* into English; it was published in New York in 1887. Over the next few years, she married, bore three children, and returned to New York. In 1891, Kelley and her children moved to Illinois, and she divorced her husband.

An investigator for the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1892, she reported the conditions in about 1,000 garment industry sweatshops. Based on that research and a survey of city slums that she participated in, Kelley developed a group of proposals to limit the hours women could work in factories to eight hours per day and forty-eight hours per week, ban child labor for children under fourteen years old, regulate the labor of children fourteen to sixteen years old, and create a state factory inspector's office. Kelley lobbied the Illinois legislature for the package of proposals, and in 1893, the legislature passed it. Appointed Illinois's chief factory inspector in 1893, Kelley used the position to publicized the deplorable conditions in which children worked. Removed from office in 1897 for political reasons, Kelley traveled widely, speaking around the country on improving working conditions and advocating labor legislation.

Kelley became the general secretary of the National Consumers League in 1899 and continued to work on behalf of women and children in the labor force. When an Oregon law limiting the number of hours that women could work was challenged in the U.S. Supreme Court, Kelley

helped recruit Louis D. Brandeis as counsel for the case and helped compile the research included in the famous Brandeis brief. In *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), the Court decided in favor of protective labor legislation for women. Kelley continued to take her protective labor legislation message around the country, drafted the model minimum wage law adopted by Massachusetts in 1912, and contributed to nine states' decisions to enact minimum wage legislation.

To address the problems of child labor, Kelley and Lillian Wald had organized the New York Child Labor Committee in 1902 and the National Child Labor Committee in 1904. Wald and Kelley sought the creation of a federal children's commission and developed support for it among settlement house workers and other social reformers. Congress established the Children's Bureau in 1912 to gather information about children in the labor force. After Congress passed a bill limiting child labor and the U.S. Supreme Court found it unconstitutional, Kelley turned her attention to passing a child labor amendment.

Kelley was a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and worked in the suffrage movement.

See also Child Labor Amendment; Children's Bureau; Congressional Union; *Muller v. Oregon*; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; National Consumers League; Protective Legislation; Suffrage; Wald, Lillian D.; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

References Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work* (1995); Trattner, *Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America* (1970).

Kelly, Edna Patricia Kathleen Flannery (1906–1997)

Democrat Edna Kelly of New York served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 8 November 1949 to 3 January 1969. Kelly entered politics following her husband's death in 1942. With the encouragement of a political leader who had been a friend of her husband's, Kelly revived the women's auxiliary of the Madison Democratic Club and joined the staff of the Democratic Party delegation in the New York legislature. The Democratic Party chose her for its nominee to fill a vacancy created by an incumbent's death. In her campaign, Kelly pledged to work for issues she believed to be important to women, including an investigation of milk prices, opposition to excise taxes, and the creation of day care centers.

An expert in foreign policy, particularly on the Soviet bloc, she supported the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as a defense against communism and helped write the legislation that created the Peace Corps. She consistently opposed any programs that would provide



Representative Sue Kelly (R-NY), with Representative Jim Moran (D-VA) and Representative Eliot Engel (D-NY), held a press conference about being denied entry into Yugoslavia to monitor elections of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, 1998 (Associated Press AP)

aid to Communist nations, particularly Yugoslavia, and successfully passed amendments that excluded those nations from aid programs. She passed a measure leading to an international effort that resettled more than 1.5 million displaced persons, primarily of Eastern European and Russian descent, following World War II. She was also instrumental in sponsoring measures that provided financial assistance to educational and health institutions in Israel. She held the leadership position of secretary of the Democratic Caucus in the 83rd, 84th, and 88th Congresses (1953–1955, 1955–1957, and 1963 to 1965) and was Democratic national committeewoman for New York from 1956 to 1968. Redistricting in 1968 placed her and another incumbent in the same congressional district, and despite a spirited primary campaign, Edna Kelly lost the election.

Born in East Hampton, New York, Edna Kelly earned her bachelor of arts degree from Hunter College in 1928.

See also Congress, Women in; Democratic Party, Women in the

References Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography: Who's News and Why, 1949* (1949); *New York Times*, 17 December 1997; Tolchin, *Women in Congress: 1917–1976* (1976).

Kelly, Sue W. (b. 1936)

Republican Sue Kelly of New York entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1995. Congresswoman Kelly has worked to balance the budget, create opportunities for small businesses, and eliminate the capital gains tax. She supports reproductive rights, capital punishment, a pres-

idential line item veto, and Meals on Wheels. Active in environmental issues, she helped pass legislation to protect the Sterling Forest on the border between New York and New Jersey.

Before entering Congress, Kelly had several careers, among them biomedical researcher, rape crisis counselor, emergency room patient advocate, and ombudsman for nursing homes. She has owned a florist business, taught junior high school science and math, and was adjunct professor of health advocacy at Sarah Lawrence College from 1987 to 1992. Kelly was a cofounder of the Bedford League of Women Voters and a founding member of the Town of Bedford Recreation Committee.

Born in Lima, Ohio, Sue Kelly earned a bachelor's degree in botany and bacteriology in 1958 from Denison University. She later attended Pace Law School and earned a master's degree in health advocacy from Sarah Lawrence College in 1988.

See also Congress, Women in; Reproductive Rights

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1996 (1995); www.house.gov/suekelly/bio.htm.

Kennedy, Florynce Rae (b. 1916)

A founder of the National Organization for Women, African American Florynce Kennedy has been an outspoken feminist and civil rights leader since the 1960s. Born in Kansas City, Missouri, Kennedy earned her bachelor's degree in 1948 and her law degree in 1951, both from Columbia University. Initially denied admission to Columbia Law School, Kennedy believed it was because of her race. She threatened to sue the school, but the university relented and admitted her. In 1954, Kennedy opened a private law practice that initially struggled financially. At one point she worked in a department store to pay the rent.

As lawyer for the estates of deceased African American performers Billie Holiday and Charlie Parker, Kennedy successfully fought record companies to recover money from royalties and sales due to the estates. The experience, however, prompted her to question the legal system. She wrote in her memoir: "Handling the Holiday and Parker estates taught me more than I was really ready for about government and business delinquency and the hostility and helplessness of the courts. Not only was I not earning a living, there began to be a serious question in my mind whether practicing law could ever be an effective means of changing society or even of simple resistance to oppression." Kennedy believes that the "the courts are so racist and bigoted. As a lawyer, you're looking for justice for people, but if you know there's no justice, what are you going to go looking there for? There's absolutely no justice for anybody I'd want to defend."

Attorney and civil rights activist Florynce Kennedy joined cocounsel William Kunstler at a press conference regarding the imprisonment of SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown, who called on African Americans to arm themselves, 1967 (Corbis/Bettmann)



Kennedy founded the Media Workshop in 1966 to combat racism in the media and advertising. When a large advertising agency refused to provide her with information about its hiring and programming practices, Kennedy led a group of pickets. Eventually, she met with the agency. After her success with it, she said: “When you want to get to the suites, start in the streets.” It was a tactic she also used successfully with television networks and other media corporations.

A founder of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Kennedy left the organization in 1970, saying that it “got to be so boring and scared.” Out of frustration, she founded the Feminist Party in 1971, which supported Shirley Chisholm’s unsuccessful 1972 candidacy for president of the United States.

See also Chisholm, Shirley Anita St. Hill; Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; National Organization for Women; Steinem, Gloria Marie

References Kennedy, *Color Me Flo* (1976).

Kennedy, Jacqueline Bouvier

See Onassis, Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy

Kennelly, Barbara Bailey (b. 1936)

Democrat Barbara Kennelly of Connecticut served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 12 January 1982 to 3 January 1999. Kennelly held a number of firsts in Congress: she was the first woman to serve on the House Committee on Intelligence, the first woman to serve as a chief deputy majority whip, and the first woman vice chair of the House Democratic Caucus in the 104th Congress (1995–1997), a position she also held

in the 105th Congress (1997–1999). She also held the leadership position of House democratic chief deputy whip in the 102nd and 103rd Congresses (1991–1995).

Kennelly began her political career on the Hartford Court of Common Council, where she served from 1975 to 1979. She was Connecticut secretary of state from 1979 to 1982. When the incumbent member of Congress died in office, she won the special election to fill the vacancy. Once in Congress, Kennelly passed a measure in 1984 that provided assistance in collecting court-ordered child support, worked on energy and mass transportation policies, and sponsored a balanced budget measure. She supported child protection programs, foster care, and health care for children. She championed the earned income tax credit, which increases take-home pay for low-income families. An increase in the standard deductions for the elderly and the blind and the Hate Crimes Statistics Act are based upon legislation Kennelly introduced.

Instead of seeking another congressional term, Kennelly ran for governor of Connecticut in 1998 and lost.

Born in Hartford, Connecticut, Kennelly grew up in a political family. Her father was John Bailey, a Connecticut party boss and chairman of the Democratic National Committee in the 1960s. She earned her bachelor's degree in economics from Trinity College in Washington, D.C., in 1958; a certificate in business administration from Harvard Business School in 1959; and her master's degree in government from Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1973.

See also Child Support Enforcement; Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1996 (1995); www.house.gov/kennelly/bio.htm.

Keys, Martha Elizabeth Ludwig (b. 1930)

Democrat Martha Keys of Kansas served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1975 to 3 January 1979. Keys entered politics as Kansas coordinator for George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign. McGovern lost the election, but Keys had proven her effectiveness and became her party's nominee for Congress in 1974. As a member of Congress, her priorities included election reform, energy policy, and improvement of national health care programs. While in Congress, Keys divorced her husband and married Indiana congressman Andrew Jacobs, making them the first wife and husband to serve together in Congress. Keys lost her attempt for a third term. A special adviser to the secretary of health, education, and welfare from 1979 to 1980, she was also assistant secretary of education from 1980 to 1981 and a consultant from 1981 to 1984. She directed the Center for a New Democracy from 1985 to 1986.

Born in Hutchinson, Kansas, Martha Keys attended Olivet College from 1946 to 1947 and received her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Missouri at Kansas City in 1951.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Kilpatrick, Carolyn Cheeks (b. 1945)

Democrat Carolyn Kilpatrick of Michigan entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1997. After serving in the Michigan House of Representatives from 1979 to 1997, Kilpatrick challenged incumbent congresswoman Barbara-Rose Collins, who was the subject of investigations into ethical and financial misconduct. Kilpatrick won the primary with 51 percent of the vote compared to Collins's 31 percent. Kilpatrick won the general election with 81 percent. Congresswoman Kilpatrick's legislative priorities include promoting economic development, creating new jobs, increasing the wages of working families, and improving the access and affordability of health care.

Born in Detroit, Michigan, African American Carolyn Kilpatrick received her associate of arts degree from Ferris State College in 1965, her bachelor of science degree from Western Michigan University in 1972, and her master of science degree in education from the University of Michigan in 1977. Kilpatrick taught high school from 1972 to 1978.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997).

King, Coretta Scott (b. 1927)

African American Coretta Scott King's civil rights activism began in the early 1950s, after she married Martin Luther King, Jr., and helped him organize the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. Violence and threats of violence surrounded them, a bomb exploded on the family's front porch in 1956 but injured no one, and the next year a bomb was found on their front porch. They continued their work, and Coretta Scott King helped her husband organize the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957. In 1959, Coretta Scott King, a vocalist, performed in India and studied Mahatma Gandhi's nonviolent strategies with her husband. In the 1960s, she performed freedom concerts of song, recitation, and poetry to raise money and to develop support for the SCLC.

On 4 April 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. Over the next months, Coretta Scott King fulfilled her husband's speaking commitments, calling on U.S. women to "unite and

form a solid block of woman power” to fight racism, poverty, and war. In 1974, Coretta Scott King became the founding president of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta, Georgia, serving until 1989. Through her work, the twenty-three-acre neighborhood around her husband’s birthplace was declared a National Historic Site by the National Park Service. She chaired the Martin Luther King, Jr., Federal Holiday Commission. The annual celebrations began in 1986 and are held on the anniversary of her husband’s birthday.



In 1969, Coretta Scott King published *My Life with Martin Luther King, Jr.*

Born in Marion, Alabama, Coretta Scott King earned her bachelor’s degree in education and music from Antioch College in 1951 and her doctorate in music from the New England Conservatory of Music in 1971. She held her concert debut in 1948, performing as a soloist with the Second Baptist Church in Springfield, Ohio.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993); Hine, ed., *Black Women in America* (1993); Smith, ed., *Epic Lives* (1993).

Coretta Scott King, widow of Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke to women at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1963 (Corbis/Bettmann)

King, Mary (b. 1940)

Civil rights activist and feminist pioneer Mary King joined the civil rights movement after graduating from college in 1962. Assistant director of communications for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from 1963 to 1965, she participated in sit-ins in Atlanta, Georgia, and was arrested and jailed for four days. Male dominance in the organization led King and Casey Hayden to write a letter outlining their observations and to circulate it at a SNCC meeting. Their anonymous letter on the position of women in SNCC prompted Stokely Carmichael to comment: “The position of women in SNCC is prone.” King and Hayden later wrote “Sex and Caste: A Kind of Memo from Casey Hayden and Mary King to a Number of Other Women in the Peace and Freedom Movements,” exploring parallels “between the treatment of Negroes and treatment of women in our society as a whole.” Unaware that women in the North were launching the feminist movement, they wrote: “Objectively, the chances seem nil that we could start a movement based on anything as distant to general American thought as a sex-caste system.” The memo became one of the

founding documents of the radical women's liberation movement of the mid-1960s.

In late 1964 and early 1965, African American leaders in SNCC concluded that the participation of white people no longer served its purposes, and King, one of the few white leaders in the organization, left. She became a program officer for the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity from 1968 to 1972, when she established a consulting firm. Impressed by Jimmy Carter in 1971, she began helping to develop his campaign strategy the next year and worked with him through his election to the presidency in 1976. Carter appointed her deputy director of ACTION, a federal agency that oversaw the Peace Corps, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), and other volunteer programs. A Middle East specialist, she later conducted research on conflict resolution, ethnic diversity, and related issues.

Born in New York, King earned her bachelor of arts degree at Ohio Wesleyan University in 1962 and her doctoral degree from the University of Wales at Aberystwyth in 1998. King wrote *Freedom Song: A Personal Story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement* (1987).

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Women's Liberation Movement

References Hayden and King, "Sex and Caste: A Kind of Memo from Casey Hayden and Mary King to a Number of Other Women in the Peace and Freedom Movements" (1966); *New York Times*, 8 July 1976.

***Kirchberg v. Feenstra* (1981)**

In *Kirchberg v. Feenstra*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in 1981 that sex discrimination is unconstitutional unless the discrimination furthers an important governmental interest. In this case, Joan Feenstra filed a criminal complaint against her husband Harold Feenstra, charging him with molesting their daughter. Her husband hired attorney Karl Kirchberg and signed a promissory note to prepay him. Then Harold Feenstra took out a mortgage on the home that he owned with Joan Feenstra, who was not told about the mortgage and whose consent was not required. At the time, Louisiana law gave her husband exclusive control over community property under its head and master provisions. She dropped the charges against her husband, they separated, and he left the state. She learned about the mortgage on her home when Kirchberg demanded the balance due on the promissory note and threatened to foreclose on the mortgage on her home unless she paid the note.

Kirchberg argued that his case differed from *Craig v. Boren* (1976) and *Orr v. Orr* (1979), cases that the Court had earlier decided, because the Louisiana Civil Code provided a way for wives to protect their property. By making a "declaration by authentic act," Joan Feenstra could have prevented her husband from leasing, selling, or mortgaging their home.

Because she did not take advantage of the procedure, Kirchberg contended that she had become the “architect of her own predicament.” The Court disagreed, saying that the first question was the constitutionality of Louisiana’s head and master law. The Court found that the law’s gender-based discrimination violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

During the time that this case was making its way through the appeals process, Louisiana revised its code provisions relating to community property, eliminated the head and master concept, and implemented a policy giving both spouses equal control over community property.

See also *Craig v. Boren*, Fourteenth Amendment; *Orr v. Orr*

References *Kirchberg v. Feenstra*, 450 U.S. 455 (1981).

Kirkpatrick, Jeane Duane Jordan (b. 1926)

Political scientist Jeane Kirkpatrick served as U.S. representative to the United Nations from 1981 to 1985, the first woman to hold the position. When President Ronald Reagan appointed Kirkpatrick to the ambassadorship, she became the highest-ranking woman in the history of U.S. foreign policy. Reflecting on her experience, Kirkpatrick said: “I never really thought about it until I found myself participating in the arenas in which the big decisions were being made in foreign policy and security policy. It occurred to me all of a heap that I might very well be the first woman in American history who had ever been what is called ‘at the table’ at such decisions by serving on the National Security Planning Group.” Part of her responsibilities included serving on the National Security Planning Group and the National Security Council.



U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick at her final press conference as ambassador, 1985 (Corbis/Bettmann)

Born in Duncan, Oklahoma, Jeane Kirkpatrick earned her associate's degree from Stephens College in 1946, her bachelor of arts degree from Barnard College in 1948, and her master of arts degree in 1950 and her doctoral degree in 1968 from Columbia University. She did postgraduate work at the Institut de Science Politique of the University of Paris on a French government fellowship from 1952 to 1953.

A professor at Georgetown University and a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, Kirkpatrick's published work includes dozens of scholarly articles and books, including *Political Woman* (1974), *The New Presidential Elite* (1976), *Dismantling the Parties: Reflections on Party Reform and Party Decomposition* (1978), *Dictatorships and Double Standards: Rationalism and Reason in Politics* (1982), *The Reagan Phenomenon* (1983), and *The Withering Away of the Totalitarian State and Other Surprises* (1990).

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1981* (1981); *New York Times*, 23 December 1980, 17 August 1994.

Kissling, Frances (b. 1943)

Frances Kissling became president of Catholics for a Free Choice (CFFC) in 1982. She believes that controversies in the Catholic Church that surround reproductive rights, family planning, and women's ordination are not spiritual matters but are political issues and are efforts to control women.

Born in New York, New York, Frances Kissling attended St. John's University in New York from 1961 to 1964 and received her bachelor of arts degree from the New School for Social Research in 1966. A Roman Catholic, Kissling entered a convent and prepared to join the Sisters of Saint Joseph but left after several months because she disagreed with many of the church's teachings, including those on birth control and human sexuality. At the same time, she left the Catholic Church. She began running an abortion clinic in New York in 1970.

In the late 1970s, Kissling combined her early religious training with the knowledge that she had gained in her work to create a new vision of a church more sensitive to all powerless people. Her vision of a transformed church includes access to safe, legal reproductive health care for all women. To further her vision, she became president of CFFC in 1982. That year, CFFC became the first prochoice group to hold congressional briefings on abortion and family planning, a strategy now used by many prochoice organizations.

Kissling coauthored *Rosie: The Investigation of a Wrongful Death* (1979).

See also Abortion; *Doe v. Bolton*; *Harris v. McRae*

References Stan, "Frances Kissling: Making the Vatican Sweat" (1995); www.cath4choice.org.

Knutson, Coya Gjesdal (1912–1996)

Democrat Coya Knutson of Minnesota served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1955 to 3 January 1959. The first woman to serve on the House Agriculture Committee, she promoted agricultural exports and worked to preserve family farms. She advocated increasing price supports for agricultural products, expanding the food stamp program, and establishing a federally supported school lunch program. She passed the sections of the National Defense Education Act that created a federal college student loan fund. During her campaign for a third term, her husband publicly protested her candidacy and asked her to return home. After his letter was published in a newspaper, the publicity that surrounded it led to her defeat. She divorced her husband in 1962. She ran again in 1960 but lost. Knutson was a liaison officer for the Office of Civil Defense from 1961 to 1970.

Born in Edmore, North Dakota, Coya Knutson received her bachelor of science degree from Concordia College in 1934 and did postgraduate work in library science at State Teachers College in Moorhead and at Juilliard School of Music. She taught in North Dakota and Minnesota high schools and then worked for the Red Lake County Welfare Board from 1948 to 1950. She served in the Minnesota House of Representatives from 1951 to 1954.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References *New York Times*, 12 October 1996; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Tolchin, *Women in Congress: 1917–1976* (1976).

Koontz, Elizabeth Duncan (1919–1989)

Director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Labor Department from 1969 to 1973, the first African American to hold the post, Elizabeth Koontz was named deputy assistant secretary of labor and special counselor to the secretary of labor for women's affairs in 1972. In those positions, Koontz worked for the Equal Rights Amendment, equal opportunities for women, equal pay, and enforcement of protective labor laws. She also worked to improve household workers' skills and to have them included in minimum wage laws. Koontz brought together a group of union women to discuss their common interests and responsibilities, which later evolved into the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Born in Salisbury, North Carolina, Elizabeth Koontz earned her

bachelor's degree in English and elementary education from Livingstone College in 1938 and her master's degree in education from Atlanta University in 1941. Koontz later did further graduate work at Columbia University and Indiana University and earned a certificate in special education for the mentally retarded at North Carolina State College.

Koontz held offices in local and state affiliates of the National Education Association (NEA) beginning in the 1950s. President of the Department of Classroom Teachers from 1965 to 1966, she also served on President Lyndon B. Johnson's National Advisory Council on Education of Disadvantaged Children from 1965 to 1968 and was NEA national vice president in 1967 and 1968. President of NEA in 1968, Koontz advocated job and retirement security, contracts to protect teachers, and larger roles in decisionmaking and policy development for teachers. Koontz resigned the presidency after six months to accept the appointment at the Women's Bureau.

See also Coalition of Labor Union Women; Equal Rights Amendment; Women's Bureau

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography 1969* (1969); Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993); *New York Times*, 8 January 1989.

Kreps, Juanita Morris (b. 1921)

U.S. secretary of commerce from 1977 to 1979, Juanita Kreps advocated redefining the balance between work and leisure throughout a person's life, including more leisure during one's working life and extending one's working years beyond age sixty-five. She helped assemble the Carter administration's urban package, including a Commerce Department program to maintain and restore the economic viability of cities. Her department was the first to propose setting aside 10 percent of its contracts for minority businesses.

Born in Lynch, Kentucky, Juanita Kreps earned her bachelor's degree from Berea College in 1942 and both her master's (1944) and doctoral degrees (1948) from Duke University. A college teacher and administrator, Kreps became a nationally recognized economist specializing in the area of aging. She wrote *Sex in the Marketplace: American Women at Work* (1971), dealing with problems women confront in the workforce.

The first woman to serve on the board of J. C. Penney Company, she also became the first woman to serve on the New York Stock Exchange board in 1972.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References Lamson, *In the Vanguard: Six American Women in Public Life* (1979); *New York Times*, 8 May 1977.

Kuhn, Margaret (Maggie) E. (1905–1995)

A founder and the convening president of the Gray Panthers, Maggie Kuhn became an advocate for older Americans after her forced retirement when she was sixty-five years old. As she searched for a way to continue working, she met with other social activists who had been or were soon to be forced into retirement. In 1970, the Gray Panthers emerged from those gatherings. Kuhn advocated “fundamental social change that would eliminate injustice, discrimination and oppression in our present society.” She sought a legal prohibition against mandatory retirement, supported publicly owned and democratically controlled utilities, and advocated health insurance paid totally by the government. She led efforts for regulation of the hearing aid and nursing home industries, presented position papers to the American Medical Association, and testified before congressional committees on the fragmentation of services for the elderly. Regarding a welfare reform bill, she told a congressional committee: “Public welfare in this country does not need reforming; it needs radicalization. To merely rearrange the out-dated, unworkable concepts of the Elizabethan Poor Laws is not a solution.”

Born in Buffalo, New York, Kuhn earned her bachelor of arts degree from Flora Stone Mather College of Case Western Reserve University in 1926. She continued to write, travel, and lecture until her death at the age of eighty-nine.

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1978* (1978); *New York Times*, 23 April 1995.

Kunin, Madeleine May (b. 1933)

Democrat Madeleine Kunin was governor of Vermont from 1985 to 1991, served as deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Education from 1993 to 1996, and became U.S. ambassador to Switzerland in 1996. Her political journey began in 1972 with an unsuccessful campaign for alderman in Burlington, Vermont, but later that year she won election to the Vermont House of Representatives. Her platform included educational, environmental, and poverty issues. After serving three terms in the legislature, Kunin was elected lieutenant governor in 1978. She won in 1978 and was reelected in 1980.

Kunin ran for governor in 1982, lost, and then won when she tried again in 1984. With her success, she became Vermont’s first woman governor and only its third Democratic governor in 130 years. After being reelected in 1986 and in 1988, she became the first woman governor in the nation to win three terms in office. When Kunin began her first term, the state had a deficit, but after eighteen months in office, she announced that the state budget was in the black. She also equalized education spending

across the state, obtained an increase of 25 percent in the education budget, expanded child care subsidies, and passed a measure for kindergarten for all Vermont children. In other areas, she improved groundwater protection, established a state mini-Superfund, and created a new rural enterprise zone and a state venture capital corporation.

Following Bill Clinton's 1992 election as U.S. president, Kunin served as a member of his transition team. In 1993, President Clinton appointed her deputy secretary of education. Her responsibilities included serving as the Education Department liaison with the White House and other agencies.

Born in Zurich, Switzerland, Kunin had fled to the United States with her brother and widowed mother in 1940 to escape the Nazi regime and its threats to Jews. She earned her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Massachusetts in 1956, her master of science degree from Columbia University in 1957, and her master of arts degree from the University of Vermont in 1967.

Kunin published *Living a Political Life* in 1994.

See also Governors, Women; State Legislatures, Women in

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1987* (1987); Kunin, *Living a Political Life* (1994); *New York Times*, 7 April 1993.



La Flesche, Susette (1854–1903)

The first woman to speak for Native Americans' rights, Susette La Flesche's Native American name was Inshta Theumba, or "Bright Eyes." Born in an Omaha Indian village in Nebraska, she graduated from the Elizabeth Institute in about 1873 and returned home to teach.

La Flesche became involved in Native American rights in the late 1870s, after federal policies forced Ponca Indians to leave their homeland and move to Oklahoma, where almost one-third of them died. Initially, La Flesche served as an interpreter for Ponca Indian chief Standing Bear when he toured the eastern United States to develop public support for his tribe's plight. Wearing Native American clothing and using her native name, La Flesche created a dramatic presence and emerged as an articulate and eloquent speaker. Her descriptions of the injustices inflicted upon Native Americans inspired others, including Helen Maria Fiske Hunt Jackson and Mary L. Bonney, to begin their work for Native Americans' rights.

The most widely known Native American woman of her time, La Flesche provided testimony at U.S. Senate hearings regarding the Ponca Indians in 1879 and 1880. She continued to lecture in the United States and in England throughout the 1880s. Toward the end of the decade, her lectures contributed to the passage of the Dawes Act of 1887, authorizing the allotment of land to individual Native Americans. Native Americans who accepted individual allotments of tribal or public lands immediately became citizens. The allotments, however, were controversial because they were burdened with several restrictions on their use and ultimately made it easier for

non-Indians to acquire the land. Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924, granting all Native Americans United States citizenship.

In 1902, La Flesche moved to an area near Bancroft, Nebraska, living on the land allotted her as a tribal member. She died there in 1903.

See also Bonney, Mary Lucinda; Bonnin, Gertrude Simmons

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993).

LaDuke, Winona (b. 1959)

One of the most prominent Native American environmental activists in North America, Anishinabeg tribal member Winona LaDuke believes that the primary native women's issues are the survival of indigenous communities and preservation of the environment. To further those goals, LaDuke founded the White Earth Land Recovery Project in Minnesota, a multifaceted endeavor. The project purchased and holds in trust 1,300 acres of land, a minuscule part of the original 836,000 acres of the White Earth Reservation pledged to Anishinabeg Indians in an 1867 treaty. The project has also been involved in economic development, setting up a marketing collective that encourages local processing of wild rice as well as a diaper service. That has alleviated the need for disposable diapers, saved users money, and reduced the sanitation problems in the local dump. The project also sponsors a literacy program in the Ojibwe language of the Anishinabeg, with the goals of making the language more commonly used and of gaining its recognition as an official state language by the State of Minnesota.

LaDuke founded the Indigenous Women's Network (IWN) in 1985, a coalition of 400 native women activists and groups. The IWN advocates the revitalization of indigenous languages and cultures, sponsors international forums, and supports local projects. In 1996, LaDuke was the Green Party's candidate for vice president.

Born in Los Angeles, California, Winona LaDuke earned her bachelor of arts degree from Harvard University in 1982 and her master of arts degree from Antioch College in 1989.

References Paul and Perkinson, "Winona LaDuke" (1995).

Lampkin, Daisy Elizabeth Adams (ca. 1884–1965)

African American Daisy Lampkin was national field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the 1930s and 1940s. She helped establish chapters all over the United States, increased membership to the highest levels of the time, and raised money for the organization's antilynching campaign. Lampkin entered politics as president of Pittsburgh's Negro Women's Suffrage League in

1915. She became active in civil rights issues through the National Association of Colored Women, serving as its national organizer and chairing its executive board. She was also active in the Republican Party, working for the Women's Division in the 1920s.

Lampkin's work with the NAACP began in Pittsburgh in the 1920s, when she served on its executive committee and headed a membership campaign that attracted 2,000 new members and revitalized the branch. She joined NAACP's staff in 1930 as a regional field secretary until 1935, when she was appointed national field secretary. She resigned from the post in 1947 because of fatigue. She continued to serve on the NAACP board of directors and to conduct local fund-raising and membership drives, until she collapsed after giving a speech in 1964.

Born in Washington, D.C., Lampkin attended public schools in Reading, Pennsylvania. She was a partner in and vice president of the *Pittsburgh Courier*.

See also Antilynching Movement; Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; National Association of Colored Women; Suffrage

References Hines, *Black Women in America* (1993); Sicherman and Green, eds., *Notable American Women: The Modern Period* (1980).

Landes, Bertha Ethel Knight (1868–1943)

The first female mayor of a large U.S. city, Bertha Landes was mayor of Seattle, Washington, from 1926 to 1928. Landes, who had initially opposed woman suffrage, came to believe that cities were similar to families and that the details of municipal housekeeping required women's influence. During her tenure as mayor, she worked to reduce lawlessness and to provide services to the community.

Born in Ware, Massachusetts, Landes graduated from Indiana University in 1891 and married two years later. She and her husband moved to Seattle in 1895, and she became actively involved in the city's women's clubs. As president of the Seattle Federated Women's Clubs from 1920 to 1922, her duties included managing an exhibit of Washington manufacturers, which gained her recognition throughout the business community and expanded her visibility.

After winning a seat on the city council in 1922, Landes worked for the elimination of fire hazards, liquor law enforcement, greater efficiency in government, and regulation of dance halls. Elected president of the city council in 1924, she was then required to serve as acting mayor in the mayor's absence. When Mayor Edwin Brown left Seattle for an extended period of time, Landes went into action. She told the police chief to remove corrupt police officers, but he refused, and she replaced him with a

police chief who raided lotteries, closed speakeasies, and confiscated slot machines.

Using law and order as her campaign theme, Landes challenged Brown in the 1926 mayoral election. After defeating Brown, Mayor Landes hired a new police chief, brought area law enforcement officials together, and negotiated jurisdictional disputes in order to reduce crime. She replaced corrupt members of the Civil Service Commission and the Public Works Board. She implemented traffic safety measures and expanded the city's parks and its power and water systems. Landes lost her reelection bid in 1928, but the publicity from her one term as mayor created a demand for her as a speaker, and she went on several national speaking tours.

See also Public Offices, Women Elected to

References Haarsager, *Bertha Knight Landes of Seattle* (1994).

Landrieu, Mary (b. 1955)

Democrat Mary Landrieu of Louisiana entered the U.S. Senate on 3 January 1997. Senator Landrieu's primary legislative priority is education, including full funding for Head Start, more federal money for classroom computers, and tax credits for college tuition. She supports greater enforcement of equal pay laws and improved access to job training programs. Landrieu wants to establish a research and technology partnership between the federal government and the private sector to help farmers.

Mary Landrieu served in the Louisiana House of Representatives from 1980 to 1988 and was state treasurer from 1988 to 1996. An unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1995, Landrieu won the 1996 Senate race

Senator Mary Landrieu (D-LA) in 1996 became the first woman elected to the Senate from Louisiana (Associated Press AP)



with a margin of 5,788 votes. Her Republican opponent alleged that widespread voter fraud was involved and petitioned the Senate for a new election. The Senate Rules and Administration Committee investigated the election and reported that there had been isolated incidences of fraud, some election irregularities, and improper record keeping, but those matters had not affected the election outcome. The committee ended its investigation on 1 October 1998, concluding there was not enough evidence that further investigation was warranted.

Born in Arlington, Virginia, Landrieu grew up in a political family: her father, Moon Landrieu, was mayor of New Orleans and U.S. secretary of housing and urban development in the Carter administration. She received her bachelor of arts degree from Louisiana State University in 1977.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1998 (1997); "Lack of Evidence Brings Probe of Senate Election to an End" (1997).

Langley, Katherine Gudger (1888–1948)

Republican Katherine Langley of Kentucky served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 4 March 1927 to 3 March 1931. Langley entered politics as vice chairperson of the Kentucky State Central Committee, serving from 1920 to 1922, and was the first chair of the Kentucky Woman's Republican State Committee in 1920. Her husband John Langley was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1907 until he was convicted of conspiring to transport and sell liquor and sentenced to a federal penitentiary in 1926. After he forfeited his congressional seat, Katherine Langley sought to vindicate her husband by running for it.

As a member of Congress, Katherine Langley passed legislation responsive to the social and economic needs of her low-income constituency, advocated the creation of a cabinet-level department of education, and supported women's issues. She convinced President Calvin Coolidge to grant her husband clemency on the condition that John Langley never again seek public office. Within a short time and without telling his wife, however, John Langley announced his intention to run in 1930 for the congressional seat that she held. Having already filed for reelection, Katherine Langley refused to withdraw from the election. The notoriety surrounding the family cost her a third term. From 1939 to 1942, Katherine Langley was a railroad commissioner for the State of Kentucky.

Born in Madison County, North Carolina, Katherine Langley graduated from Woman's College in Richmond and then attended Emerson College of Oratory in Boston. She taught expression at Virginia Institute until she left to become her father's congressional secretary.

See also Congress, Women in; Willebrandt, Mabel Walker

References James, ed., *Notable American Women, 1607–1950* (1971); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Lathrop, Julia (1858–1932)

The first woman to head a major federal agency, Julia Lathrop was appointed head of the Children’s Bureau by President Howard Taft in 1912. Lathrop entered politics as a social reformer, moving into Chicago’s Hull House in 1890. The governor of Illinois appointed her to the state’s Board of Charities in 1893, a position she used to investigate the state’s 102 county farms. She resigned from the board in 1901, was reappointed in 1905, and remained on it until 1909. The office gave her the opportunity to develop support for the first juvenile court in the United States.

After Congress passed legislation creating the Children’s Bureau in 1912 and Lathrop became its head, she directed investigations of infant mortality, maternal mortality, child labor laws, and related issues. She explained that she wanted to make the bureau “a great national clearing-house for information regarding the welfare of children.” She helped pass the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921, and then poor health forced her retirement.

Born in Rockford, Illinois, Lathrop earned her bachelor’s degree from Vassar College in 1880.

See also Addams, Jane; Children’s Bureau; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921

References Lindenmeyer, “A Right to Childhood”: *The U.S. Children’s Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912–1946* (1997).

Lawrence Textile Mill Strike

The Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile mill strike of 1912 began as an unorganized walkout that quickly involved almost 25,000 workers. The catalyst for the strike was a Massachusetts law that reduced children’s workweeks from fifty-six hours to fifty-four hours and that became effective on 1 January 1912. The mill decided to reduce all employees’ workweeks to fifty-four hours, a decision that concerned adult employees because they feared that their pay would also be reduced. When employees received their pay on 11 January, they discovered that their wages had been reduced and began walking out. They demanded a pay increase of 15 percent, the fifty-four-hour week, and double pay for overtime, as well as that strikers be rehired without discrimination. The strikers appealed to the American Federation of Labor’s United Textile Workers Union for assistance, but it refused. They next called on the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which sent

them organizers and strategists, including Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. The IWW leadership placed women in positions of authority, and women had equal votes with men when making decisions regarding the strike.

Scattered skirmishes between strikers and police escalated into violence, resulting in the militia's involvement and more violence. Strike leaders sought to protect women and children from the militia's attacks and recommended that they remain home and stay out of the picket lines. Instead, a pregnant striker announced that police were less likely to attack women and children, and she encouraged women to remain on the picket lines and men to stay home. Her assumptions proved to be wrong. When she and other women picketed, they were beaten. The pregnant woman's child was later delivered stillborn, a death attributed to the beating.

As the strike continued, strikers worried about their children's safety and struggled to provide them with food and other necessities. To alleviate the problems, union members and supporters in New York City agreed to house the children until the end of the strike. When the first group of children arrived in New York, newspapers publicized their plight, providing attention that angered employers. As a way to support employers, Lawrence city officials declared that no further evacuations would be permitted. When a group of mothers defied the order and prepared to place their children on a train, police arrested and beat some of the women and children.

The continued publicity prompted mill owners to settle the strike in mid-March 1912. The agreement included wage increases and other pay concessions, a fifty-four-hour workweek, and time-and-a-quarter for overtime. Strikers were rehired.

Women were given primary credit for the strike's success. Their courage, commitment, discipline, and leadership helped sustain the effort until their points had been won. Women also gained a new sense of power and new experiences as leaders by holding positions of authority.

See also Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley; Shirtwaist Workers Strike

References Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement: From the First Trade Unions to the Present* (1982); Wertheimer, *We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America* (1977).

League of Women Voters

Founded in 1919 through the leadership of suffragist Carrie Chapman Catt, the League of Women Voters (LWV) emerged from the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) as ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment appeared imminent. A nonpartisan organization with a strong emphasis on education and research, LWV works at the local, state, and national levels to influence public policy in four areas: good government, social policy, civil rights, and natural resources.



League of Women Voters activists, at their national headquarters, revealed a mile's worth of signatures they had gathered on a petition (Library of Congress)

LWV's early leaders sought to educate new women voters through citizenship schools that offered classes in marking ballots and held political education institutes. In addition to providing political education, LWV soon became involved in lobbying state legislatures and Congress for a wide range of public policy issues. The league's initial agenda included support for protective labor legislation for women, maternal and infant medical care, independent citizenship for women, an end to discriminatory governmental policies, tariff revision, enforcement of antitrust laws, creation of a federal department of education, and U.S. membership in the League of Nations.

Working with the Women's Joint Congressional Committee in 1921, LWV had its first legislative success with passage of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act, which provided federal aid for maternal and infant care. Other early successes included passage of the Cable Acts giving women independent citizenship, the Packers and Stockyards Control Act, and the Civil Service Reclassification Act; the creation of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor; and the construction of a federal women's prison. In the 1920s, LWV affiliates succeeded in passing laws on the state level that granted women equal guardianship over their minor children, gave married women the right to make contractual agreements without their husbands' consent, and gave women the right to hold public office.

Also in the 1920s, LWV led several local campaigns supporting city

governments in attempts to rid communities of corruption and bossism and to foster more efficient and orderly government. League members often brought other groups together in coalitions to support the changes in municipal government. Although men often held visible roles in the campaigns, league members frequently did most of the work.

In the 1930s, LWV supported U.S. participation in the World Court. During the early 1940s, LWV members undertook a massive educational program to support U.S. involvement in World War II, offering reasons for its belief that the United States could not remain isolationist in its policies. As the war drew to a close, LWV strongly supported the creation of the United Nations. The league focused on good government issues and provided leadership in state reapportionment advocacy during the 1960s. As national leaders worked for reapportionment, the league was involved in lobbying efforts and lawsuits to achieve equal representation in state legislative bodies and in Congress.

From 1921 until the 1950s, LWV had opposed the Equal Rights Amendment, concerned that it would make protective labor legislation for women unconstitutional. As LWV became an advocate for civil rights, it expanded its activism to include women's rights and the Equal Rights Amendment and vigorously supported ratification efforts in the 1970s. Other areas in which LWV has provided leadership include passage of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1972, the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, the Voting Rights Act of 1982, and the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993.

LWV positions on issues result from nationwide study and consensus among the members. To gather information, LWV members employ a variety of sources, including interviews with technical experts and public officials, public meetings, surveys, and the organization's own resources. After gathering information and developing a position on a topic, such as national health care policy, statewide school formulas, or local recycling policies, the league works to shape public policy. Grassroots lobbying, the primary tool in LWV's strategy, is supported by Washington-based volunteers, national board members, and staff.

LWV's first priorities are enacting campaign finance reform and protecting the National Voter Registration Act. Its second level of priorities includes enacting consumer protection legislation for health care, ensuring health care for seniors by protecting and enhancing Medicare, strengthening global warming standards, protecting clean air standards, and strengthening the United Nations by providing adequate funding.

The LWV has provided information to voters about candidates since 1928, when it hosted "Meet the Candidates," the first national radio broadcast of a candidate forum. In 1976, the league sponsored televised

debates between presidential candidates Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, for which it won an Emmy award.

LWV has state organizations in every state, the District of Columbia, Hong Kong, and the Virgin Islands and more than 1,000 local groups. LWV opened its membership to men in 1974.

See also Cable Acts; Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman; Coverture; Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX; Equal Rights Amendment; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Nineteenth Amendment; Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978; Protective Legislation; Public Offices, Women Elected to; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921; Suffrage; Willebrandt, Mabel Walker; Women's Bureau

References Breckenridge, *Women in the Twentieth Century: A Study of Their Political, Social and Economic Activities* (1933); Lemons, *The Woman Citizen* (1973); www.lwv.org; Young, *In the Public Interest* (1989).

Lease, Mary Elizabeth Clyens (1850–1933)

A compelling orator, Mary Elizabeth Lease supported a range of social causes and became a leader of the Populist Party in the late 1890s. Lease began her reform work in 1883, when she joined the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and began giving speeches. In the mid-1880s, she became involved in the suffrage movement and wrote a series of newspaper articles titled "Are Women Inferior to Men?" She served as the president of the Wichita Equal Suffrage Association and joined the Knights of Labor and the Kansas Farmers' Alliance.

In 1885, Lease began appearing as a paid lecturer, conducted a fund-raising tour for the Irish National League, and helped form a group to assist small farmers. As a severe drought, high shipping costs, and mortgage foreclosures took their toll on farmers in 1889, Lease encouraged them to organize the People's Party, which became the Populist Party. She toured Kansas in 1890 and made more than 160 speeches for the party. Her fiery speeches and her deep voice resonated with discontented farmers as she admonished them to "raise less corn and more hell." Controversy surrounded her—supporters called her Queen Mary, and detractors called her the Kansas Pythoness.

In the 1890s, Lease helped extend the party's efforts into Missouri, the West, and the South and became a national leader. A delegate to the party's 1892 Kansas convention, she successfully worked for a suffrage plank in the platform. Lease campaigned with the party's presidential candidate James B. Weaver and helped the party win several races in Kansas. In recognition of her efforts, Lease was appointed president of the State Board of Charities, but her inability to compromise led to her removal.

She challenged it and sought reinstatement. The Kansas Supreme Court ruled in her favor after a thirty-year-long battle.

Lease campaigned in 1896 for Populist presidential nominee William Jennings Bryan, but the party had begun to lose its base. Following the election, Lease lectured on woman suffrage and Prohibition, but her public influence declined. From 1908 to 1918, she occasionally gave lectures for the New York City Board of Education. She retired from public life in 1918.

Born in Ridgway, Pennsylvania, Mary Elizabeth Lease graduated from St. Elizabeth's Academy in Allegheny, New York, in 1868 with a teaching certificate. After studying law at home, Lease was admitted to the Kansas bar in 1889. She moved to Kansas in 1870 to teach at a Catholic girls' school in Osage Mission, marrying two years later. After she and her husband struggled as farmers, they moved to Wichita, where he was a pharmacist and she became involved in civic organizations. Lease and her husband divorced in 1902.

In her book *The Problem of Civilization Solved* (1895), Lease advocated nationalization of railroads, free trade, high tariffs, the initiative and referendum, and other reforms.

See also Suffrage; Woman's Christian Temperance Union

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993); James, ed., *Notable American Women 1607–1950* (1971).

Lee, Barbara (b. 1946)

African American Democrat Barbara Lee of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 7 April 1998. Lee, who had been an aide for Congressman Ronald V. Dellums for twelve years, ran for his seat when he retired. She campaigned on the theme "carrying the baton." Congresswoman Lee's priorities include increased funding for education and cleanup of toxic waste sites, urban issues, and the military.

Born in El Paso, Texas, Barbara Lee earned her bachelor of arts degree from Mills College in 1973 and her master's degree in social work from the University of California at Berkeley in 1975. A college course assignment to work for a political campaign led Lee to Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm's 1972 campaign for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination.

Lee served in the California Assembly from 1990 to 1996 and in the California Senate from 1996 to 1998. While in the California legislature, Lee successfully sponsored legislation to redevelop closed military facilities and open a California trade office in Johannesburg, South Africa.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References "Barbara Lee, D-Calif." (1998).

Lesbian Rights

Lesbian rights activists seek to end discrimination based on sexual orientation in several areas, including housing, employment, family relationships, criminal law, and threats and acts of violence. From the 1950s until the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) epidemic in the 1980s, lesbian activists generally supported their own organizations, but in the 1980s many joined forces with gay men to seek funds for AIDS research and to pursue their political and civil rights.

For many lesbians the potential disclosure of their sexual orientation posed a significant threat because exposure could result in the loss of employment or of custody of their children. In the 1950s, gathering with other lesbians in bars or other public places exposed them to police raids and the possibility that their names would appear in the newspaper. A group led by Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon formed Daughters of Bilitis in 1955 to provide a safe place for lesbians to gather and later expanded its mission to educating the public about homosexuals.

As the modern feminist movement emerged in the 1960s, several leaders, including Rita Mae Brown, Ti-Grace Atkinson, and Kate Millet, attempted to explain lesbianism to their feminist colleagues but were met with confusion and condemnation. Feminist leader Betty Friedan publicly referred to lesbians as “the lavender menace” and attempted to have lesbians removed from the National Organization for Women’s (NOW) leadership. In 1971, however, NOW passed a resolution recognizing “the double oppression of women who are lesbians” and acknowledging “the oppression of lesbians as a legitimate concern of feminism.”

A dozen women, including Rita Mae Brown, formed the Furies in 1971 and developed a feminist lesbian political view that argued that heterosexuality was the problem. Calling lesbianism a political choice, they based their analysis on the belief that relationships between women and men involved power and dominance. Rejecting power relationships, the Furies described themselves as radical, separatist, and opposed to the patriarchy. The group disbanded in 1973, unable to overcome differences in class. Other lesbian groups published poetry, novels, and newspapers, formed collectives, and opened businesses, creating a lesbian feminist counterculture.

A benchmark in gay activism resulted from a police raid in 1969 on a gay and lesbian bar in New York City, the Stonewall Inn. As the police attempted to close the bar and arrested its patrons, an angry riot erupted that lasted three days. The events convinced many that as long as gays and lesbians continued to conceal their sexual orientation, that is, to “stay in the closet,” they would remain politically powerless and unable to claim their civil rights as citizens.

In the 1970s, lesbians and gays began to realize some of their goals. About thirty cities passed civil rights ordinances banning discrimination against lesbians and gays, and antidiscrimination lawsuits were filed for employment and housing rights, for the right to serve in the military, and on behalf of lesbian mothers for custody of their children. By the late 1990s, ten states and 165 communities had laws protecting lesbians and gays from workplace discrimination, but a backlash developed. Colorado provides an example of a state in which several communities had enacted ordinances banning discrimination based on sexual orientation in several areas, including public accommodations, employment, and education. In 1992, Colorado voters approved a state constitutional amendment prohibiting all legislative, executive, or judicial action at any level of state or local government intended to protect gays and lesbians. The U.S. Supreme Court, however, found that the state amendment violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Among the groups that advocate civil rights for lesbians and gays is the Human Rights Campaign (HRC), the largest national lesbian and gay political organization in the United States. HRC lobbies the federal government on gay, lesbian, and AIDS issues; educates the public; and participates in election campaigns. The American Civil Liberties Union's Lesbian and Gay Rights Project takes cases to court that have a significant effect on the lives of lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals and promotes laws and policies to help achieve equality and fairness for them.

Before the 1970s, lesbians and gay men had held public offices, but they had not revealed their sexual orientation. In 1974, two lesbians ran for public office and became the first openly gay people to win, Elaine Noble to the Massachusetts House of Representatives and Kathy Kozachenko to the Ann Arbor, Michigan, City Council. In 1998, Democrat Tammy Baldwin became the first lesbian who had made public statements about her sexual orientation to be elected to Congress.

See also American Civil Liberties Union; Atkinson, Ti-Grace; Baldwin, Tammy; *Bowers v. Hardwick*; Brown, Rita Mae; Cammermeyer, Margrethe; Daughters of Bilitis; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; Millett, Katherine (Kate) Murray; National Organization for Women; Radicalesbians

References Cavin, "The Invisible Army of Women: Lesbian Social Protests, 1969–1988" (1990); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 104th Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1996* (1997); Davis, *Moving the Mountain* (1991); www.aclu.org.

Lewis, Ann Frank (b. 1937)

Democratic Party strategist Ann F. Lewis was named counselor to President Bill Clinton in 1999 after serving as White House director of com-

munications from 1997 until her appointment as counselor. She served as deputy campaign manager and director of communications in the 1996 Clinton-Gore Reelection Campaign.

Lewis entered politics in 1968 as an assistant to Boston's mayor, working for him until 1975. A congressional aide from 1976 to 1981, she was political director for the Democratic National Committee from 1981 to 1985, when she became national director for Americans for Democratic Action. She wrote a column for *Ms.* magazine from 1988 to 1992 and was vice president of public policy for Planned Parenthood Federation of America before joining the Clinton-Gore campaign in 1996.

Born in Jersey City, New Jersey, Lewis attended Radcliffe College from 1954 to 1955. She is a founding member of the National Women's Political Caucus. Her brother is Barney Frank, a member of Congress.

See also Democratic Party, Women in the; *Ms.* Magazine; National Women's Political Caucus; Planned Parenthood Federation of America

References *New York Times*, 28 September 1987.

Liberalism

American liberalism gained its contemporary meaning through President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs in the 1930s. Roosevelt's New Deal liberalism changed ideas about government's duty and responsibility in the nation's economic life by developing federal welfare programs, redistributing wealth, and enhancing the potential for equal opportunity. New Deal legislation gave trade unions new protections and encouraged their growth, altering the balance of power between employers and employees.

In the mid-1960s, liberal policies included the expansion of government health, education, and other social programs for poor and low-income families. Unlike New Deal programs, President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs addressed racism through the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and included African Americans in the social programs. The civil rights movement, which had created pressure for passage of legislation promoting racial justice, inspired women, gays and lesbians, Hispanics, Native Americans, and other groups to press for recognition of their causes and for legislation to protect them. The proposed Equal Rights Amendment serves as one example of an attempt to define and guarantee a group's rights. The U.S. Supreme Court also participated in the liberal agenda through its 1954 decision desegregating schools in *Brown v. Board of Education* and its 1973 decision legalizing abortion in *Roe v. Wade*.

The liberal agenda came under increasingly intense scrutiny in the 1970s as citizens evaluated the financial costs of social programs and

changes in social relationships and found the first too high and the second too unsettling. Voters expressed their frustration with liberal policies by electing conservatives Ronald Reagan and George Bush to the presidency. By the 1988 presidential elections, the word *liberal* had become a pejorative term and was referred to as the “L” word.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Voting Rights Act of 1965

References Foner and Garraty, eds., *The Reader's Companion to American History* (1991).

Liliuokalani (1838–1917)

The last sovereign queen of the Hawaiian Islands, Liliuokalani took the throne in 1891, during a turbulent time in the islands' history. Born in Honolulu, Liliuokalani attended a missionary school, where she learned English. She inherited the throne from her brother King David Kalakaua, who had ruled the islands from 1874 until his death in 1891. In 1887, he had accepted a new constitution, demanded by American interests, that forfeited much of the power of the monarchy to a cabinet controlled by Americans. When Queen Liliuokalani ascended to the throne, she sought to restore some of the monarchy's power by issuing a new constitution, which was her historic right as monarch. Native Hawaiians supported her plan, but Americans who had financial interests in the islands' sugar plantations wanted the United States to annex the islands. Her attempt to balance the interests of native islanders and of foreigners was interpreted as a capricious act by the Americans on the islands.

Lawyer Sanford Ballard Dole, who was the son of missionaries and who had grown up on the islands, led a group that responded to Liliuokalani's new constitution by establishing a republic in 1893 and deposing Liliuokalani. They hoped to convince the United States to annex the islands. President Grover Cleveland sent a representative to attempt to negotiate a solution to the problem, but was unsuccessful. Cleveland sent another representative who offered to support the queen if she would grant amnesty to the annexationists, but she hesitated and the opportunity was lost.

On 4 July 1894, Sanford Dole and his followers announced that he had become president of the Republic of Hawaii and the United States government recognized the new government. Hawaiian royalists protested the action and were jailed. Early in 1895, Liliuokalani formally abdicated the throne in exchange for the freedom of the royalists. She was imprisoned for misprision of treason, that is, knowing that a treasonous act was planned by someone else. Tried and convicted, she was imprisoned in Iolani Palace until February 1896. The United States annexed Hawaii in 1898.

See also Mink, Patsy Matsu Takemoto

References Allen, *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani: Last Queen of Hawaii, 1838–1917* (1982); Garraty and Carnes, eds., *American National Biography* (1999).

Lincoln, Blanche Lambert (b. 1960)

Democrat Blanche Lambert Lincoln of Arkansas served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1993 to 3 January 1997 and entered the U.S. Senate on 3 January 1999. Lincoln started her political career as a receptionist and congressional aide to Representative Bill Alexander (D-AR), working for him from 1982 to 1984. She was a researcher and lobbyist for the next six years.

In late 1991, while discussing problems in politics with a friend, Lincoln decided to run for Congress to help remedy them. In the Arkansas primary in 1992, she challenged Bill Alexander, who had been involved in questionable activities, including 487 overdrafts at the House of Representatives' bank. The scandal gave political novice Lincoln the break she needed, and she easily defeated Alexander in the primary and her Republican opponent in the general election. Once in Congress, she worked to enhance rural development, cut the federal budget, reform welfare programs, and improve rural water and health care access.

After becoming pregnant with twins in 1996, Lincoln did not seek a third term. When Democratic senator Dale Bumpers announced his retirement, Lincoln entered the race, saying: "Nearly one of every three senators is a millionaire, but there are only five mothers." She based her campaign on making the nation better for her children, improving education, and using the federal budget surplus for the benefit of Social Security and Medicare.

Born in Helena, Arkansas, Lincoln earned a bachelor of arts degree from Randolph-Macon Woman's College in 1982 and attended the University of Arkansas and the University of London.

See also Congress, Women in

References "Blanche Lincoln" (1998); Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995); "Ex-Rep. Lincoln to Seek Bumpers' Senate Seat" (1997).

Lloyd Bouquard, Rachel Marilyn Laird (b. 1929)

Democrat Marilyn Lloyd of Tennessee served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1975 to 3 January 1995. Lloyd served under the name Marilyn Lloyd Bouquard in the 96th through 98th Congresses (1979–1985). She entered politics after her husband, who was a candidate

for Congress, died during the campaign. Democratic Party officials recruited her to fill the vacancy on the ballot.

Congresswoman Lloyd worked to keep the Clinch River nuclear breeder reactor a viable project in her district, but Congress killed it in 1983. She succeeded in convincing Congress to complete construction of the Tellico dam after progress had stopped to protect snail darters, an endangered fish species. Lloyd also wrote and passed a bill in 1982 to build nuclear waste test facilities. Considered a conservative southern Democrat, Lloyd changed her position on abortion from being prolife to pro-choice. She also joined Congresswomen Patricia Schroeder and Beverly Byron in their strong criticism of the Navy's responses to the Tailhook convention scandal involving naval officers' sexual assaults on several women. Lloyd retired in 1995.

Born in Fort Smith, Arkansas, Marilyn Lloyd attended Shorter College in 1960.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; Military, Women in the; Schroeder, Patricia Nell Scott; Sexual Harassment

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Lockwood, Belva Ann Bennett McNall (1830–1917)

An advocate for women's rights and woman suffrage, Belva Lockwood was the first woman admitted to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court and U.S. Court of Claims. Born in Royalton Township, New York, Belva Lockwood attended Gasport Academy from 1853 to 1854 and earned her bachelor of science degree from Genesee College in 1857. She worked in education for most of the 1860s.

After being denied admission to three law schools because she was a woman, Lockwood entered National University Law School in 1871 and completed the curriculum in 1873. When male students resisted graduating with her, she was denied her law school diploma. After appealing to President Ulysses S. Grant, who was the school's ex-officio president, she received the degree. She was the first American woman to complete a course of study at a university law school.

Three years later, Lockwood again encountered gender barriers. The federal Court of Claims refused to permit her to plead before it, as did the U.S. Supreme Court. She drafted a law to overcome the courts' refusal to admit women, lobbied Congress for it, publicized the issue with the help of Myra Bradwell and her newspaper, and succeeded in getting it passed. In 1879, she became the first woman admitted to practice before the nation's highest court and the U.S. Court of Claims. The next year she sponsored



Belva Lockwood, the first American woman to graduate from law school and to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court, 1885 (Library of Congress)

Lockwood was one of the attorneys representing Eastern Cherokee Indians in a 1906 case against the United States. The case resulted from violations of the 1838 treaty that involved the relocation of thousands of Cherokees from Georgia and Tennessee to Oklahoma. The relocation became known as the Trail of Tears because about 4,000 Cherokees died on the way. Arguing the case before the U.S. Supreme Court, she won a settlement of \$5 million for them.

See also Anthony, Susan Brownell; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Suffrage

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993); Morello, *The Woman Lawyer in America: 1638 to the Present* (1986).

Lofgren, Zoe (b. 1947)

Democrat Zoe Lofgren of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1995. Lofgren's service to her congressional district began in the 1970s, when she worked for Congressman Don Edwards in his Washington, D.C., and district offices. When Edwards retired, she ran for his seat. Early in her campaign, Lofgren gained national attention for a dispute with state election officials. She had stated that her occupation was county supervisor/mother. State election officials said that motherhood was a status, not an occupation, and that she could not use the description. Lofgren responded that officials' objections were typical of the

the first southern African American admitted to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court.

A suffragist, Lockwood had helped found the Universal Suffrage Association, and in the 1870s and 1880s, she was active in the National Woman Suffrage Association. She addressed the Platform Committee of the Republican National Convention in 1884 to ask for woman suffrage. Believing that publicity could benefit women's causes, in 1884 she accepted the National Equal Rights Party's nomination for president of the United States. Her platform included equal rights for all, reduction of the liquor traffic, uniform marriage and divorce laws, and peace. Lockwood received 4,149 votes in six states. She ran again in 1888, when she received fewer votes but had increased visibility.

ways in which the law does not recognize women's unpaid work. The controversy provided her with a framework for discussing her key campaign issues: reducing violent crime and increasing federal support to help families and children.

Lofgren's congressional priorities include health care, housing, children and families, and education. As a member of the minority party, Lofgren has focused her efforts on revising Republican proposals to reflect more of her philosophy. She has passed amendments that restored protections for battered spouses and children in an immigration bill and that provided affordable Internet access for public schools in a telecommunications bill. Even though Lofgren has had success amending Republican proposals, she has found the House's work deficient, saying: "I'm frustrated by the sheer volume of stupid things we've done."

Born in Palo Alto, California, Zoe Lofgren received her bachelor's degree in political science from Stanford University in 1970 and her law degree from the University of Santa Clara Law School in 1975. She has had a private law practice and has taught classes in immigration law, legal research, and writing at the University of Santa Clara Law School. A trustee on the San Jose–Evergreen Community College District from 1979 to 1981, she then served on the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors from 1981 to 1995. As a supervisor, Lofgren worked to improve and expand the county's highways system.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/lofgren/bio_lofgren.html.

Long, Catherine Small (b. 1924)

Democrat Catherine Long of Louisiana served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 30 March 1985 to 3 January 1987. After her husband's death in office, she won the special election to fill the vacancy. Congresswoman Long cosponsored legislation that secured pension and health benefits for women and restricted race and sex discrimination in insurance. She did not run for a second term.

Born in Dayton, Ohio, Catherine Long earned her bachelor of arts degree from Louisiana State University in 1948. After serving as a pharmacist's mate in the U.S. Navy, she worked on two congressional staffs. She developed her political skills by working for the state party's finance council and the party's state central committee.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Long, Rose McConnell (1892–1970)

Democrat Rose Long of Louisiana served in the U.S. Senate from 31 January 1936 to 2 January 1937. Following the assassination of her husband, U.S. senator Huey Long, Rose Long was first appointed and then elected to fill the vacancy. While in office, she worked to enlarge Chalmette National Historic Park but did not run for a full term. Her son Russell Long was also a U.S. senator.

Born in Greensburg, Indiana, Rose Long was a secretary at a hardware store before her marriage.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Long Thompson, Jill Lynnette (b. 1952)

Democrat Jill Long Thompson of Indiana served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 28 March 1989 to 3 January 1995. After her congressional service, Long Thompson was appointed undersecretary of agriculture for rural development in President Bill Clinton's administration.

Born in Warsaw, Indiana, Long Thompson received her bachelor of science degree from Valparaiso University in 1974 and a master's degree in business administration in 1978 and a doctoral degree in 1984, both from Indiana University. Before running for Congress, she was a professor of business at both universities. From 1983 to 1986, she was a member of the Valparaiso City Council. She ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate in 1986 and the U.S. House of Representatives in 1988.

When the House seat was vacated in 1989, Long Thompson ran once again, this time successfully. A Democrat in a strong Republican district, she found a balance between her party's interests and those of her district. For example, she supported prochoice legislation and increasing the minimum wage while taking more conservative positions on some fiscal votes.

In 1990, Long Thompson gained passage of amendments to the farm bill, including one to give farmers planting flexibility and another to give incentives to farmers who used conservation techniques. She also passed measures for expanded hospice care services for terminally ill veterans and for counseling for women veterans who were sexually harassed or assaulted during their military service.

Defeated in her 1994 reelection attempt, Long Thompson became a fellow at the Institute of Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and a member of the board of directors of the Commodity Credit Corporation. Beginning in 1995, she served as undersecretary for development in the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

See also Congress, Women in; Reproductive Rights; Sexual Harassment

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1994 (1993);
www.usda.gov/agencies/gallery/thompson.htm.

Louchheim, Kathleen (Katie) Scofield (1903–1991)

A Democratic Party leader in the 1940s and 1950s, Kathleen Louchheim was the first woman to obtain an appointment in the higher levels of the U.S. State Department, serving as deputy assistant secretary of state from 1962 to 1968. Louchheim began working as a volunteer with the Democratic National Committee in 1938 and worked in Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1940 presidential campaign. In 1941, she became assistant to the director of public information in the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations in the State Department. In 1945 and 1946, she was a displaced persons specialist and worked in Germany.

After working in Adlai Stevenson's unsuccessful 1952 presidential campaign, Louchheim became assistant chairperson of the Democratic National Committee, with responsibilities in the labor division. Director of women's activities for the party from 1953 to 1960, she sought to make politics more interesting for women, to identify women who could raise money on the national level, and to encourage women to serve in the party's leadership. She also was a party vice chair from 1956 to 1960.

With John F. Kennedy's election in 1960 and her party's return to the White House, Louchheim was appointed special assistant and consultant on women's activities in the State Department in 1961. She said her duties were to greet foreign women visitors and diplomats' wives. Appointed deputy assistant secretary of state in 1962, she was the first woman to hold the position. Deputy assistant secretary of state for public affairs for a short time, she then served as deputy assistant secretary of state for community advisory services from 1963 to 1966 and for educational and cultural affairs until 1968. The next two years, she was the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

Born in New York City, Louchheim attended Columbia University from 1926 to 1927. She wrote *With or Without Roses* (1966), *By the Political Sea* (1970), and *The Making of the New Deal—The Insiders Speak* (1983).

See also Democratic Party, Women in the; Edwards, India Moffett

References Louchheim, *By the Political Sea* (1970).

Lowey, Nita Melnikoff (b. 1937)

Democrat Nita Lowey of New York entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1989. Her political career began with a neighborhood

gathering in 1974 to help the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor, Mario Cuomo. He lost that election but was appointed New York secretary of state, and he appointed Lowey to the antipoverty division of his office, where she served from 1975 to 1985. She then became assistant secretary of state, a position she held until 1987.

As a member of Congress, Lowey supported the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994 and Medicaid funding for abortions for poor women. She opposed a rule that prohibited abortion counseling and referrals in federally funded planning clinics and also opposed legislation to make partial birth abortion illegal. In 1998, Lowey succeeded in gaining House and Senate approval for a measure providing contraceptive coverage for federal workers whose health insurance included pharmaceuticals, but the conference committee deleted it. In a compromise, Lowey proposed exempting physicians who oppose contraceptive coverage for religious or moral reasons and obtained its approval.

Lowey was among the congresswomen who marched to the U.S. Senate in October 1991 to discuss Anita Hill's accusations that U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas had sexually harassed her. Lowey also cochaired the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues in 1997.

Education, child care, health, and nutrition have also been priorities for Lowey, particularly as they relate to poor people, women, minorities, and the elderly. She successfully worked for a bill that provided funding for drug education and counseling services for students. On the subject of agricultural subsidies to farmers who have more than \$100,000 in non-farm income, she said: "It doesn't make sense to me to have millionaires collecting subsidies." She has also tried to eliminate subsidies for peanut farming. In the 104th, 105th, and 106th Congresses (1995–2001), she held the leadership position of minority whip at large.

Born in Bronx, New York, Lowey received her bachelor of arts degree from Mount Holyoke College in 1959.

See also Congress, Women in; Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues; Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994; Hill, Anita Faye; Reproductive Rights; Sexual Harassment

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/lowey/bio./htm.

Luce, Clare Boothe (1903–1987)

Republican Clare Boothe Luce of Connecticut served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1943 to 3 January 1947. A playwright, author, and journalist, Luce became a celebrity with the Broadway productions of *The Women* (1936), which was made into a movie, and *Kiss the Boys Goodbye* (1938), several years before she ran for Congress.



Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R-CT) with her husband, Henry Luce, advocated equal pay for equal work and racial equality in the armed services (Library of Congress)

Born in New York, New York, Clare Boothe Luce attended St. Mary's School and Miss Mason's School, graduating in 1919. Editor of *Vanity Fair* magazine in the early 1930s, she helped her husband Henry Luce create *Time* magazine, for which she was a newspaper correspondent during World War II. She also wrote *Europe in the Spring* (1940), based on four months she spent observing the war in Europe. When she returned to the United States, she campaigned for unsuccessful Republican presidential candidate Wendell Wilkie.

Congresswoman Luce sponsored a bill to create a department of children's welfare, which would have included health, educational, and welfare services; another to establish a department of science and research; and a measure to require equal pay for equal work regardless of sex or color. During both of her terms in office, she offered resolutions for racial equality in the armed services. She decided against running for a third term in 1946.

President Dwight Eisenhower appointed her ambassador to Italy in 1953, making her the second woman to hold the office. She served in it until 1957, and was given the Presidential Medal of Freedom. She was appointed ambassador to Brazil in 1959 and confirmed, but a bitter confrontation during the confirmation hearing led her to resign three days after she was confirmed. Luce served on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board from 1973 to 1979 and from 1982 to 1987. She remained active in Republican politics, working for presidential candidates until the mid-1980s.

See also Congress, Women in; Edwards, India Moffett; Equal Pay Act of 1963

References Morris, *Rage for Fame* (1997); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Lusk, Georgia Lee Witt (1893–1971)

Democrat Georgia Lusk of New Mexico served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1947 to 3 January 1949. She supported federal aid to education, improved school lunch programs, and creation of a cabinet-level department of education. Her other legislative interests included increasing benefits for veterans, providing military assistance for Turkey and Greece, and strengthening foreign aid programs. She ran for reelection in 1948 but lost in the primary.

Born in Carlsbad, New Mexico, Georgia Lusk graduated from New Mexico State Teachers College in 1914. The next year she married rancher-banker Dolph Lusk. She had two sons and was pregnant with her third child when her husband died in 1919. To support her family, Georgia Lusk managed the family's ranch and returned to teaching.

Elected county school superintendent in 1924, Lusk moved to the state level in 1930, when she ran for state superintendent of schools, holding the office from 1931 to 1935, 1943 to 1947, and 1955 to 1960. During her first two terms, Lusk guided the legislature's recodification of school laws and convinced legislators to increase teacher salaries, fund school construction, implement a retirement program for teachers, and provide students with free textbooks. After her term in Congress, President Harry Truman appointed her to the War Claims Commission in 1949, where she served until 1953.

See also Congress, Women in

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography: Who's News and Why, 1947* (1947); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Sicherman and Green, eds., *Notable American Women: The Modern Period* (1980).

Lyon, Phyllis (b. 1924)

Feminist and lesbian activist Phyllis Lyon and her life partner Del Martin founded Daughters of Bilitis in 1955, the first national lesbian organization, and they created the organization's publication, *The Ladder*, which began publishing in 1956. Its first editor, Lyon coauthored with Martin *Lesbian/Woman* (1972) and *Lesbian Love and Liberation* (1973), two of the earliest books written by and about lesbians. Lyon served on the San Francisco Commission on the Status of Women from 1976 to 1979 and on the San Francisco Human Rights Commission from 1976 to 1987. After earning a

doctorate in education in human sexuality at the Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, she taught at the institute from 1976 to 1987.

See also Daughters of Bilitis; Lesbian Rights; Martin, Del

References DeLeon, ed., *Leaders from the 1960s: A Biographical Sourcebook of American Activism* (1994).

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MacKinnon, Catharine Alice (b. 1946)

Feminist scholar and lawyer Catharine MacKinnon has reframed questions of sexual harassment and pornography, opening new legal arguments for women seeking justice. She has been described as “the law’s most prominent feminist legal theorist.” An intellectual and legal leader in the feminist movement, MacKinnon became involved with the issue of sexual harassment in 1975, after learning the story of a woman who had left her job because she was sexually harassed. Denied unemployment benefits on the basis that she had left voluntarily, the woman appealed but lost. Although MacKinnon was not a lawyer at the time, she used the case as the basis for her thesis, which redefined sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination. The thesis became part of her first book, *Sexual Harassment of Working Women: A Case of Sex Discrimination* (1979). In 1986, MacKinnon was cocounsel in the first sexual harassment case heard by the U.S. Supreme Court. In *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, MacKinnon successfully defined a hostile environment as a form of sexual harassment that was illegal under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In the 1980s, MacKinnon turned her attention to developing a campaign against pornography, calling it a form of sex discrimination that harms women. Working with feminist theorist Andrea Dworkin, MacKinnon met Linda Marchiano, who was known as Linda Lovelace in pornographic movies. Marchiano claimed that she had been imprisoned, tortured, raped, and coerced into making pornographic movies, claims that MacKinnon helped publicize, even though she could not recover damages for Marchiano.

With Dworkin, MacKinnon drafted antipornography legislation for states and ordinances for cities and lobbied for them across the nation. When they have been enacted, they have been rejected on appeal in the courts. Controversy has surrounded MacKinnon's theories on pornography, with feminists both applauding and condemning them. In 1987, MacKinnon published a collection of her lectures on several topics, including pornography, in *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law*. The next year, she and Dworkin coauthored *Pornography and Civil Rights: A New Day for Women's Equality*, which focuses more narrowly on the topic of pornography. *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State* (1989) continued the development of her ideas on pornography, as did *Only Words* (1993).

MacKinnon participated in writing the brief for a case heard by the Canadian Supreme Court, which upheld the obscenity provisions of its criminal law. MacKinnon noted: "This makes Canada the first place in the world that says what is obscene is what harms women, not what offends our values."

MacKinnon earned her bachelor of arts degree from Smith College in 1969, her law degree from Yale University Law School in 1977, and her doctoral degree from Yale University in 1987.

See also *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*; Pornography; Sexual Harassment

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1994* (1994); *New York Times*, 6 October 1991.

Madar, Olga Marie (1916–1996)

Union leader Olga Madar was the first woman elected to the International Executive Board (IEB) of United Auto Workers (UAW), serving on it from 1966 to 1974, and was the founding president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). Madar's commitment to the labor movement came from a personal experience while working on Chrysler Corporation's assembly line in 1933. Hired for her skill as a softball player, she was unable to keep up with the assembly line and had nightmares about it. However, she kept her job, while others were being laid off during the Depression, because of her athletic ability. She later explained: "There was no union then and the fact that they would hire me when other workers were being laid off—just because I could play softball—was incredible. It was my first indication that a union was badly needed."

In 1947, Madar became the director of the UAW Recreation Department. Eliminating racism in professional bowling was her first assignment, which she accomplished in 1952 when the American Bowling Congress and the Women's International Bowling Congress ended their white-only rules.

Efforts to elect a woman to the IEB had begun in 1937 but had failed until Madar and others began to campaign in 1964 to create a place for a woman by changing IEB's constitution and adding an at-large position with the intent that a woman would fill it. In 1966, Madar won the election for the office and became the first woman vice president of UAW and the first woman elected an international vice president of the union. After her election to the board, the UAW became more active in women's issues.

As women became dissatisfied with their lack of power within unions, Madar led the founding of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in 1974. The CLUW's first president, Madar worked to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women. Following her retirement, Madar continued to be active in the retirees' programs.

Born in Sykesville, Pennsylvania, Madar graduated from Eastern Michigan University in 1938.

See also Coalition of Labor Union Women

References *CLUW News*, May–June 1996; *New York Times*, 18 May 1996.

***Mahe* v. *Roe* (1977)**

In *Mahe* v. *Roe*, the U.S. Supreme Court considered the constitutionality of a Connecticut regulation limiting Medicaid payments for first-trimester abortions to those considered medically necessary. The Court found that the Connecticut policy did not interfere with a woman's right to an abortion. The Court concluded that the state could pay for childbirth while refusing to pay for nontherapeutic abortions because it had the power to encourage actions deemed to be in the public interest—in this case, childbirth. The Court concluded that Connecticut's policy was constitutional and emphasized that the decision did not proscribe government funding of nontherapeutic abortions.

See also Abortion; *Beal* v. *Doe*

References *Mahe* v. *Roe*, 432 U.S. 464 (1977).

Malcolm, Ellen Reighley (b. 1947)

Ellen Malcolm founded EMILY's List, a political action committee (PAC) to support prochoice Democratic women gubernatorial and congressional candidates, in 1985. Malcolm had concluded that a new funding strategy was needed to support women candidates after working for Missouri Democrat Harriet Woods's campaign for the U.S. Senate, a race Woods lost by 27,000 votes because she could not raise enough money to keep her television advertisements on the air.

Malcolm enrolled in George Washington University's master's of business administration program to develop the management and marketing

skills she needed to make her proposed PAC successful. She also sought a distinctive name for the PAC and put together the acronym EMILY, which stands for “Early Money Is Like Yeast” (it raises the dough). Malcolm explained: “I want women to be powerful players in the middle, not just a fringe element.” To reach that goal, Malcolm set EMILY’s annual membership fee at \$100 with the agreement that each member would also contribute at least \$100 to two candidates on the organization’s list. She used the language of the corporate world to describe her mission: “We’ve created a product, if you will, that is tailored to women like us, who are over 35, involved in politics. We are political venture capitalists. You’ll rarely hear me give the typical ‘we’re-mad-at-the-world’ feminist dogma.”

Born in Hackensack, New Jersey, Malcolm earned her bachelor of arts degree from Hollins College in 1969 and her master’s degree in business administration from George Washington University in 1984. From 1971 to 1976, Malcolm worked for Common Cause, serving as an issues coordinator and then as the southern states coordinator. She became public information coordinator for the National Women’s Political Caucus in 1978 and its project director the next year.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; EMILY’s List; National Women’s Political Caucus

References *New York Times*, 2 May 1993.

Maloney, Carolyn Boshier (b. 1948)

Democrat Carolyn Maloney of New York entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1993. In her first campaign, Maloney told voters that there were too many millionaires and not enough women in Congress. Her congressional priorities include improving the foster care system, reforming campaign finance laws, protecting Capitol Hill employees from sexual harassment, and providing full funding for Head Start programs.

Maloney has passed the Debt Collection Bill, a measure establishing a computerized tracking system to help uncover wrongdoing in government contracting, and a measure to permit elderly people living in public housing to own household pets. Maloney supports a constitutional amendment to balance the budget, further defense budget cuts, and new taxes on gasoline. After she sponsored the Northern Rockies Ecosystem Protection Act, classifying 16 million acres in five states as wilderness, some western members of Congress mockingly proposed a countermeasure to designate Manhattan, part of which is in Maloney’s district, as a natural wilderness.

Born in Greensboro, North Carolina, Carolyn Maloney earned her bachelor of arts degree from Greensboro College in 1968. From 1970 to

1977, Maloney was a teacher and an administrator for the New York City Board of Education. She then held senior staff positions in the New York state assembly and the New York state Senate from 1977 to 1979 and served on the New York City Council from 1983 until 1993. While on the city council, she was the principal author of the New York City Campaign Finance Act.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; Congressional Workplace Compliance Act of 1995; Sexual Harassment

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/maloney/.

MANA, a National Latina Organization

Organized in 1975 as the Mexican American Women's National Association, MANA developed when a group of Chicanas living in Washington, D.C., began gathering for weekend brunches to discuss their exclusion from the feminist movement's agenda and their relative invisibility in policymaking meetings. The founders, many of whom held jobs in the federal government, in Congress, or with private policymaking groups, concluded that Chicanas needed an organization comparable to those formed by white and African American women.

In 1975, the organization installed its first elected officers and defined MANA's goals, which included advocating for issues important to Chicanas, developing leadership opportunities, creating a national awareness of Chicana concerns, and developing a national communications network for Chicanas. Later that year, MANA hosted the first national conference for and by Chicanas.

When the number of unnecessary sterilizations performed on Chicanas dramatically increased, MANA convinced policymakers to change federal regulations to ensure that Mexican American women understood the surgical process and its consequences and that they received the information in their primary language. MANA has called for pharmaceutical labeling in Spanish and in English, worked for employment opportunities, and sought appointments to governmental boards and commissions for Hispanics.

MANA representatives have testified before Congress on domestic violence and child support enforcement. MANA supports affirmative action, reproductive rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, pay equity, and welfare reform to change policies that hinder women attempting to become economically independent.

See also Abortion; Affirmative Action, Equal Rights Amendment; Pay Equity

References Crocker, *MANA: One Dream, Many Voices* (1991).



Wilma Mankiller, former chief of the Cherokee Nation, 1987 (UPI/Corbis-Bettmann)

Mankiller, Wilma P. (b. 1945)

Wilma Mankiller served as chief of the Cherokee Nation from 1985 to 1995, the first female chief of a major tribe. Born in Rocky Mountain, Oklahoma, the daughter of a Caucasian mother and Cherokee father, Mankiller's early years were spent in Oklahoma. When she was twelve years old, her family moved to San Francisco as part of a Bureau of Indian Affairs relocation program, which sought to end Native Americans' status as wards of the federal government. In 1969, she became active in the Native American rights movement when a group of Native Americans took over the former Alcatraz prison to protest their treatment by the federal government. By then married and a mother, Mankiller

did not feel that she could join the demonstrators, but she raised money for them and visited them. She explained: "Those college students who participated in Alcatraz articulated a lot of feelings I had that I'd never been able to express."

Mankiller attended Skyline College in 1973 and San Francisco State College from 1973 to 1975 and received her bachelor of arts degree from Union College in 1977. She did postgraduate work in community planning at the University of Arkansas in 1979. In 1977, Mankiller and her husband divorced, and she returned to Oklahoma to claim land that her grandfather had owned as part of a settlement with the U.S. government. She worked for the Cherokee Nation as economic stimulus coordinator, becoming the tribe's program development specialist in 1979. An automobile accident that year left Mankiller badly injured, resulting in an extended hospitalization and a lengthy period of recovery. Her full resumption of her work responsibilities was further delayed when she was diagnosed with systemic myasthenia gravis, requiring surgery and another period of recuperation.

With her health restored, Mankiller founded the Community Development Department of the Cherokee Nation in 1981 and then directed it. Through grants, Mankiller obtained money for a number of projects, including rehabilitating housing, installing a sixteen-mile-long water line, and developing Cherokee Gardens, a horticultural operation.

In 1983, Ross Swimmer, the incumbent principal chief of the Chero-

kee Nation, asked Mankiller to be his running mate for deputy chief in the tribal elections. During the campaign, Mankiller encountered overt sexism that included hate mail, death threats, and having the tires of her car slashed. When the ticket won, she became the first woman to serve as deputy chief of the Cherokee Nation. In 1985, Swimmer left to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., and Mankiller was sworn in as principal chief, becoming the first woman to hold the office.

Mankiller explained the significance of a woman holding the office: “Early historians referred to our government as a petticoat government because of the strong role of the women in the tribe. Then we adopted a lot of ugly things that were part of the non-Indian world and one of those things was sexism. This whole system of tribal government was designed by men. So in 1687 women enjoyed a prominent role, but in 1987 we found people questioning whether women should be in leadership positions in the tribe.” Mankiller won the election for a full term in 1987 and reelection in 1991.

As principal chief, Mankiller protected the traditions and heritage of her tribe. While overseeing a budget of \$76 million and managing a workforce of almost 1,000 employees, she focused on reducing the unemployment rate, raising education levels, and improving health care in addition to her continuing concerns with economic development. Under her leadership, the tribe built a hydroelectric generating facility; obtained funds to help Cherokee women on welfare become more self-sufficient; and developed plans for a job corps center, an alcohol treatment facility, and new health clinics.

The name *Mankiller* is an old term of respect for Indian warriors who guarded tribal villages and has been in her family for generations. When asked about it, she explained: “Some people do earn their names in native culture. I didn’t, but I don’t always tell people that. Sometimes I just say that Mankiller is my name, I earned it, and I let ’em wonder.” Her memoir, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People*, was published in 1993.

See also Bonney, Mary Lucinda; Deer, Ada Elizabeth; Jumper, Betty Mae

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1988* (1988); Mankiller and Wallis, *Mankiller* (1993); *New York Times*, 15 December 1985, 4 November 1993.

Mankin, Helen Douglas (1894–1956)

Democrat Helen Mankin of Georgia served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 12 February 1946 to 3 January 1947. Mankin entered politics as chief of Georgia’s Child Labor Committee, a group that sought to ratify the proposed Child Labor Amendment. After unsuccessfully lobbying the

Georgia legislature in 1935, she decided to work on the amendment from inside the legislature and ran for a seat in it, serving from 1937 to 1946. During those years, she worked to repeal the poll tax, change registration laws, improve teachers' salaries, reform prisons, and adopt the secret ballot. She helped pass a bill permitting women to serve on juries and another allowing women to be appointed their children's guardians.

When the incumbent congressman resigned, Mankin won the seat in a special election. In the first election since the end of the poll tax in Georgia, Mankin, who had actively sought the support of African American voters, was quietly endorsed by that community. Her winning margin came from predominantly black precincts. Mankin ran in the July 1946 primary for a full term and won the majority of votes, but the state's county unit system for determining the victor denied her the nomination. She began a write-in campaign, but white supremacy groups intimidated her supporters and she lost the general election. Mankin filed a lawsuit challenging the county unit system. Her case went to U.S. District Court, which ruled against her in 1950, as did the U.S. Supreme Court. The ruling was reversed in 1962.

Born in Atlanta, Georgia, Helen Mankin earned a bachelor of arts degree from Rockford College in 1917. During World War I, she joined the American Women's Hospital Unit, was attached to the French army, and for thirteen months drove an ambulance in France. She returned to the United States, earned her bachelor of laws degree from Atlanta Law School in 1920, and joined the family law firm.

See also Child Labor Amendment; Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography: Who's News and Why, 1946* (1946); Spritzer, *The Belle of Ashby Street* (1982).

Margolies-Mezvinsky, Marjorie (b. 1942)

Democrat Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky of Pennsylvania served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1993 to 3 January 1995. A group of Democratic women recruited Margolies-Mezvinsky to run in a district that had not elected a Democrat in seventy-six years. Her support for reproductive rights and for more sensitivity for families in the workplace contributed to her success.

As Congress worked its way through Democratic president Bill Clinton's budget in 1993, Margolies-Mezvinsky was the only freshman Democrat who voted against it. She opposed the plan because she thought that it cut too little spending and had too many tax increases. She intended to vote against the conference committee bill reconciling the House and Senate bills because it included essentially the components she had opposed.

Observers questioned where President Clinton would get the votes needed to pass the bill, and pressure was placed on Democratic members of Congress to vote for the conference committee bill. Anticipating pressure to vote for it, she considered her options and concluded that if she voted for it, her political career would be over. When President Clinton telephoned Margolies-Mezvinsky just before the House voted on the bill, she told him that she would vote for it only if hers were the deciding vote. At the time she cast her vote, she decided that her vote would end either her political career or the president's. She voted for the conference committee bill. Margolies-Mezvinsky was defeated in her attempt for a second term.

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Margolies-Mezvinsky attended Skidmore College from 1959 to 1961 and received her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1963. A local television reporter in the early 1960s, Margolies-Mezvinsky is also a best-selling author and has won five Emmy Awards. She wrote *They Came to Stay* (1970) about her experience as the first single woman in the United States to adopt a foreign-born child, a Korean. In 1974, she adopted a Vietnamese child.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); Margolies-Mezvinsky, *A Woman's Place . . . the Freshmen Women Who Changed the Face of Congress* (1994).

Married Women's Property Acts

Until the passage of married women's property acts in the mid-nineteenth century, marriage essentially resulted in a woman's civil death, which included the denial of her right to own property. In 1839, Mississippi became the first state to grant married women the right to own property. The law, like those passed in Maryland in 1843 and Arkansas in 1846, sought to protect family property given to married daughters through gifts or inheritance, but the measures did not expand women's economic autonomy. Their husbands maintained control of the property and any earnings from it.

The first northern state to pass a married women's property law, Michigan in 1844, established a separate estate for the wife that included personal and real property that she acquired both before and after her marriage. Other states passed more limited acts that protected a wife's real estate from seizure to pay for her husband's debts.

In the late 1830s, Ernestine Rose, a Polish immigrant, began circulating petitions in New York for equal property rights for women. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and other women's rights advocates joined her in circulating petitions, educating the public, and talking to legislators for passage of a bill. In 1848, the State of New York passed a Married Women's Property

Act, the broadest of the acts passed by any state at the time. New York's law gave a married woman separate ownership and control of the property she brought into a marriage and any property she inherited after it. Rose and Stanton were joined by Susan B. Anthony in the 1850s in their work to further expand married women's property rights, resulting in the 1860 Married Women's Earning Act, which gave married women ownership of their earnings. Another measure passed that year gave married women a role in determining their children's guardianship, power that husbands had formerly exclusively held. In 1862, the legislature addressed the issue again and generally returned women's legal rights to the status they had been before the 1860 measure.

In the 1840s, Maine, Massachusetts, Iowa, Ohio, Indiana, Vermont, and Rhode Island passed similar legislation. These property rights laws for married women were the primary legal change in women's status in the nineteenth century. Both women's rights activists and those opposed to women's rights supported property reform as a matter of justice. Opponents to women's rights did not anticipate extending the concept of married women's property rights to political or other rights of citizenship. The acts, however, fueled the debate on women's rights.

See also Anthony, Susan Brownell; Coverture; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage

References Matthews, *Women's Struggle for Equality: The First Phase, 1828–1876* (1997).

Martin, Del (b. 1921)

Feminist and lesbian activist Del Martin and her life partner Phyllis Lyon founded Daughters of Bilitis in 1955, the first national lesbian organization, and they founded the organization's publication, *The Ladder*. Martin and Lyon wrote *Lesbian/Woman* (1972) and *Lesbian Love and Liberation* (1973), two of the earliest books written by and about lesbians. Martin wrote *Battered Wives* in 1977, the first book on domestic violence published in the United States, and became a nationally recognized speaker on the topic. The first openly gay woman to serve on the National Organization for Women's national board of directors, Martin chaired the organization's National Task Force on Battered Women/Household Violence in the 1970s.

See also Daughters of Bilitis; Lesbian Rights; Lyon, Phyllis; National Organization for Women

References DeLeon, ed., *Leaders from the 1960s: A Biographical Sourcebook of American Activism* (1994).

Martin, Judith Lynn Morley (b. 1939)

Republican Lynn Martin of Illinois served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1981 to 3 January 1991. She held the leadership position of vice chair of the House Republican Conference in the 99th and 100th Congresses (1985–1987 and 1987–1989). President George Bush appointed her secretary of labor, a position she held from 1991 to 1993.

Martin entered politics in 1972, when she won a seat on the Winnebago County Board, and served on it until 1977, when she entered the Illinois House of Representatives. Two years later, she won a seat in the state Senate and served until 1981, the year she entered Congress.

A fiscal conservative, Congresswoman Martin supported reproductive rights, equal rights for women, and parental leave. She supported an increase in the minimum wage and voted to override Bush's veto of the bill. After conducting a survey of congressional office employees and staff that demonstrated that women staffers were generally relegated to the lowest positions, Martin unsuccessfully sought to remedy the problem by including congressional employees under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, from which they had been specifically excluded. Martin became the first woman member of the House Republican leadership in 1984, when she won election as vice chair of the House Republican Conference. She made her reputation in Congress as an adroit budget negotiator in 1986, when she was the acting ranking minority member substituting for an ailing congressman. Martin ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate in 1990.

Appointed secretary of the Department of Labor in 1991, Martin sought to expand the options for pension portability, to strengthen enforcement of child labor laws and worker safety laws, to end discrimination in the workplace, and to improve job training. With the goal of creating a model workplace, department employees received sexual harassment training and diversity training. The Glass Ceiling Initiative, a program begun by Martin, sought to identify barriers to women's promotion and development within the workplace. The report from the initiative led Congress to establish the Glass Ceiling Commission to examine the issue on a larger scale.



Representative Lynn Martin (R-IL), also secretary of labor under President Bush, announced that she would not seek the Republican presidential nomination, 1996 (Associated Press AP)

Born in Chicago, Illinois, Lynn Martin earned her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Illinois in 1960. She taught high school English, government, and economics before entering politics.

See also Abortion; Cabinets, Women in Presidential; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Congress, Women in; Congressional Workplace Compliance Act of 1995; Equal Rights Amendment; Glass Ceiling Commission; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Cabinets and Counselors: The President and the Executive Branch* (1997); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1989* (1989).

Martin, Marion E. (1900–1987)

Founder of the National Federation of Republican Women (NFRW), Marion Martin began her work for the Republican National Committee (RNC) in 1936, when she became Republican national committeewoman for Maine as well as assistant chair of the RNC from 1936 to 1946. She served in the Maine legislature from 1931 to 1938, two terms each in the Maine House of Representatives and the Maine Senate.

In her role as assistant chairperson, Martin toured the United States in the fall of 1937 to assess the many independent Republican women's clubs in the country. She concluded that they were "frequently misguided and utterly ineffectual" at supporting the party's candidates and recommended forming a national umbrella organization. She envisioned creating a political machine out of the existing clubs and using them to organize more clubs. To appeal to women, she designed a program that combined social activities with political education, using materials developed in her Washington, D.C., office. She organized the first meeting in 1937, convinced uncertain delegates of the merits of unifying under the NFRW, and officially launched the organization in 1938.

Martin also worked to increase women's visibility in the party, offering party leaders the names of women qualified to hold positions in it. She sought passage of fifty-fifty rules that would require all state and national party committees to have equal numbers of women and men on them. She encouraged the party's leadership to select women for political appointments and to support their candidacies for elected offices.

Born in Kingman, Maine, Martin attended Wellesley College for a year and a half before withdrawing because she had contracted tuberculosis. She received her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Maine in 1935. After leaving the RNC, Martin served as commissioner of labor and industry for the State of Maine.

See also National Federation of Republican Women; Republican Party, Women in the

References *New York Times*, 11 January 1987; Rymph, “Marion Martin and the Problem of Republican Feminism, 1937–1947” (1996).

Matalin, Mary Joe (b. 1953)

Republican political consultant and strategist Mary Matalin was political director for President George Bush’s unsuccessful 1992 campaign for reelection. Matalin entered politics in 1980 when a former college professor asked her to work with him on a U.S. Senate campaign. Her candidate lost, but she had found a career as a political organizer. She joined the staff of the Republican National Committee (RNC) in 1981 as executive assistant to the party’s deputy chairman. Matalin entered law school in 1983 but left a year later and returned to the RNC to run its voter contact program. Appointed chief of staff to the party’s cochairman in 1985, she next joined George Bush’s 1988 presidential campaign staff to organize support for him in the Iowa and Michigan caucuses. After Bush won the party’s presidential nomination, Matalin managed the party’s Victory ’88 voter mobilization program. Chief of staff for the RNC’s chairperson from 1989 to 1991, she joined the Bush campaign in late 1991 as political director.

During Bush’s 1992 campaign for reelection, Matalin attracted press attention for her criticism of Democratic candidate Bill Clinton. Bush had directed his campaign staff to refrain from questioning Clinton’s morality, limiting Matalin’s ability to accuse Clinton of being morally unfit to be president. She ignored Bush’s policy and told a reporter that the Bush campaign had “never said that [Clinton’s] a philandering pot-smoking draft dodger.” She also issued a press release alleging that Clinton had extramarital relationships and referred to news stories about the relationships as “bimbo eruptions.”

Matalin’s personal life also attracted press attention because she had a romantic relationship with James Carville, who was chief political director for Clinton. Although their political attacks on each other’s candidate and their romance provided sidebars to the campaign, Matalin’s loyalty to Bush was unquestioned. The couple married in 1993 and wrote *All’s Fair: Love, War, and Running for President* (1994), a memoir of their separate recollections of the 1992 campaign.

Born in Chicago, Matalin attended Western Illinois University for a year, dropped out and worked at a steel mill, returned to the university, and earned her bachelor of arts degree in 1978. After the 1992 campaign, she was a television talk show cohost and then became a radio talk show host.

See also Republican Party, Women in the

References Collins, “The Fall and Rise of Mary Matalin” (1994); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook*, 1996 (1996).

May Bedell, Catherine Dean Barnes (b. 1914)

Republican Catherine May of Washington served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1959 to 3 January 1971. Congresswoman May represented a rural district and served on the Agriculture Committee, where she generally supported agricultural producers over consumers. She promoted domestic production of beet sugar, an important industry in her area, and advocated establishing a U.S. world food study and coordinating commission. May was defeated in her attempt for a seventh term. She served on the U.S. International Trade Commission from 1971 to 1981 and was appointed a special consultant to the president on the Fifty States Project in 1982.

Born in Yakima, Washington, May graduated from Yakima Valley Junior College in 1934, received her bachelor of arts degree in 1936, and completed a five-year degree in education in 1937, both from the University of Washington. She studied speech at the University of Southern California in 1939. A high school English teacher from 1937 to 1940, May was a journalist and radio news broadcaster in the 1940s and 1950s. She served in the Washington legislature from 1952 to 1958.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

McCabe, Jewell Jackson (b. 1945)

Jewell Jackson McCabe was chair of the National Coalition of 100 Black Women from 1981 to 1991. An active volunteer for the New York Urban Coalition, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, United Way, and other organizations, McCabe was also a member of the New York Coalition of 100 Black Women, founded by her mother, Julia Jackson. In 1978, McCabe became president of the New York Coalition and developed plans to make it a national group. By 1981, she had organized chapters in twenty states, and by 1996, the National Coalition of 100 Black Women had 7,000 members in sixty-two chapters. In 1991, McCabe resigned the presidency of the coalition but remained chair of its board of directors.

Born in Washington, D.C., McCabe attended Bard College from 1963 to 1966. Public relations officer for New York City's Special Services for Children, she became associate public information director for the Women's Division of the Office of the Governor in 1975.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; National Coalition of 100 Black Women

References Mabunda, ed., *Contemporary Black Biography*, Vol. 10 (1996).

McCarthy, Carolyn (b. 1944)

Democrat Carolyn McCarthy of New York entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1997. A tragedy launched her political activism. Her husband was killed and her son was injured in the 1993 Long Island Railroad massacre. McCarthy began a public campaign against gun violence, speaking around the country on the causes of violence. In 1994, she asked her congressman to oppose efforts to repeal the ban on assault weapons, but he refused her pleas and supported the repeal. McCarthy challenged him in the next election and won. She believes that providing children with a good education, creating safe and drug-free schools, reducing drug use, creating opportunities to attend college, and creating more job opportunities will reduce violence. Congresswoman McCarthy supports health care reform, environmental protection, assistance for crime victims, and tax cuts for working families.

Born in Brooklyn, New York, McCarthy received her degree in licensed practical nursing from Glen Cove Nursing School in 1964. She worked in health care for more than thirty years.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997).

McCarthy, Karen (b. 1947)

Democrat Karen McCarthy of Missouri entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1995. She supports the balanced budget amendment and welfare reform, although she objected to some provisions of the measure enacted in 1996. She has criticized Republican priorities, saying: "If you are a poor, hungry child in America, then you have to wait in line behind the space station and tax breaks for the wealthy before you can receive a nutritious meal."

McCarthy's first career was teaching high school English. She served in the Missouri state House of Representatives from 1977 to 1995. In the legislature, she focused on environmental issues, health care, welfare reform, and crime control policy. She was the first woman president of the National Conference of State Legislatures, a position she held in 1994.

Born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, Karen McCarthy received her bachelor of science degree from the University of Kansas in 1969, her master of arts degree from the University of Missouri in 1976, and her master's degree in business administration from the University of Kansas in 1986. She attended the University of Birmingham in England in 1974.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997).

McCarty v. McCarty (1980)

Richard McCarty was a colonel in the army who had served eighteen of the twenty years required for retirement with pay when he obtained a divorce in California from his wife Patricia McCarty. Under California's dissolution of marriage laws, each partner retains her or his separate property, and community and quasi-community property is equally divided. Richard McCarty wanted the court deciding the dissolution of marriage to confirm that his retirement benefits were his separate property, but the court refused, saying that it was quasi-community property and awarding Patricia McCarty approximately 45 percent of the retirement pay. The U.S. Supreme Court said that retirement pay is the personal entitlement of the retiree and that a state court could not allocate a portion of it to Patricia McCarty because all of it belonged to Richard McCarty. The Court noted that retirement pay was intended to encourage an orderly promotion of younger members by having senior members of the military retire, and without that incentive senior members might stay. In addition, the Court said that Congress had determined the amount necessary for a retired member of the military, and if it were reduced, then the congressional intent could be frustrated.

Congress passed the Uniformed Services Former Spouses' Protection Act in 1982 to overturn the decision. The measure also created a mechanism to assist former spouses in collecting property that the court allocated to them in a divorce.

See also Divorce Law Reform

References *McCarty v. McCarty*, 453 U.S. 210 (1980).

McCormack, Ellen (b. 1926)

Motivated to run by her opposition to abortion, homemaker Ellen McCormack ran for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination in 1976. After the State of New York reformed its abortion law in 1970, making it easier to obtain the procedure, McCormack helped organize a prolife group on Long Island. Four years later, she worked on a prolife candidate's unsuccessful campaign for the U.S. Senate. As a presidential candidate, McCormack acknowledged that her campaign had only one issue, abortion, and that she entered the race to attract attention to it.

McCormack's campaign became controversial after she applied for matching funds from the Federal Election Commission (FEC). The National Abortion Rights Action League challenged the request, but the FEC approved the application, and McCormack's campaign received more than \$200,000 in federal matching funds. McCormack's name was placed in nomination at the 1976 Democratic National Convention, and she received twenty-two delegate votes.

McCormack ran for lieutenant governor of New York in 1978 on the Right to Life ticket, attracting 3 percent of the votes in the general election.

See also Abortion; President and Vice President, Women Candidates for

References *New York Times*, 9 February 1976; Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Nixon/Ford Years* (1979).

McCormick Simms, Ruth Hanna (1880–1944)

Republican Ruth McCormick of Illinois served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 15 April 1929 to 4 March 1931. In 1930, she entered the Republican primary for the U.S. Senate and won, becoming the first woman nominated by a major party for the Senate. She lost in the general election.

Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Ruth McCormick attended Hathaway School and Miss Porter's School. Despite her family's wishes that she attend college, she became personal secretary to her father, Republican Party leader Marcus Alonzo Hanna, when he became a U.S. senator in 1899. She married Medill McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune* in 1903 and moved to Chicago, where she became involved in women's clubs and the labor reform movement. In 1913, Ruth McCormick chaired the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and developed an effective lobbying program for woman suffrage.

McCormick's activism in the Republican Party gained national recognition when she was named chair of the Republican Women's National Executive Committee in 1918 in anticipation of ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. Appointed an associate member of the Republican National Committee (RNC) from 1919 to 1924, she began working for equal representation of women on RNC committees in 1923. She was elected the first national committeewoman for Illinois in 1924 and served until 1928. Medill McCormick died in 1925.

When Ruth McCormick ran for Congress in 1928, she was her own campaign manager, but she had a man oversee the men's division of her campaign. Most of her campaign support came from the Republican women's clubs that she had worked with for several years. Although surprised by the depth of the resistance to a woman's candidacy, she won both the primary and general elections.

After reapportionment in 1931, it became apparent that the at-large seat she held would be eliminated, and she ran for the U.S. Senate. She won the 1930 Republican primary but lost the general election in that year's Democratic landslide. McCormick married retired congressman Albert Simms in 1932 and moved with him to New Mexico.

See also Congress, Women in; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Nineteenth Amendment; Republican Party, Women in the; Suffrage

References Miller, *Ruth Hanna McCormick* (1992); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

McKinney, Cynthia Ann (b. 1955)

Democrat Cynthia McKinney of Georgia entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1993. She became a candidate following Anita Hill’s testimony accusing U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment. McKinney said that Hill gave her “a moral context” for her decision to run for Congress. Her campaign issues included improving education, health care, and economic development opportunities for poor and disenfranchised people. Her campaign had the usual intensity associated with congressional races, but it also had another factor. Racism and threats of violence made it unsafe for her to enter some parts of the district that she wanted to represent.

In 1995, the U.S. Supreme Court declared Georgia’s Eleventh Congressional District, the district McKinney represented, a “racial gerrymander” and ordered that it be redrawn. In 1996, McKinney easily won election from the redrawn district and became the first African American woman to win a congressional seat from a southern district with a white majority. She introduced legislation permitting states to create multi-member districts. Voters would vote for several seats, an approach she believed would “help heal the racial division created by current legal battles over districts drawn to ensure minorities comprise a majority.”

Representative Cynthia McKinney (D-GA) spoke at a press conference regarding redistricting in Atlanta, 1995 (Associated Press AP)



McKinney worked with the Environmental Protection Agency to designate a polluted neighborhood in her district as a “hazard to public health,” with the goal of having it restored. She convinced the Department of Justice to help with a fraud investigation of landowners in her district. Some of her other legislative priorities included gift and lobby reform, tax fairness, voting rights, and electoral reform.

Born in Atlanta, Georgia, McKinney earned her bachelor of arts degree in international relations from the University of Southern California in 1978, attended Tufts University, and was a diplomatic fellow at Spelman College in 1984. She taught political science at Clark Atlanta University and then at Agnes Scott College.

McKinney ran for the Georgia legislature in 1986 with the encouragement of her father J. E. McKinney, a Georgia state representative. She lost that race but won when she ran again in 1988. From 1989 to 1993, she served in the Georgia House of Representatives, where she focused on civil rights, economic opportunities for businesses owned by women and minorities, environmental justice, and fair reapportionment. She gained national attention when she announced her opposition to the Gulf War on the floor of the Georgia House of Representatives. Two-thirds of the members left the chamber during her speech, but her father listened and defended her.

See also Congress, Women in; Hill, Anita Faye; Sexual Harassment; State Legislatures, Women in

References Bingham, *Women on the Hill: Challenging the Culture of Congress* (1997); Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), *Politics in America 1998* (1997); Gill, *African American Women in Congress* (1997).

McLaughlin, Ann Dore Lauenstein (b. 1941)

Ann McLaughlin served as U.S. secretary of labor from 1987 to 1989. As secretary of labor, McLaughlin focused attention on gaps in child care services, established the first blue-ribbon commission to address workforce competitiveness issues, and stressed economic growth to enhance the welfare of U.S. workers. She helped negotiate a bill requiring companies planning large employee layoffs to provide sixty days’ notice and another measure limiting employers’ use of polygraph tests. She addressed issues related to drugs in the workplace, unemployment insurance, apprenticeship training, older workers, and labor market shortages.

Born in Chatham, New Jersey, McLaughlin studied at Marymount College from 1959 to 1961, studied at the University of London from 1961 to 1962, received her bachelor of arts degree from Marymount College in 1963, and did postgraduate work at the Wharton School in 1987. A supervisor of network commercial scheduling for the American

Broadcasting Company in New York from 1963 to 1966, she returned to Marymount College in 1966 to become the college's director of alumnae relations. In 1969, she became an advertising account executive with a public relations firm. She joined the Committee to Reelect the President in 1971, and following Richard Nixon's reelection she worked on the Presidential Inaugural Committee. Director of public affairs for the Environmental Protection Agency in 1973, she left office in August 1974 when Nixon resigned the presidency.

McLaughlin returned to government service from 1981 to 1984 as an assistant secretary at the Department of the Treasury. McLaughlin moved to the Department of the Interior, where she served until 1987.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1988* (1988).

McMillan, Clara Gooding (1894–1976)

Democrat Clara McMillan of South Carolina served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 7 November 1939 to 3 January 1941. McMillan filled the vacancy created by her husband's death but declined to run for a full term. After her brief tenure in Congress, McMillan held positions in the National Youth Administration, the Office of War Information, and the Department of State. She retired in 1957.

Born in Brunson, South Carolina, Clara McMillan attended the Confederate Home College and Flora MacDonald College.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Meek, Carrie Pittman (b. 1926)

Democrat Carrie P. Meek of Florida entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1993. Meek has been a leader in efforts to obtain an accurate count in the year 2000 national census. Arguing that the 1990 decennial census failed to count about 4 million people, she introduced a bill permitting the Census Bureau to hire low-income residents in particular neighborhoods to count the people in that area, which would have neighbors counting neighbors and presumably would lead to a more accurate count. Another part of the bill would restrict the amount of sampling that could be done, again in an effort to gain a more accurate census.

As her district attempted to recover from the devastation of Hurricane Andrew, Congresswoman Meek worked to obtain more than \$100 million in federal assistance to help rebuild Dade County. In another area of particular interest to her district, Meek introduced a bill to give

certain Haitian refugees permanent residency status.

When Congress considered raising the annual pay level at which employees participated in Social Security from \$50 a year to a higher level, Meek entered the debate. Noting that she, her mother, her sister, and her neighbors had done domestic work, she explained: “Families that employed [domestics] would express much affection and gratitude towards them, but they did nothing for their employees’ future economic security.” She recommended that the level should be \$300 annual pay, but \$1,000 was the level in the bill that passed.



In 1995, Meek criticized Republican attempts to cut Head Start funding, arguing: “It is one of the few programs, federal programs, which has succeeded over the years. But now to cut it is a dangerous thing, because what we are doing on one hand is giving a big tax cut to the rich and we are cutting off at the pass these poor children who need Head Start.” She also fought efforts to reduce the growth of Medicaid and to end sugar price supports (sugar is a major Florida commodity). Meek has obtained appropriations for a marine research center at the University of Miami and for a medical training facility at Homestead Air Force Base.

Representative Carrie Meek (D-FL) spoke on the floor during the House debate on the four articles of impeachment against President Clinton, 1998 (Associated Press AP)

Born in Tallahassee, Florida, Carrie Meek is the granddaughter of slaves. As a child she was a domestic worker. She earned her bachelor of arts degree from Florida A&M University in 1946, and her master of science degree from the University of Michigan in 1948. She completed the course work for a doctorate in 1979 but has not written a dissertation.

A women’s basketball coach at Bethune-Cookman College from 1949 to 1958, she worked with Mary McLeod Bethune, who greatly influenced her. Meek also taught biological sciences and physical education there and at Florida A&M University from 1958 to 1961. Associate dean of Miami Dade Community College from 1968 to 1979, she was special assistant to the school’s vice president from 1979 to 1982.

Meek served in the Florida House of Representatives from 1979 to 1983 and the Florida Senate from 1983 to 1993. As a state legislator, Meek developed much of the state’s housing finance policy, including legislation that helped working-class people own their homes and another measure that assisted with the construction of affordable rental units.

See also Bethune, Mary Jane McLeod; Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); National Women's Political Caucus, *National Directory of Women Elected Officials 1995* (1995); www.house.gov/meek/bio.htm.

Meissner, Doris Marie (b. 1941)

Doris Meissner became commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in 1993. She began her political career in 1971 as a founding member and the first executive chair of the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC). During the 1972 Democratic and Republican National Conventions, she and groups of volunteers worked to change party rules to mandate larger roles for women in the parties. A White House fellow and special assistant to the attorney general from 1973 to 1974, she was assistant director of the Office of Policy and Planning in 1975. Executive director of the Cabinet Committee on Illegal Aliens in 1976 and deputy associate attorney general from 1977 to 1980, she was acting commissioner of the INS in 1981 and executive associate commissioner from 1982 to 1985.

Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Doris Meissner earned her bachelor of arts degree in 1963 and her master of arts degree in 1969 from the University of Wisconsin. The daughter of German immigrants, Meissner grew up during World War II amid the xenophobia of the time, especially toward Germans. As her career in immigration developed, she understood and sympathized with the fears and anxieties that many immigrants experience.

See also Democratic Party, Women in the; National Women's Political Caucus; Republican Party, Women in the

References *New York Times*, 20 June 1993.

Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson (1986)

In *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission that workplace sexual harassment is illegal and that a hostile or abusive work environment violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Mechelle Vinson worked for Meritor Savings Bank, beginning as a teller in 1974 and gaining promotions to the position of assistant branch manager at the time she was dismissed in 1978 for excessive use of sick leave. She filed suit against her supervisor, accusing him of sexually harassing her from 1974 to 1977, repeatedly demanding sexual intercourse, fondling her in front of other employees, exposing himself to her, and



forcibly raping her. In addition, after refusing him several times, she had sexual intercourse with him, events that she did not describe as rape. Vinson did not report the harassment because she feared her supervisor and would have had to make the report to him.

Before *Meritor*, only sexual harassment that included an economic threat (*quid pro quo*), such as loss of employment or employment benefits, had been recognized, but after *Meritor*, a hostile work environment became the second classification under which action could be taken. Because hostile work environment harassment is the more common type of harassment, the Court's decision provides working women with another avenue for litigation. The decision also stated that compliance with sexual demands does not necessarily mean that sexual harassment did not occur, but it did state that the woman's dress and speech could be admitted as evidence.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Employment Discrimination; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Sexual Harassment

References Fallon, "Sexual Harassment" (1995); Hoff, *Law, Gender, and Injustice* (1991); *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, 477 U.S. 57 (1986).

Representative Jan Meyers (R-KS), chair of the House Committee on Small Business, announced that she would not seek a seventh term in Congress, 1995 (Associated Press AP)

Meyers, Jan (b. 1928)

Republican Jan Meyers of Kansas served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1985 to 3 January 1997. President of the Shawnee Mission League of Women Voters from 1961 to 1965, Meyers entered elective politics when she ran for the Overland Park City Council, beginning

her tenure in 1967 and serving as president from 1970 to 1972. She served in the Kansas Senate from 1972 to 1984. As a member of Congress, Meyers passed a bill to study improvements in firefighter safety and obtained funding for a federal building and courthouse in Kansas City, Kansas. An unsuccessful candidate in the 1978 Kansas Republican House primary (she lost to Nancy Kassebaum), she won an open seat in the House in 1984. Meyers chaired the House Committee on Small Business in the 104th Congress (1995–1997). Her priorities included family planning, health care, welfare reform, budget reform, drug abuse prevention, and energy conservation. Meyers retired in 1997.

Born in Lincoln, Nebraska, Jan Meyers earned her associate of fine arts degree from William Woods College in 1948 and her bachelor of arts from the University of Nebraska in 1951.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1994 (1993).

Meyner, Helen Day Stevenson (1929–1997)

Democrat Helen Meyner of New Jersey served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1975 to 3 January 1979. When the Democratic candidate for Congress was disqualified in 1972, women leaders in the Democratic Party recruited Meyner as a last-minute replacement. She accepted the challenge but lost in a close race. She ran again in 1974 and was successful. In Congress, Meyner was committed to peace issues and proposed establishing a national academy of peace and conflict resolution. She was instrumental in keeping open the Army's Picatinny Arsenal in her district by having the Armament Research and Development Command transferred there. She also sought to reduce defense spending. She worked for the Equal Rights Amendment and for appropriations for the National Women's Conference. Meyner was defeated in her attempt for a third term.

Born in New York, New York, Helen Meyner earned her bachelor of arts degree from Colorado College in 1950. An American Red Cross field-worker in Korea from 1950 to 1952, she was a guide at the United Nations from 1952 to 1953 and an airline consumer adviser from 1953 to 1956. She was a special assistant to Adlai Stevenson during his 1956 presidential campaign. In 1957, she married New Jersey governor Robert Meyner. Helen Meyner wrote a twice-weekly newspaper column from 1957 to 1969, conducted a television interview program from 1965 to 1968, and was an active volunteer in the community.

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Rights Amendment; National Women's Conference

References *New York Times*, 3 November 1997; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Tomlinson, “Making Their Way” (1996).

Mikulski, Barbara Ann (b. 1936)

Democrat Barbara Mikulski of Maryland served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1977 to 3 January 1987. She entered the U.S. Senate on 6 January 1987. A social worker for a local Catholic charities organization and for the Baltimore City Welfare Department, Mikulski entered politics at the grassroots level. A proposal for a highway that would have gone through historic Fells Point of Baltimore, cutting through the city’s first black home-ownership neighborhood, prompted Mikulski to organize her neighbors to stop it. The network of community groups succeeded and at the same time provided Mikulski with a political base when she ran for the city council. Mikulski served on the Baltimore City Council from 1971 to 1977. During those years, she gained increasing visibility and power within the Democratic Party, especially as chair of the Commission on Delegate Selection and Party Organization in 1973.

As a member of the U.S. House and the Senate, Mikulski has been a strong advocate for women’s issues, including the Equal Rights Amendment and reproductive rights. She has worked for investigations of sexual harassment, encouraged federal agencies to develop personnel policies on discrimination and sexual harassment, promoted the implementation of a comprehensive women’s health package, and argued for increased funding for breast and cervical cancer screening. She has fought domestic violence by supporting the Violence Against Women Act.



Two-term senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) was a keynote speaker at the Democratic National Convention, 1996 (Corbis/Wally McNam)

Mikulski has worked to maintain funding for NASA's space station, a source of thousands of jobs in Maryland, and has argued that medical research with life-saving possibilities could be performed on the station. An author of the 1984 Child Abuse Act and an advocate for unisex insurance rates, Mikulski also focuses on education, aging, health insurance, the National Service Program, the rights of working people, and job creation.

Noted for her sense of humor, Mikulski once described the challenges of being a political woman, saying: "If you're married, you're neglecting him; if you're single, you couldn't get him; if you're divorced, you couldn't keep him; and if you're widowed, you killed him!" On another occasion, she said: "Some women stare out the window waiting for Prince Charming. I stare out the window waiting for more women Senators!" She held the leadership positions of assistant Senate Democratic floor leader in the 103rd Congress (1993–1995) and secretary of the Senate Democratic Conference in the 104th through 106th Congresses (1995–2001).

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Barbara Mikulski received her bachelor of arts degree from Mount Saint Agnes College in 1958 and her master's degree in social work from the University of Maryland in 1965.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; Equal Rights Amendment; Sexual Harassment; Violence Against Women Act of 1994; Women's Health Equity Act

References Boxer, *Strangers in the Senate* (1994); Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1985* (1985); www.senate.gov/~mikulski/bio.htm.

Military, Women in the

Women have fought in combat since the Revolutionary War, but it was through their services as nurses that women began to be integrated into the military. During the Civil War, Dorothea Dix recruited and trained 6,000 nurses to serve with the Union Army, but they were not a continuing part of the military organization. The military appointed women to serve as civilian nurses during the Spanish-American War, but they were not uniformed members of the military. Congress created the Army Nurse Corps in 1901 and the Navy Nurse Corps in 1908, but they had no military rank, retirement, or veterans' benefits.

Women's roles expanded in 1917 during World War I, when the Navy enrolled women in the Naval Coastal Defense Reserve with the rank of yeoman to provide combat support as clerks, draftsmen, fingerprint experts, translators, and similar positions. The Marine Corps followed suit in 1918. For the first time, women held full military rank and status, received the same pay as men, wore uniforms, and had the other benefits and obligations that their male counterparts had. The Army employed women as civilians to perform comparable tasks, and the Army Nurse

Corps continued to have its auxiliary status. When the war ended, all women in the armed forces were discharged except those in the nursing auxiliaries.

With the advent of World War II and the personnel shortages that accompanied it, Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers (R-MA) passed legislation creating the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) in 1942. The auxiliary structure did not provide women the same legal protection men had, nor did they receive the same benefits as men if they were injured, have military rank, or receive equal pay. In 1943, the Women's Army Corps (WAC) replaced the WAAC, and women gained full military status. In 1942, Congress created the Navy Women's Reserve (also known as Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service, or WAVES), the Marine Corps Women's Reserve (Women Marines), and the U.S. Coast Guard Women's Reserve (SPARS, from the Coast Guard motto "Semper Paratus—Always Ready"). When the Air Force became a separate branch of the military after World War II, it created Women in the Air Force (WAF).

Congress integrated women into the armed forces in 1948 but banned them from combat planes and ships, limited them to no more than 2 percent of personnel in any one service, and made lieutenant colonel or Navy commander the highest rank they could hold. In addition, if they became pregnant, adopted children, or married someone with children, they were automatically discharged.

Personnel shortages during the Korean War prompted the establishment of the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) in 1951. Initially a public relations group of fifty women, DACOWITS has evolved into an advocacy group for women in the military, playing a key role in passing the Women Officers Act of 1967. The act permitted women to hold the ranks of general and admiral. The measure also removed the 2 percent limit on women's participation in the military, but it gave each of the branches of the military the authority to establish its own limit and effectively the limit remained.

In the 1970s, all of the services allowed pregnant women to stay in the military, required the military academies to accept women, and permitted women to serve on all noncombat Navy ships and to serve temporary duty on warships not on combat missions. In addition, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in *Frontiero v. Richardson* (1973) that the dependents of women in the military are eligible for the same benefits as the dependents of men in the military.

Through the 1980s and 1990s, the military opened almost every job to women except ground combat and service on submarines. Women, however, cite their exclusion from combat as a barrier to gaining full equality and respect. Retired Air Force major general Jeanne Holm wrote

that the bans on women's participation in combat "automatically excluded [them] from participation in the primary mission of the armed forces, and their second-class status was thus assured." In 1993, Congress repealed legislation that had prevented women from serving on combat ships and the secretary of defense ordered the military services to allow women aviators to compete for assignments as combat pilots. Both the Navy and the Air Force had women pilots trained for combat at the time, but the Army and the Marines did not have women pilots with comparable training.

Sexual harassment has been recognized as a problem at least since the 1970s, when DACOWITS members became aware of it. In 1980, a naval officer was court-martialed for sexual harassment, but it was the Tailhook scandal that brought national attention to the problem. In 1991, during the Tailhook Association's convention at a Las Vegas hotel, 117 officers were participants, observers, or aware of incidents of sexual assault, indecent exposure, conduct unbecoming an officer, and failure to provide proper leadership. A Pentagon report on the event said that 83 women and 7 men had been subjected to assault during the convention. In 1996, the Army revealed that a captain and two sergeants training auto mechanics at Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland had coerced young recruits into having sex. One sergeant was convicted of rape and sent to prison, and twelve others were relieved of their duties. U.S. senator Olympia Snowe (R-ME) said that "women in the armed services today deserve to know right now that this problem is going to be taken care of" and that sexual harassment in the military "is absolutely a failure of leadership." Scandals at other bases continued to be revealed as Congress and the military sought to find ways to end sexual harassment.

See also Dix, Dorothea Lynde; Rogers, Edith Frances Nourse; Schroeder, Patricia Nell Scott; Sexual Harassment; Snowe, Olympia Jean Bouchles

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 103rd Congress, 1st Session . . . 1993* (1994); Devilbiss, *Women and Military Service: A History, Analysis, and Overview of Key Issues* (1990); Franke, *Ground Zero: The Gender Wars in the Military* (1997); Freeman, "Women and Public Policy: An Overview" (1982); Gruenwald, "Women in the Military: Mission in Progress" (1997).

Millender-McDonald, Juanita (b. 1938)

Democrat Juanita Millender-McDonald of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 26 March 1996. She began her political career as a member of the Carson City Council, where she served from 1990 to 1992, and she served in the California legislature from 1992 to 1996. She ran for Congress after the incumbent was convicted of extortion and tax evasion and resigned from office in December 1995. As an African American, Con-

gresswoman Millender-McDonald has introduced legislation to create a select congressional committee to investigate allegations that the Central Intelligence Agency was involved in cocaine trafficking in inner-city neighborhoods. She supports abortion rights, bilingual education, and job training.

Born in Birmingham, Alabama, Millender-McDonald earned her bachelor of science degree from the University of Redlands in 1981 and her master of arts degree from California State University and also attended the University of Southern California.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1998 (1997).

Millett, Katherine (Kate) Murray (b. 1934)

Author of *Sexual Politics* (1970), Kate Millett developed the first feminist theories on the origins of the patriarchy. A pioneer in feminist criticism, she linked literature to larger trends in society, politics, and culture. Millett became a national figure in 1970 with the publication of *Sexual Politics*, in which she used literature as the basis for her examination of gender roles and patriarchy in society. Millett argued that gender is a function of



*Kate Millett, famous for her book *Sexual Politics* (1970), which analyzed the effects of the patriarchy on women's status, 1971 (UPI/Corbis)*

social construction rather than biological differences and provided one of the first feminist examinations of patriarchy. She described men's power over others as the last caste system and a remnant of feudalism, calling chivalry a substitute for respect and equal rights for women. The celebrity that accompanied the success of *Sexual Politics* led to a public confrontation in which Millett, a married woman, was forced to declare herself a lesbian. The event marked the first public confrontation between feminism and lesbianism, and *Time* magazine made it a cover story. Ti-Grace Atkinson, Gloria Steinem, Florynce Kennedy, and other feminists rallied to Millett's support and held a "Kate Is Great" press conference.

Born in St. Paul, Minnesota, Millett earned her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Minnesota in 1956, studied at St. Hilda's College at Oxford University in England in 1958, and received her doctorate from Columbia University in 1970. After studying in England, Millett held a variety of jobs to support herself as she worked to develop her skills as an artist. Her silkscreen prints and sculptures have been exhibited in galleries on both the East and West Coasts and in Germany.

Millett's other written works include *The Prostitution Papers* (1973), *Flying* (1974), *Going to Iran* (1980), *The Loony Bin Trip* (1990), and *A.D.* (1995).

See also Atkinson, Ti-Grace; Kennedy, Florynce Rae; Lesbian Rights; Steinem, Gloria Marie

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1995* (1995); Linden-Ward and Green, *American Women in the 1960s: Changing the Future* (1993).

Mink, Patsy Matsu Takemoto (b. 1927)

Democrat Patsy Mink of Hawaii served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1965 to 3 January 1977 and returned to the House on 22 September 1990. In the 1960s and 1970s, she concentrated on education, a bill to construct schools in the U.S. Pacific territories, a measure to expand the federal student loan program, and another to help teachers pursue advanced degrees or take refresher courses. She passed a measure to create an economic development program and remove inequities against Pacific Islanders in the Immigration and Nationality Act. After unsuccessfully seeking the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate in 1976, she was assistant secretary of state for oceans and international environmental and scientific affairs from 1977 to 1978 and president of Americans for Democratic Action from 1978 to 1981. She served on the Honolulu City Council from 1983 to 1987.

When the incumbent member of Congress resigned in 1990, Mink won his seat in a special election. In 1995 Mink described her experience as an involuntary and unknowing subject in an experiment to determine



Representative Patsy Mink (D-HI) spoke during a rally sponsored by the National Organization for Women to protest welfare reform, 1995 (Associated Press AP)

the effectiveness of diethylstilbestrol (DES) in preventing miscarriages. While pregnant with her daughter in 1951, she had been given DES even though she was not at risk for miscarriage. Because of the drug, her adult daughter has dealt with repeated occurrences of a precancerous condition. In 1978, Mink and other women sued the manufacturer and won a settlement. Their daughters also sued, but because they did not have cancer at the time, they did not receive an award. Congresswoman Mink's revelation of her experience with DES provides an example of ways that women bring an additional perspective to policy debates.

Mink sponsored the Family Stability and Work Act in 1995 as an alternative welfare reform bill. It emphasized combining monetary assistance with job training, job search assistance, and child care. In presenting the bill, Mink said: “Best of all it demeans no one because they are poor, and it protects children and legal aliens by refusing to segregate their rights and privileges because of status, and assures eligibility of Federal support while allowing maximum flexibility to the States to provide for jobs, job training, and child care.” She worked for the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 and has worked for increased funding for ovarian cancer research, educational equity for girls and women, and the expansion of Head Start.

Born in Paia, Hawaii, Patsy Mink attended Wilson College in 1946 and the University of Nebraska in 1948, earned her bachelor’s degree in zoology and chemistry from the University of Hawaii in 1948, and received her law degree from the University of Chicago in 1951.

She went into private law practice in Hawaii and lectured on business law at the University of Hawaii from 1952 to 1956 and from 1959 to 1962. She was attorney for the Hawaii House of Representatives in 1955. Mink served in the Territory of Hawaii House of Representatives from 1956 to 1958, the Territorial Senate from 1958 to 1959, and the Hawaii Senate from 1963 to 1964.

See also Congress, Women in; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); *Congressional Record*, 24 March 1995; H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1968* (1968); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Minor v. Happersett (1875)

In *Minor v. Happersett*, Virginia Minor attempted to gain suffrage rights by arguing that the State of Missouri had violated her First, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Amendment rights when it prohibited her from registering to vote in 1872. The U.S. Supreme Court found that the U.S. Constitution does not grant the right of suffrage to anyone and the states’ decisions to limit voting to men were not unconstitutional.

Minor contended that the First Amendment provided voting rights as a form of free expression, that under the Thirteenth Amendment being denied the vote was a form of involuntary servitude, and that the Fourteenth Amendment made voting for federal officials a privilege of citizenship. The U.S. Supreme Court refused to consider the first two arguments and focused on the Fourteenth Amendment argument. Although agreeing that women were citizens and that women were persons because they were

counted as part of the total population, the Court found that the Fourteenth Amendment did not add to the privileges and immunities of citizens but only added a guaranty of protection for those already in place. In addition, the Court noted that for ninety years, citizenship had been conferred without the right of suffrage and that historically women were a special category of citizens and their inability to vote did not infringe on their rights as citizens.

See also Suffrage

References Sachs and Wilson, *Sexism and the Law* (1978).

***Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan* (1982)**

In *Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan*, the question was whether a state law excluding men from a state-supported professional nursing school violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1979, Joe Hogan applied for admission to Mississippi University for Women School of Nursing's baccalaureate program, and even though he was qualified, the school denied him admission because of his sex. The U.S. Supreme Court said that denying qualified males the right to enroll violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

See also Fourteenth Amendment

References *Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan*, 458 U.S. 718 (1982).

Mofford, Rose Perica (b. 1922)

Democrat Rose Mofford served as governor of Arizona from 5 April 1988 to 6 March 1991. Mofford became governor through the state's constitutional provision for filling the governor's office if the incumbent governor vacates the office: the secretary of state becomes governor. In February 1988, Arizona governor Evan Mecham was impeached by the state House of Representatives for high crimes, misdemeanors, and malfeasance in office. From that day until the state Senate convicted Mecham on 4 April 1988, Mofford served as acting governor. With Mecham's conviction, Mofford became governor. She saw helping to heal the trauma of the Mecham years and returning public trust to the governor's office as her primary goals. She became known as the grandmother of Arizona.

During her tenure, Mofford became the subject of an investigation regarding her investments, loans, and related financial matters and was cleared of any wrongdoing. Deeper criticism resulted from her commutation of the sentences of two murderers without knowing the full circumstances. She reversed the orders, but she suffered politically. In 1990, Mofford announced her plans to retire.

Born in Globe, Arizona, Mofford attended Lams Business College

and Phoenix College and graduated from U.S. Industrial Defense College. She began her career in state government as secretary to Arizona's state treasurer from 1941 to 1943, when she became secretary to the state tax commissioner. She next served as business manager of *Arizona Highways Magazine* from 1954 to 1955. In 1955, Mofford became assistant secretary of state. From 1975 to 1977, she was assistant director of the department of revenue. When Arizona secretary of state Wesley Bolin became governor in 1977, he appointed Mofford secretary of state. She ran for and won the office in 1978 and continued to serve until 1988.

See also Governors, Women

References Mullaney, *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States 1988–1994* (1994); *New York Times*, 7 February 1988.

Molinari, Susan (b. 1958)

Republican Susan Molinari of New York served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 20 March 1990 to 2 August 1997. She held the leadership position of vice chair of the House Republican conference in the 104th Congress (1995–1997) and in the 105th Congress (1997) until her retirement from office. Molinari, who grew up in a political family, resigned from her seat to become a television news anchor, which had been her dream job and one for which she had sought opportunities throughout the years she had been in politics.

Born in Staten Island, New York, Susan Molinari received her bachelor of arts degree in 1980 and her master of arts degree in political communications in 1982, both from the State University of New York. She began her career as a financial assistant for the Republican Governor's Association from 1981 to 1983, the year she joined the Republican National Committee as its ethnic community liaison.

Molinari served on the New York City Council from 1986 to 1990, where she focused on environmental and transportation issues. She was particularly concerned with the responsible disposal of garbage and hospital waste, which was dumped in the ocean and then washed onto the Staten Island shore, creating significant health hazards. In addition, she helped improve local recycling programs.

When her father Guy Molinari resigned his seat in Congress to become Staten Island Borough president, Susan Molinari ran for and won his seat in a special election. After taking office, she discovered that a military port for Staten Island, for which commitments had been previously made, was in danger of being abandoned by Congress. Saving the port quickly became her first priority, one in which she was successful.

Although Molinari considers herself a conservative Republican, she holds views that sometimes place her in conflict with her party, her sup-



As vice chair of the Republican Conference, Representative Susan Molinari (R-NY) was the highest-ranking Republican woman in the U.S. House, 1994 (Archive Photos)

port for the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 providing one example. President George Bush and the Republican Party leadership opposed the act, but Molinari explained: “Republicans are supposed to care about families, and I could think of no more dramatic way to demonstrate that kind of caring than to support the Family and Medical Leave Act.” Following her comments during debate on the bill, one Republican member of Congress did not speak to her for a year. Her support for reproductive rights was another area in which she and her party disagreed.

Molinari’s occasional policy differences with her party, however, did not alienate her from her partisan colleagues. In 1995, she was elected vice chair of the Republican Conference, making her the highest-ranking woman in the House of Representatives. In 1996, she delivered the keynote address at the Republican National Convention.

Other policy areas important to Molinari included protection of wetlands, other environmental issues, and the rights of crime victims. She worked to pass judicial reforms to toughen laws dealing with repeat rapists and child molesters and helped increase funding for the Violence Against Women Act of 1994. As chair of the Transportation and Infrastructure Subcommittee on Railroads, she has focused on increasing rail safety and advocated reforming Amtrak to meet its budget targets. In the international arena, Molinari has worked for the U.S. government to recognize Croatia as a republic and to facilitate aid efforts.

While in Congress, Molinari married Representative Bill Paxon, another New York Republican member of Congress. In May 1997, Molinari announced her planned resignation from the House to become a network television coanchor.

See also Congress, Women in; Reproductive Rights; Violence Against Women Act of 1994

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), *Politics in America 1998* (1997); Molinari, *Representative Mom* (1998); www.house.gov/molinari/bio.htm.

Morella, Constance Albanese (b. 1931)

Republican Constance Morella of Maryland entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1987. Legislation introduced and passed by Morella includes the Women in Apprenticeship and Nontraditional Occupations Act of 1992, which provides grants to community-based groups that help private employers recruit, train, and retain women in apprenticeships or jobs traditionally held by men. Morella's Battered Women's Testimony Act of 1992 increases the use of expert testimony in trials of battered women accused of killing their abusers. A third bill related to women's issues that she introduced and passed is the Judicial Training Act of 1992, a policy that provides training for judges and other court personnel dealing with child custody cases in families that have experienced domestic violence. In addition, Morella has been a strong advocate for breast cancer research, at least in part because her sister died of the disease. Morella cochaired the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues in the 104th Congress (1995–1997).

Some of Morella's other priorities include the federal workforce, scientific research and development, educational and economic equity, women's health, prevention of domestic violence, and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) research and prevention. In addition, she has provided leadership in the areas of clean air and water, green technology, and population stabilization.

Born in Somerville, Massachusetts, Constance Morella received her bachelor of arts degree from Boston University in 1954 and her master's degree in English from American University in 1967. She taught at Montgomery College in Rockville, Maryland, from 1970 to 1985 and served in the Maryland House of Delegates from 1979 to 1987.

See also Congress, Women in; Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995).

Moseley-Braun, Carol (b. 1947)

Democrat Carol Moseley-Braun of Illinois served in the U.S. Senate from 3 January 1993 to 3 January 1999. She was the first African American woman elected to the U.S. Senate.

Born in Chicago, Illinois, Carol Moseley-Braun began her political activism when she was a high school student. She staged a one-woman sit-in at a restaurant that denied her service because of her color, had stones thrown at her while visiting a beach previously used exclusively by whites, and marched with the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Moseley-Braun earned her bachelor of arts degree in political science from the University of Illinois in 1967 and her law degree from the University of Chicago in 1972.

Moseley-Braun began her career in a private law practice in 1972. She served as an assistant U.S. attorney from 1974 to 1977. She ran for the Illinois House of Representatives in 1977 and served until 1988. While in the legislature, Moseley-Braun worked for educational reform and legislative redistricting. She also opposed investments in South Africa and discrimination by private clubs. She next served as Cook County recorder of deeds from 1988 to 1992. During her tenure as recorder, she turned an outdated office into a modern operation.

Moseley-Braun decided to run for the U.S. Senate for two reasons. First, she had become bored with her job as recorder. The second reason was the spectacle of the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on the confirmation of Clarence Thomas for the U.S. Supreme Court in which Anita Hill testified that Thomas had sexually harassed her. Moseley-Braun became convinced that the mostly white, all-male Senate was unaware of most citizens' lives. Outraged by Illinois senator Alan Dixon's vote to confirm Thomas, Moseley-Braun became a candidate in the primary election and defeated Dixon. Few observers believed that Moseley-Braun could win either the primary or the general elections. Following her successes, questions arose about her campaign finances, personal life, staff changes and misjudgments, and her actions as a state legislator, which complicated her early days in the Senate.

During her first session in the Senate, Moseley-Braun objected to North Carolina senator Jesse Helms's proposal to renew a patent for the United Daughters of the Confederacy's (UDC) insignia. The patent has permitted the UDC to use the seal of the U.S. Senate since the Civil War and was routinely renewed every fourteen years. Offended by the insignia's inclusion of the national flag of the Confederate States of America, Moseley-Braun threatened to filibuster the issue "until this room



Senator Carol Moseley-Braun (D-IL), the first African American woman elected to the U.S. Senate, defended herself against accusations of campaign finance abuse in 1992; she was defeated in her bid for reelection in 1998 (Associated Press AP)

freezes over.” She told the Senate: “I have to tell you this vote is about race, it is about racial symbolism. It is about racial symbols, the racial past, and the single most painful episode in American history.” She continued: “On this issue there can be no consensus. . . . It is absolutely unacceptable to me and to millions of Americans, black or white, that we would put the imprimatur of the U.S. Senate on this kind of idea.” Moseley-Braun won, and the UDC’s patent was not renewed.

Senator Moseley-Braun’s committee assignments included a position on the Judiciary Committee, the same body that held hearings on U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas’s confirmation. In the Senate, Moseley-Braun was a strong civil rights advocate, supporting gays in the military and as nominees for appointments. Her achievements included passing the Education Infrastructure Act to repair and renovate school facilities and libraries. Moseley-Braun was also involved in child support issues, support for small business, and the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994.

See also Congress, Women in; Hill, Anita Faye; State Legislatures, Women in
References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995), *Politics in America 1998* (1997); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1994* (1994); Smith, *Powerful Black Women* (1996); www.senate.gov/~moseley-braun/bio.htm.

Moskowitz, Belle Lindner Israels (1877–1933)

Belle Moskowitz was among the earliest female political advisers in the Democratic Party. Her skills as a publicist and strategist led to her becoming a trusted consultant to Alfred E. Smith, beginning with his candidacy for governor of New York in 1918. After he won, Moskowitz coined his administration’s slogan during the post–World War I era, naming him the Reconstruction Governor. At her recommendation, Smith established New York’s Reconstruction Commission, which sought to address the state’s short-term and long-term problems. Smith appointed Moskowitz executive secretary of the commission, a position she used to focus attention on Smith’s abilities to solve problems, filming him at work and distributing the footage across the state. She also oversaw the publication of twelve reports on labor and industry, the rising cost of living, public health, education, and government reorganization. Smith lost reelection in 1920, and Moskowitz moved into public relations.

Moskowitz worked again with Smith in 1922 during his second successful campaign for governor. Employed by the New York Democratic State Committee, Moskowitz was Smith’s public relations counselor, writing his speeches, recommending appointees, and monitoring legislation for him.

During Smith's 1928 campaign to be the Democratic presidential nominee, Moskowitz's role centered on publicity, maintaining a wide correspondence with newspaper reporters across the country. A trusted member of the campaign, she also helped develop strategy. After Smith won the nomination, Moskowitz held the same responsibilities in Smith's presidential campaign that she had held earlier. Under Eleanor Roosevelt's leadership, Moskowitz also directed the women's division of the campaign. After Smith's defeat, Moskowitz opened a public relations firm.

Born in New York City, the daughter of East Prussian immigrants, Moskowitz attended a teachers' college in 1894, leaving to study dramatic reading. Beginning in 1900, Moskowitz did social work in a Jewish neighborhood settlement, wrote articles on social reform, and organized a committee to study working girls' leisure activities. Between 1913 and 1916, she was a negotiator between labor and management in the garment industry.

See also Democratic Party, Women in the; Roosevelt, Eleanor

References Perry, *Belle Moskowitz: Feminine Politics and the Exercise of Power in the Age of Alfred E. Smith* (1987).

Motley, Constance Baker (b. 1921)

Civil rights lawyer Constance Baker Motley was the first African American woman appointed a federal judge. As a lawyer for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense and Education Fund, she argued and won dozens of cases from the 1940s through the mid-1960s. She once said: "You can have twenty-seven degrees from twenty-seven different universities, but if your skin is different, you're still forced to use the door marked 'colored.' We want an end to that—and everything like it."

Born in New Haven, Connecticut, Constance Baker Motley worked in the National Youth Administration after graduating from high school in 1939. Despite childhood dreams of being a lawyer, her family's poverty did not make a college education a realistic goal. She was president of the New Haven Negro Youth Council and involved in Dixwell Community House, a gathering place for African Americans. At a meeting about the center's programs and facilities with the center's governing board, Motley pointed out that no African Americans served on the board and explained that African Americans did not have a sense of ownership in the center. In the audience was a philanthropist who provided financial support to Dixwell. Impressed by Motley's comments, he later contacted her and asked her the reasons why she was not in college. When she explained that she could not afford it but that she wanted to be a lawyer, he told her that he would pay for her education. Motley earned her bachelor's degree in

economics from New York University in 1943 and her law degree from Columbia School of Law in 1946.

While she was a law student, Motley volunteered at the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund beginning in 1945 and joined the staff after graduating. The NAACP had turned its attention to racial segregation in education, the area in which Motley was first involved. Much of Motley's work was in the South, where racism reigned, danger stalked civil rights workers, and neither whites nor African Americans were accustomed to black professionals. For example, when Motley and a colleague served as counsel in a Mississippi case to equalize black teachers' salaries in 1949, they were the first African Americans to try a case in the state in the twentieth century.

From 1950 to 1954, she participated in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, school desegregation case. In that case, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits states from maintaining racially segregated public schools. According to Motley, the decision began a period of the greatest social upheaval since the Civil War: "The Brown decision was the catalyst which changed our society from a closed society to an open society and created the momentum for other minority groups to establish public interest law firms to secure their rights." Over the next years, Motley played a significant role in almost every major school integration case, including cases in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Ohio, and other states.

Motley became associate counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund in 1961, the first woman to hold the position, the second highest in the organization. That year, she argued a case before the U.S. Supreme Court, probably the first African American woman to do so.

In 1961 and 1962, she successfully represented James Meredith in his effort to gain admission to the then all-white University of Mississippi. Motley persisted despite the opposition displayed by the state's judicial, executive, and university officials, including their defiance of appeals courts' decisions. Motley was a member of the team who represented Martin Luther King, Jr., throughout his Birmingham, Alabama, campaign and successfully fought the suspension of over 1,000 African American students from Birmingham who participated in the demonstrations that accompanied King's campaign. In 1963, she defended four civil rights workers convicted of breaking a Georgia insurrection law, which was punishable with the death penalty. She won the case in federal court, which declared the law unconstitutional.

A summary of the U.S. Supreme Court cases in which Motley participated includes three related to the exclusion of blacks from juries, fourteen involving lunch-counter sit-ins, twenty school desegregation

cases, and eighteen other discrimination cases. Of the ten Supreme Court cases in which she was the lead counsel, Motley successfully argued nine of them, with the tenth decided without argument. In addition, she participated in seventy-three cases that went to the U.S. Court of Appeals.

In 1964, Motley became the first African American woman elected to the New York Senate. From 1965 to 1966, she served as borough president of Manhattan, the first woman to hold the position. She also became the first woman to sit on the New York City Board of Estimates.

In 1966, President Lyndon Johnson appointed Motley federal judge of the Southern District of New York state, making her the first African American woman named a federal judge. In 1982, Motley was appointed federal district court judge. She was named a senior federal judge in 1986.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Fourteenth Amendment; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; State Legislatures, Women in

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1964* (1964); Motley, *Equal Justice under Law* (1998).

Mott, Lucretia Coffin (1793–1880)

Quaker minister, abolitionist, and suffragist Lucretia Coffin Mott organized the first antislavery convention of U.S. women and helped launch the nineteenth-century women's rights movement. Throughout her life, Mott worked for equality for African Americans, women, Native Americans, immigrants, and poor people.

Born on Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, Mott attended a local grammar school and then a Quaker boarding school, where she developed her commitment to abolitionism. After completing the curriculum, Mott joined the teaching staff and occasionally taught after her marriage in 1811. Mott was formally recognized as a Quaker minister in 1821, but her relationship to the Quaker faith would be repeatedly challenged as she became increasingly involved in social reform issues.

Mott decided in the early 1820s to boycott all products made by slave labor, including cotton, cane sugar, and molasses. Although her boycott did not provoke controversy, her repeated discussions during Meeting (the Quaker expression for corporate worship) attracted criticism. She furthered her involvement in the abolitionist effort in 1833 when she organized a gathering that led to the formation of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. Mott organized the first Female Anti-Slavery Convention of American women in 1837, but it was the second convention the next year that proved dramatic and dangerous. A mob of thousands of people gathered outside the convention hall, posing so great a threat that the mayor asked those gathered at the convention to leave. Mott, demon-



Lucretia Mott, suffragist and abolitionist, was one of the five women who called the Seneca Falls Convention that began the women's rights movement in the United States (Library of Congress)

strating the courage that characterized her, invited the women to leave quietly in pairs, one white woman accompanying each black woman through the crowd. Later that night, a mob of 17,000 burned the convention hall. The third convention, in 1839, proceeded without violence. That year, Mott became an officer in the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

The society named Lucretia Mott and her husband James Mott delegates to the World Anti-Slavery Society convention in London in 1840. Lucretia Mott was one of several U.S. women delegates to the convention, all of whom learned upon arriving in London that the convention organizers did not want to seat the women. The Motts and others protested the exclusion, but the English abolitionists re-

mained adamant, and the women were relegated to a balcony.

Also seated in the balcony was Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the wife of a delegate, who became an admirer and friend of Lucretia Mott. The two women spent hours together, not only on the perimeter of the convention hall but also walking the streets of London. They discussed women's low status and possible remedies and decided to hold a women's rights convention when they returned to the United States.

Eight years later, in July 1848, while visiting a mutual friend of hers and Stanton's, Mott received an invitation to a tea that Stanton also planned to attend. Over cups of tea on 13 July 1848, Mott, Stanton, and a few other women wrote a call to a women's rights convention for publication the next day in the Seneca Falls newspaper. In less than a week, they drafted resolutions based upon the Declaration of Independence for the convention's consideration. One of the resolutions Stanton proposed distressed Mott because it called for woman suffrage. Mott believed that it would make the women appear ridiculous, but she came to see that it was important and consented to its introduction.

Lucretia Mott's husband James presided over the convention, the women believing it improper for one of them to chair it. The resolutions, including the one for suffrage, were accepted by the convention on 20 July 1848, but after the convention, some of the women in attendance asked to have their names removed from the document because their husbands opposed it. The convention launched the nineteenth-century women's

rights movement and with it the demand for woman suffrage. In addition to political rights, Mott believed that professional opportunities should be opened to women. For example, despite the opposition of the American Medical Association, she worked to help women obtain training and gain acceptance as doctors.

By the 1850s, Mott had become a national figure, widely known and respected for her work in the abolitionist movement and as a minister. She continued to advocate boycotting products made by slaves as the best way to end slavery. In the 1860s, she opposed the Civil War, as she opposed all war. President Abraham Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation did not alter her view of the war, nor did it appeal to her as a first step toward ending slavery because it only freed slaves in areas controlled by Confederates, areas over which the Union government had no control.

After the Civil War and the introduction of the Fourteenth Amendment, Mott joined feminists in opposing it. The amendment included the word *male* in its definition of citizens, outraging Stanton and others who believed that it would make woman suffrage even more difficult to obtain. Although Mott opposed the amendment's wording, she did not focus great attention on it. Instead, she became an advocate for peace, preaching against war and working with the Universal Peace Movement.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the; Fourteenth Amendment; Seneca Falls Convention; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage

References Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott* (1980).

Ms. Foundation for Women

Founded in 1972, the Ms. Foundation for Women (MFW) is a national, multi-issue, public women's fund that works to change public consciousness, the law, philanthropy, and social policy. By directing its resources to projects that endeavor to overcome racial, class, age, disability, sexual orientation, and cultural barriers, MFW supports women's and girls' efforts to govern their own lives and influence the world around them. The foundation may be best known for Take Our Daughters to Work Day, an annual public education program begun in 1993.

The Ms. Foundation for Women was established because at the time there were no foundations that gave money to women as a category. Founded the same year as *Ms.* magazine, the foundation's funding was to come from the magazine's profits, but the magazine struggled financially and did not produce the anticipated revenues. In 1973, Marlo Thomas created an NBC-TV special, *Free to Be . . . You and Me* to benefit the foundation, and other fund-raising projects followed.

In 1984, Marie Wilson joined the foundation as its president, and under her leadership, the foundation has expanded its financial resources

and its programs. The annual budget has grown from \$400,000 to \$6.2 million since 1984. In addition, Wilson established an endowment fund for the foundation and raised \$10 million for it.

The foundation's program areas include support for groups that seek economic justice and that foster economic development through job creation, constituency building, public policy advocacy, welfare reform, pay equity, child care, and related projects. In the area of women's health and safety, the foundation supports programs that address gender bias in health care; protect reproductive rights; and increase resources to end domestic violence, incest, child sexual abuse, rape, and sexual assault and harassment. The foundation makes grants to leadership programs for girls and young women, including those related to improving girls' health; ending violence against girls; creating nonsexist, nonviolent curricula; and reducing teen pregnancy rates.

In 1993, MFW created Take Our Daughters to Work Day to focus the attention of policymakers, the media, and the general public on the needs and concerns of girls. Held on the fourth Thursday in April, Take Our Daughters to Work Day encourages employers to permit girls ages nine to fifteen to spend the day at work with a parent or other adult. The project, which has involved companies across the country, has been more successful than its creators imagined, involving millions of girls and adults, with some employers offering special programs for the girls and the adults they accompany. The President's Interagency Council on Women, for example, sponsors Take Our Daughters to Work Day, providing opportunities for high school students to meet federal officials, including Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and others.

See also Abortion; Domestic Violence; *Ms. Magazine*; Rape; Sexual Harassment

References www.ms.foundation.org.

Ms. Magazine

Founded in 1972 by Gloria Steinem, *Ms.* magazine quickly gained the loyalty of many women in the developing feminist movement and attracted the criticism of many other feminists who objected to its moderate tone. Steinem once called it the "how-to magazine for the liberated human female—not how to make jelly, but how to seize control of your life."

Ms. has its roots in the Women's Action Alliance, which was created by Steinem to help women at the grassroots level fight the barriers in their lives. Women responded to the alliance with inquiries and requests, prompting Steinem to start a newsletter as a way of communicating with the large number of women wanting more information. Plans for a modest newsletter evolved into a magazine format that Steinem believed had potential for success independent of the alliance.

A trial edition of *Ms.* appeared as a supplement in the 20 December 1971 edition of *New York* magazine, and in the spring of 1972, the preview issue was published. The magazine received more than 20,000 letters in response to the preview issue, giving Steinem and publisher Pat Carbine hope for its success and confidence in proceeding. The first regular issue was published in July 1972.

The magazine quickly became part of the feminist movement and a source for women seeking new ways to understand and interpret the world around them. It served as a catalyst, a communication tool between feminists, and a guide for many women. Some of its articles became famous among feminists. For example, Jane O'Reilly wrote a piece about the "clicks" in a feminist's mind that connect seemingly innocuous statements with the sexism that underlies them.

Although readership grew, advertising revenues did not keep pace with the magazine's costs. Some advertisers feared the controversial editorial material, others demanded articles about their products, and still others questioned whether women purchased their products. *Ms.* sales staff worked to convince advertisers that women purchased cars, stereos, and other consumer items, but marketers believed that women's purchases were limited to cosmetics, clothing, and domestic household items. Financial difficulties resulted in the sale of *Ms.* to an Australian media firm in 1987. The magazine underwent various transformations and was owned by other groups until 1998, when Steinem and others purchased it. Published bimonthly, it no longer has any advertising and features international and national women's news, investigative reports, personal narratives, fiction, poetry, and humor.

See also Feminist Movement; *Ms.* Foundation for Women; Steinem, Gloria Marie

References Heilbrun, *The Education of a Woman: The Life of Gloria Steinem* (1996).

***Muller v. Oregon* (1908)**

In 1908, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in *Muller v. Oregon* that discriminating on the basis of sex in employment and in state policies was constitutional. The case challenged a 1903 Oregon law that limited the number of hours that women could work in factories, mechanical establishments, and laundries to ten hours a day. The policy was one of many that social reformers had worked to pass to protect female and child laborers from the health hazards and dangers in the workplace.

In *Lochner v. New York*, the Court had rejected a New York law that limited the number of hours that laborers in bakeries could work on the basis that it was an illegitimate use of the state's police power and an ar-

bitrary interference in the right to contract. The Court explained that the Oregon law differed in that it applied only to women.

In this case, Carl Muller, a laundry operator, required a female employee to work more than ten hours a day, and for breaking the ten-hour limit, he was tried, convicted, and fined. He appealed, basing his arguments on the *Lochner* decision.

The State of Oregon received significant assistance in its defense from Louis Brandeis (later a Supreme Court justice) and Josephine Goldmark, who was active in the National Consumers League, an organization that supported protective legislation for workers. Goldmark researched and Brandeis wrote a brief that featured the innovation of offering anecdotal and statistical evidence that supported the arguments relating to women's health and the state's interest in protecting it. Of the 104 pages in the brief, only two dealt with legal precedents and logic; the social and economic information formed the balance. Known as the Brandeis brief, it changed legal procedures before the Court.

The Court upheld the Oregon law, explaining that when a woman stands on her feet day after day, it “tends to [have] injurious effects upon the body, and as healthy mothers are essential to vigorous offspring, the physical well-being of woman becomes an object of public interest and care in order to preserve the strength and vigor of the race.”

See also Employment Discrimination; Progressive Party, Women in the; Protective Legislation

References *Muller v. Oregon*, 208 U.S. 412 (1908).

Murray, Patty Johns (b. 1950)

Democrat Patty Murray of Washington entered the U.S. Senate on 5 January 1993. Murray's motivation to run for the U.S. Senate came from watching U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas's confirmation hearings on television. The Senate Judiciary Committee's treatment of Anita Hill during the hearings outraged Murray and convinced her to run for the Senate. As she campaigned, she described herself as a “mom in tennis shoes,” creating a distinction between herself and her primary and general election opponents, whom she characterized as Washington insiders.

When the Senate debated the question of issuing a subpoena for the personal diaries of Republican senator Robert Packwood, who was accused of sexual harassment, Senator Murray argued that the Senate's focus needed to be on a substantive discussion of sexual harassment. She warned against sending U.S. women a message that said: “If you are harassed, keep quiet, say nothing; the cards are stacked against your ever winning.”



Senator Patty Murray (D-WA), whose campaign slogan was “the mom in tennis shoes,” was a keynote speaker at the Democratic National Convention, 1996 (Corbis/Wally McNam)

Senator Murray has supported family leave legislation, health care reform, tax relief for the middle class, reproductive rights, and reinvestment in the infrastructure. She passed legislation making surplus government computers available to schools and has worked to connect schools to the Internet, protect and rebuild salmon runs, and provide assistance to veterans. She won reelection to the Senate in a tight race in 1998.

Born in Seattle, Washington, Patty Murray earned her bachelor of arts degree in recreational therapy from Washington State University in 1972. She entered politics when she organized 12,000 Washington state families to save state funding for preschool programs. From 1977 to 1984, she was a parent volunteer at the Shoreline Community Cooperative School, and she was a parent education instructor at Shoreline Community College from 1984 to 1987. Murray also served on the Shoreline School District board of directors from 1983 to 1989. Lobbying the state legislature for education and environmental issues in the mid-1980s convinced Murray to run for the state Senate, where she served from 1989 to 1993.

See also Congress, Women in; Hill, Anita Faye; Sexual Harassment; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1994* (1994); www.senate.gov/~murray/bio2.html.

Murray, Pauli (1910–1985)

A leader in the civil rights and women’s rights movements, African American lawyer Pauli Murray played pivotal roles in the President’s Commission on the Status of Women and the inclusion of sex in Title VII of the

1964 Civil Rights Act. Part of an informal underground network of women in the early 1960s, Murray was a founding member of the National Organization for Women.

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Murray grew up in Durham, North Carolina, having moved there following her mother's death, and was raised by an aunt and her maternal grandparents. She graduated from Hunter College in 1933, earned her law degree from Howard University Law School in 1944, and her master of law degree from Boalt Hall of Law at the University of California at Berkeley in 1945. She earned her doctor of juridical science degree from Yale Law School in 1965, the first African American to receive the degree. She received her master of divinity degree from the General Theological Seminary in 1976.

Murray began protesting racial segregation when she was a child, walking several miles to school rather than ride the city's segregated buses, and as a young adult she refused to attend a segregated college for her undergraduate work. In 1938, she applied to the graduate school of the University of North Carolina, which had never admitted an African American student. Denied admission because of her race, she considered suing the university, but leaders in the black community counseled against it, and she accepted the defeat. Her attempt, however, received wide publicity, and other African American students began applying to southern universities. In 1951, several black students gained admission to the University of North Carolina's Law School, actions that Murray saw as evidence of her role as a pioneer in the struggle for equality of opportunity in higher education.

In 1940, Murray and a friend were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct for refusing to sit on a broken seat in a Greyhound bus. Jailed for three days, they were found guilty and fined. She lost the case on appeal, but she later wrote that the experience "convinced me that creative nonviolent resistance could be a powerful weapon in the struggle for human dignity." These and other civil rights experiences led Murray to law school. While attending law school, Murray helped integrate two Washington, D.C., restaurants through sit-ins.

It was also during this time that she became conscious of sex bias, which she labeled "Jane Crow." She encountered it more fully after receiving her law degree, when she won a fellowship for graduate study at Harvard University. After the announcement that she was to receive it, the fellowship was withdrawn because of her gender. She instead attended Boalt Hall of Law.

Before the modern feminist movement emerged, Murray participated in one of the catalysts that prompted it, serving on the Committee on Civil and Political Rights of the 1961 President's Commission on the Status of Women. Among the committee members there was disagree-

ment on the Equal Rights Amendment, with some of the members strongly supporting it and others equally adamant in their rejection of it. At the committee's request, Murray prepared a memo, "A Proposal to Re-examine the Applicability of the Fourteenth Amendment to State Laws and Practices Which Discriminate on the Basis of Sex *Per Se*," which considered the Fourteenth Amendment as an alternative to the Equal Rights Amendment. The memo provided the means for negotiating a compromise that urged litigation under the Fourteenth Amendment without rejecting the possibility that an Equal Rights Amendment could be necessary. In addition, through her work on the committee, Murray became part of an informal network of feminists that developed as the commissioners and committee members discovered common interests.

After the U.S. House of Representatives passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with a prohibition against sex discrimination in employment (in Title VII), the U.S. Senate considered removing sex from the protected classifications. Murray wrote a memorandum supporting the inclusion of sex in the bill. The memo was widely distributed, particularly among senators, and was crucial to the Senate's retaining sex in the bill. She later worked to encourage the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, created by the act, to enforce its provisions. Her efforts included coauthoring a law review article on Title VII showing that it and the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments could be interpreted to give women equal rights.

Murray's life took another direction after she ministered to a dying friend. Because of the experience, Murray felt called to the service of the church. After graduating from General Theological Seminary, she was ordained to the Holy Order of the Deacons of the Episcopal Church, USA. In 1977, she was ordained an Episcopal priest, the first black woman ordained in that denomination.

Murray's first book, *States' Laws on Race and Color* (1951), became an important resource for civil rights lawyers fighting segregation laws. Her second book, *Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family* (1956), was a biography of her grandparents that established a new genre of American literature: the African American family history. In 1960, she went to Ghana to teach, and while there, she coauthored *The Constitution and Government of Ghana* (1961). Murray's autobiography, *Song in a Weary Throat: An American Pilgrimage*, was published posthumously in 1987.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Equal Rights Amendment; National Organization for Women; President's Commission on the Status of Women

References Murray, *Song in a Weary Throat* (1987).

Myers, Margaret Jane (Dee Dee) (b. 1961)

The first woman and the youngest person to serve as White House press secretary, Dee Dee Myers held the post from 1993 to 1994. She entered politics in 1984 as a volunteer in Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale's 1984 campaign, performing menial tasks, but ended the campaign as assistant press secretary for California. Deputy press secretary for Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley from 1985 to 1988, she was also California press secretary for Michael Dukakis's 1988 presidential campaign and spokeswoman for Dianne Feinstein's 1990 unsuccessful campaign for governor of California. Her job as press secretary for Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign was made unusually difficult by reports that Clinton had had extramarital affairs and by unfavorable stories about the reasons he had avoided the draft.

Born in Quonset Point, Rhode Island, Myers was given her nickname "Dee Dee" by an older sister. She earned her bachelor of science degree at Santa Clara University in 1983. After leaving the White House, Myers was a television talk show cohost.

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1994* (1994).

Myrick, Sue (b. 1941)

Republican Sue Myrick of North Carolina entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1995. Congresswoman Myrick has supported "comp time," in which employees do not receive overtime wages but receive time off from their job instead. She explained: "Comp time is pro-family, proworker, and when we really think about it, a prochild approach to provide relief to the hard-working men and women across our nation

Representative Sue Myrick (R-NC) at a press conference with other first-year Republican Congress members on the Capitol steps after clashes with Representatives Newt Gingrich (R-GA) and John Kasich (R-OH) over budget issues, 1995 (Associated Press AP)



who struggle daily to support their families.” Myrick’s priorities include streamlining government bureaucracy, privatizing many components of the federal government, and cutting the federal budget deficit.

Born in Tiffin, Ohio, Sue Myrick attended Heidelberg College from 1959 to 1960. She is the former president and chief executive officer of Myrick Advertising and Myrick Enterprises. Myrick served on the Charlotte City Council from 1983 to 1985 and was mayor from 1987 to 1991, years in which she was active in the U.S. Conference of Mayors. She also served on President George Bush’s Affordable Housing Commission and the Strengthening America Commission.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/myrick/bio.htm.

From Suffrage to the Senate

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An Encyclopedia of American Women in Politics

Volume 2: N–Z

Suzanne O’Dea Schenken

Foreword by Ann W. Richards



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Administrative Appointments

- Adams, Annette Abbott (Justice
 Department)
 Adkins, Bertha Sheppard (Health,
 Education, and Welfare)
 Anderson, Eugenie Moore (Am-
 bassador)
 Anderson, Mary (Women's Bu-
 reau)
 Armstrong, Anne Legendre (Am-
 bassador)
 Baca, Pauline Celia (Polly) (Office
 of Consumer Affairs; General
 Services Administration)
 Banuelos, Romana Acosta (Trea-
 surer)
 Bellamy, Carol (Peace Corps)
 Bentley, Helen Delich (Federal
 Maritime Commission)
 Berry, Mary Frances (Commission
 on Civil Rights)
 Campbell, Bonnie Jean Pierce (Vi-
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 Clark Gray, Georgia Neese (Trea-
 surer)
 Costanza, Margaret (Midge)
 (White House Public Liaison)
 East, Catherine Shipe (Department
 of Labor)

Echaveste, Maria (Deputy White House Chief of Staff)	Alpha Suffrage Club
Elders, Joycelyn (Surgeon General)	American Association of University Women
Harriman, Pamela Beryl Digby Churchill Hayward (Ambassador)	American Civil Liberties Union
Hernandez, Aileen Clarke (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission)	American Life League, Inc.
Koontz, Elizabeth Duncan (Women's Bureau)	American Woman Suffrage Association
Lathrop, Julia (Children's Bureau)	Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching
Lewis, Ann Frank (White House Director of Communications; Counselor to the President)	Business and Professional Women/USA
Louchheim, Kathleen (Katie) Scofield (Ambassador)	Catholics for a Free Choice
Meissner, Doris Marie (Immigration and Naturalization Service)	Center for the American Woman and Politics
Motley, Constance Baker (Federal Judge)	Children's Bureau
Myers, Margaret Jane (Dee Dee) (White House Press Secretary)	Children's Defense Fund
Ortega, Katherine Davalos (Treasurer)	Christian Coalition
Novello, Antonia Coello (Surgeon General)	Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women
Peterson, Esther (Women's Bureau)	Coalition for Women's Appointments
Priest, Ivy Maude Baker (Treasurer)	Coalition of Labor Union Women
Smith, Mary Louise (Commission on Civil Rights)	Colored Women's League
Watson, Barbara Mae (State Department)	Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, Inc.
Wexler, Anne Levy (White House Public Liaison)	Commissions on the Status of Women
Widnall, Sheila Evans (Secretary of the Air Force)	Communist Party, USA
Willebrandt, Mabel Walker (Department of Justice)	Concerned Women for America
	Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues
	Congressional Union
	Council of Presidents
	Daughters of Bilitis
	Daughters of Liberty
	Day Care Council of America
	Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
	Democratic Party, Women in the Eagle Forum
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Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority	

ERAmerica
 Federal Women's Program
 Federally Employed Women
 The Feminist Majority
 Feminists for Life of America
 General Federation of Women's Clubs
 Glass Ceiling Commission
 Green Party USA
 Independent Women's Forum
 League of Women Voters
 MANA, a National Latina Organization
 Ms. Foundation for Women
 Ms. Magazine
 National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League
 National Advisory Committee for Women
 National American Woman Suffrage Association
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the
 National Association of Colored Women
 National Association of Commissions for Women
 National Coalition Against Domestic Violence
 National Coalition of 100 Black Women
 National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975
 National Committee on Pay Equity
 National Committee to Defeat the UnEqual Rights Amendment
 National Consumers League
 National Council of Jewish Women
 National Council of Negro Women
 National Federation of Afro-American Women
 National Federation of Republican Women
 National Gender Balance Project USA
 National League of Republican Colored Women
 National Organization for Women
 National Organization of Black Elected Legislative Women
 National Political Congress of Black Women
 National Right to Life Committee
 National Welfare Rights Organization
 National Woman Suffrage Association
 National Woman's Party
 National Women's Conference
 National Women's Conference Committee
 National Women's Political Caucus
 New York Radical Women
 9to5, National Association of Working Women
 Operation Rescue
 Planned Parenthood Federation of America
 President's Commission on the Status of Women
 President's Interagency Council on Women
 President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities
 Progressive Party, Women in the Pro-Life Action League
 Radicalesbians
 Redstockings
 Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice

Republican Party, Women in the
Republicans for Choice
Spider Web
Stop ERA
Violence Against Women Office
WISH List
Woman's Christian Temperance
Union
Woman's National Loyal League
Woman's Peace Party
Women Strike for Peace
Women Work! The National Net-
work for Women's Employment
Women's Bureau
Women's Campaign Fund
Women's Equity Action League
Women's Health, Office of
Research on
Women's International League for
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Women's Joint Congressional
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Women's Policy, Inc.
Women's Political Council
Women's Political Union
Women's Trade Union League
YWCA of the USA

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 1983–1987, 1989–1991
 Franklin, Barbara Hackman,
 1992–1993
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 O’Shaughnessy, 1983–1985
 Herman, Alexis Margaret,
 1997–
 Hills, Carla Helen Anderson,
 1975–1977, 1989–1993
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 Hufstedler, Shirley Ann Mount,
 1979–1981
 Kirkpatrick, Jeane Duane Jordan,
 1981–1985
 Kreps, Juanita Morris, 1977–1979
 Martin, Judith Lynn Morley,
 1991–1993
 McLaughlin, Ann Dore Lauenstein,
 1987–1989
 O’Leary, Hazel Rollins, 1993–
 1997
 Perkins, Frances (Fanny) Corlie,
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 Rivlin, Alice Mitchell, 1994–1996
 Shalala, Donna Edna, 1993–
 Tyson, Laura D’Andrea,
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 Carter, Eleanor Rosalynn Smith, 1977–1981
 Clinton, Hillary Diane Rodham, 1993–2001
 Ford, Elizabeth Ann (Betty) Bloomer, 1974–1977
 Johnson, Claudia Alta (Lady Bird) Taylor, 1963–1969
 Nixon, Pat Ryan, 1969–1974
 Onassis, Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy, 1961–1963
 Reagan, Nancy Robins, 1981–1989
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 1933–1945
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General

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 Finney, Joan (D-KS), 1991–1995
 Grasso, Ella Rosa Giovanna Oliva Tambussi (D-CT), 1975–1980
 Hull, Jane Dee Bowersock (R-AZ), 1997–
 Kunin, Madeleine May (D-VT), 1985–1991
 Mofford, Rose Perica (D-AZ), 1988–1991

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Ray, Dixy Lee (D-WA), 1977–1981
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Crisp, Mary Dent (Republican Na-
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- Cantwell, Maria (D-WA), 1993–1995
- Capps, Lois (D-CA), 1998–
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- Chisholm, Shirley Anita St. Hill (D-NY), 1969–1983
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- Collins, Barbara-Rose (D-MI), 1991–1997
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- Cubin, Barbara Lynn (R-WY), 1995–
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- DeGette, Diana (D-CO), 1997–

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Douglas, Emily Taft (D-IL),
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CA), 1945–1951
Dunn, Jennifer (R-WA), 1993–
Dwyer, Florence Price (R-NJ),
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Emerson, Jo Ann (R-MO), 1996–
English, Karan (D-AZ), 1993–1995
Eshoo, Anna G. (D-CA), 1993–
Eslick, Willa McCord Blake (D-
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Farrington, Mary Elizabeth Pruett
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Fenwick, Millicent Hammond (R-
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Ferraro, Geraldine Anne (D-NY),
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Fowler, Tillie Kidd (R-FL), 1993–
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Hawley (D-SC), 1938–1939
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Hall, Katie Beatrice Green (D-IN),
1982–1985
Hansen, Julia Caroline Butler (D-
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Harden, Cecil Murray (R-IN),
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Harman, Jane Frank (D-CA),
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Heckler, Margaret Mary
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Kahn, Florence Prag (R-CA),
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Kee, Maude Elizabeth Simpkins
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 Flannery (D-NY), 1949–1969
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 Lowey, Nita Melnikoff (D-NY),
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 May Bedell, Catherine Dean
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(1876–1938)
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Harris, LaDonna (b. 1931)
Jumper, Betty Mae (b. 1923)
LaDuke, Winona (b. 1959)
Liliuokalani (1838–1917)
Mankiller, Wilma P. (b. 1945)

From Suffrage to the Senate

N

Napolitano, Grace Flores (b. 1936)

Democrat Grace Napolitano of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1999, the fifth Latina elected to Congress. She began her political career as the first Latina member of the Norwalk, California, city council, serving from 1986 to 1992. Elected to the California State Assembly in 1992, she led the effort to preserve 1,400 acres of open land for parks and wilderness, one of the largest new areas of its kind in Southern California, and sought to enhance California's international trade by promoting the state in China, Thailand, Mexico, and other countries. She served in the assembly until her election to Congress in 1998. As a member of Congress, Napolitano has focused on helping small businesses to participate in international markets, obtaining federal assistance for environmental cleanup projects in her district, and identifying new water resources for the Los Angeles area.

Born in Brownsville, Texas, Napolitano completed her formal education at Brownsville High School in 1954.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

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***Nashville Gas Co. v. Satty* (1977)**

In *Nashville Gas Co. v. Satty*, the U.S. Supreme Court considered two of the company's employment policies related to pregnant women. Nashville Gas Company required pregnant women to take a leave of absence without receiving sick pay, even though the company provided it for nonoccupational

disabilities other than pregnancy. In addition, when women returned to work, they lost their seniority, even though employees who took sick leave for other nonoccupational disabilities retained their seniority.

The Court decided that denying sick pay for pregnancy did not violate Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, unless it was a pretext for discriminating against one sex or the other, and remanded the case for consideration of that point. The Court decided that denying seniority to employees returning from pregnancy leave violated Title VII, saying that the policy imposed a substantial burden on women.

See also *Geduldig v. Aiello*; *General Electric v. Gilbert*; Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978

References *Nashville Gas Co. v. Satty*, 434 U.S. 136 (1977).

National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League

Founded in 1969, the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL) promotes reproductive freedom through its 500,000 members and thirty-six state affiliates. Initially known as the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, the organization changed its name to National Abortion Rights Action League in 1973 after the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade* legalizing abortion. Its second name change came in 1994, when NARAL expanded its mission to include the prevention of unwanted pregnancies and advocacy for healthy pregnancies and children.

NARAL is a nonprofit organization that develops political strategies, organizes grassroots campaigns, and lobbies Congress and state legislatures. Through its political action committee, NARAL supports prochoice candidates with paid media advertising, financial contributions, and get-out-the-vote projects on election days. The NARAL Foundation supports research and legal work, publishes policy reports, conducts public education campaigns, and provides leadership training.

NARAL successfully worked with other groups to remove the gag rule that prevented abortion counseling at federally funded family planning clinics, to lift the ban on federally funded medical research on fetal tissue transplants, and to permit abortions at military hospitals. It also helped pass the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994. NARAL supports testing and marketing the abortifacient RU-486, health reform that includes a full range of reproductive health services for women, and the proposed Freedom of Choice Act.

See also Abortion; Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994; *Roe v. Wade*; RU-486 (Mifepristone)

References www.naral.org.

National Advisory Committee for Women

Created in 1978 by President Jimmy Carter's Executive Order 12050, the National Advisory Committee for Women (NACW) was established to monitor the progress of the National Plan of Action passed at the 1977 National Women's Conference. Carter appointed thirty-eight women and men to the commission and designated former congresswoman Bella Abzug and Carmen Delgado Votaw to be its cochairs. The executive order also created an interdepartmental task force and directed it to review the impact of agency programs and regulations on women. Before it had completed its work, the committee issued a press release criticizing Carter's economic policies, saying the policies placed a disproportionately unfair burden on women. The White House fired Abzug from the committee, and several committee members then resigned in protest. The President's Advisory Committee for Women replaced the NACW in mid-1979 and operated until December 1980.

See also Abzug, Bella Savitzky; National Women's Conference

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National American Woman Suffrage Association

The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) was created in 1890, when the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) merged. For thirty years the organization served as the primary advocate for woman suffrage, educating the public, seeking congressional support, and assisting in campaigns for state amendments. It was the largest suffrage association in the nation when the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920.

Veteran women's rights advocate Elizabeth Cady Stanton was NAWSA's first president, serving from 1890 to 1892. Her longtime political partner Susan B. Anthony followed her in the presidency, guiding the organization until 1900. By that year, four western states had granted women full suffrage: Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah. Anthony chose Carrie Chapman Catt, a less well-known suffrage leader who was a generation younger than her predecessors, to succeed her. During the four years that Catt served as NAWSA president, several states conducted campaigns, but none of the amendments passed. The federal suffrage amendment had even less success. Congressional supporters of the amendment regularly introduced the amendment but were unable to obtain significant action on it.

Under Anna Howard Shaw's presidency, from 1904 to 1915, seven states adopted constitutional amendments granting women suffrage rights, and one state, Illinois, gave women presidential suffrage through



The National American Woman Suffrage Association organized parades like this one in New York City to advance their cause, 1908 (Library of Congress)

legislation, but lobbying efforts at the congressional level failed to result in substantive action. A new force entered the campaign in 1913 when Alice Paul, who had worked with British suffragists, brought new energy and ideas to the association. As chair of NAWSA's congressional committee, she organized a suffrage parade in Washington, D.C., that competed with President-elect Woodrow Wilson's arrival for his inauguration. The parade and other actions she orchestrated attracted publicity, provoked debate, and gained her the reputation of being a militant. Paul proved to be too controversial for the more staid and conservative NAWSA leadership, who objected to her strategies. Paul formed the Congressional Union, left NAWSA, and remained a visible force in the suffrage effort, frustrating NAWSA leaders with her actions, which they believed hindered the amendment's progress.

Catt returned to NAWSA's presidency in 1915 with a new strategy, called the "Winning Plan." The plan had three aspects to it. Women living in suffrage states were to work for political candidates who supported woman suffrage. NAWSA would no longer participate in every state campaign but would limit itself to working only in those campaigns that leaders thought could be won. Every available resource would be devoted to congressional passage of a federal amendment. The plan was a political strategy that contrasted with the educational campaigns that NAWSA had

traditionally conducted. Catt presented it to NAWSA's 1915 convention and obtained the convention's approval of it. She also worked to gain President Woodrow Wilson's support for the amendment, keeping communications open between them.

When the United States entered World War I, NAWSA financed several hospitals in Europe and at home, and NAWSA leaders held visible roles in federal war agencies. NAWSA members volunteered for the Red Cross, canvassed their neighborhoods for food conservation programs, participated in the war service census, and worked on the Liberty Loan drives. President Woodrow Wilson rewarded these patriotic efforts in 1918 with his announcement that the war could not have been conducted without women's contributions and that he supported woman suffrage.

The U.S. House of Representatives passed the amendment in January 1918, but the Senate defeated it in February 1919. The House again passed the amendment in May 1919, and the Senate followed in June 1919. NAWSA turned its focus to ratifying the amendment, reaching the goal on 20 August 1920, when Tennessee became the last state needed to add the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

At NAWSA's 1920 convention, Catt had suggested the creation of an educational organization to provide newly enfranchised women with information about citizenship, voting, and related matters. The League of Women Voters emerged from her proposal.

See also American Woman Suffrage Association; Anthony, Susan Brownell; Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman; Congressional Union; League of Women Voters; National Woman Suffrage Association; Paul, Alice; Shaw, Anna Howard; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage

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National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the

Founded in 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is the oldest and largest civil rights organization in the United States, with more than 500,000 members in 2,200 branches located in every state, the District of Columbia, Japan, and Germany. The NAACP has used legal actions as its primary strategy to end discrimination and to gain full citizenship for African Americans. The organization also lobbies state legislatures and Congress to ensure and protect the rights of minority citizens.

A 1908 race riot in Springfield, Illinois, prompted black and white Americans to join together to fight racism. W. E. B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Henry Moscowitz, Oswald Garrison Villard, William English

Women members of the planning committee for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People standing by tables loaded with membership information, ca. 1910–1940 (Corbis)



Walling, and Mary White Ovington issued a call to form the organization. In its early years, several women, including Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Mary Church Terrell, made significant contributions to the development and effectiveness of the organization, especially in its antilynching campaigns and its attempts, though unsuccessful, to pass antilynching legislation.

The NAACP worked against racial discrimination in New Deal programs and in the military during World War II. During the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, Daisy Lampkin, Ella Baker, Ruby Hurley, and Daisy Bates were among the notable activists in the organization. The NAACP provided leadership in developing coalitions for civil rights legislation, including the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964; the Voting Rights Act of 1965; and the Fair Housing Rights Act of 1968.

In addition to its leadership in Congress, the NAACP has developed numerous court cases and provided legal support to civil rights activists. In 1954, the NAACP's lawyers argued *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the landmark case that ended legal racial segregation in public education. The next year, the organization's Montgomery Branch secretary, Rosa Parks, refused to surrender her bus seat to a white man, prompting the city's bus boycott. Among the many lawyers working for the NAACP, Constance Baker Motley assisted in and argued several of the civil rights cases of the 1950s and 1960s, including defending Martin Luther King, Jr., and other notable civil rights leaders.

See also Baker, Ella Josephine; Bates, Daisy Lee Gatson; Bethune, Mary Jane

McLeod; Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Hurley, Ruby; Lampkin, Daisy Elizabeth Adams; Motley, Constance Baker; Simmons, Althea T. L.; Terrell, Mary Eliza Church; Wells-Barnett, Ida Bell

References www.naacp.org.

National Association of Colored Women

Founded in 1896, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) brought together black women's clubs across the country into the first national communications network among African American women. As the Progressive reform movement emerged in the 1890s, African American women began to form local service and education clubs in several cities. When the General Federation of Women's Clubs refused to accept the Woman's Era Club, an organization of African American women, black women's clubs became affiliated with either the National Federation of Afro-American Women (NFAAW) or the National Colored Women's League (NCWL). In 1896, the NFAAW and NCWL merged to form the NACW. The organizing committee elected Mary Church Terrell the group's first president.

With the motto "Lifting as We Climb," NACW members participated in local projects including kindergartens, day nurseries, orphanages, jail and settlement work, and girls' homes. Mothers' clubs, hospitals, and the needs of black women domestic workers were other areas in which members worked. The NACW also supported equal rights for

A delegation representing the National Association of Colored Women picketed the White House in protest of the quadruple lynching at Monroe, Georgia, 1946 (Corbis/Bettmann)



blacks, work opportunities for black women, and changes in the criminal justice system. These areas of concern represented the priorities of members who sought racial uplift as NACW's primary focus. NACW also worked for woman suffrage, particularly to include provisions in the woman suffrage amendment to protect southern black women's suffrage rights.

After World War I, the number of lynchings increased dramatically, and NACW responded by mobilizing women to distribute information about the crime and to raise money for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's national campaign to end it. In 1922, Mary Talbert formed the Antilynching Crusaders in an effort to unite 1 million women against lynching and to pass a federal antilynching bill. NACW published reports on the crime that refuted the myths surrounding it, particularly that white men lynched black men in retribution for black men raping white women. Antilynching legislation did not pass, but the publicity and other organizational efforts to end the crime contributed to a reduction in the number of instances of it.

By 1920, NACW had 300,000 members and had paid the \$5,000 mortgage on abolitionist Frederick Douglass's home in Anacostia, which it continues to maintain. When Mary McLeod Bethune became president in 1924, she led efforts to purchase a building for the organization's national headquarters. When she founded the National Council of Negro Women in 1935 to work for national policy changes, NACW became less politically involved and more social. By the 1980s, the association's membership had dropped to 45,000, where it has remained relatively stable.

See also Bethune, Mary Jane McLeod; Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; National Council of Negro Women; National Federation of Afro-American Women; Ruffin, Josephine St. Pierre; Suffrage; Talbert, Mary Morris Burnett; Terrell, Mary Eliza Church

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National Association of Commissions for Women

Founded in 1969, the National Association of Commissions for Women (NACW) is a nonpartisan membership organization of government-created regional, state, and local commissions that work to improve the status of women. With equality and justice for all women as its mission, NACW provides leadership on the national level, taking policy positions on national issues. NACW provides its more than 270 state and local commissions for women with technical advice and support.

See also Commissions on the Status of Women; President's Commission on the Status of Women

References www.nacw.org.

National Coalition Against Domestic Violence

Founded in 1978, the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV) seeks to end violence in the lives of women and children through a national network of state coalitions and local organizations serving battered women and their children. The coalition provides technical assistance to member groups, conducts community awareness campaigns, and develops public policy recommendations. NCADV sponsors Domestic Violence Awareness Month every October to focus attention on the problem and a national registry called “Remember My Name” of women killed as a result of domestic violence.

See also Domestic Violence

References www.ncadv.org.

National Coalition of 100 Black Women

Founded in 1981, the National Coalition of 100 Black Women (NCBW) develops programs to empower African American women. The organization has sixty-two chapters in twenty-three states and the District of Columbia. The organization’s roots are in a 1970 gathering of African American women in New York City to address the needs of black women, including the black family, career advancement, and political and economic empowerment. Through the coalition’s programs, members developed leadership skills and sought ways to use them. The membership grew beyond the 100 in its name, and through the leadership of president Jewell Jackson McCabe, it expanded into a national organization in 1981.

The coalition’s areas of interest in public policy include affirmative action, pay equity, equal opportunity, foreign aid, reproductive health rights, welfare reform, and support for federal appointees. Among the projects NCBW has sponsored are a program to match pregnant teenagers with role models, a career exploration program for high school students, and a model mentoring program. In 1986, NCBW held a colloquy examining the leadership values of prominent black women, and in 1989 it launched a health rights education program.

See also Abortion; Affirmative Action; McCabe, Jewell Jackson; Pay Equity

References www.womenconnect.com/ncbw/history.htm.

National Commission on the Observance of International Women’s Year, 1975

Created by President Gerald Ford’s Executive Order 11832 on 9 January 1975, the National Commission on the Observance of International Women’s Year, 1975 was later charged by Congress with organizing and

convening a National Women's Conference (NWC). The congressional action, signed by the president on 24 December 1975, was sponsored by Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-NY) and constituted U.S. recognition of the United Nations' project to focus attention on the problems of women throughout the world.

Among those appointed to the commission were presiding officer Jill Ruckelshaus, actor Jean Stapleton, former congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce, and Republican National Committee chair Mary Louise Smith, all active feminists. The commissioners appointed committees to review the progress women had made since the issuance of the 1963 report by the President's Commission on the Status of Women and to make recommendations. In addition, an interdepartmental task force was created to ensure that agencies prepared analyses of the impact of federal programs on women. The commission made its report in "*To Form a More Perfect Union . . .*," which included 115 recommendations for policy changes to improve women's status. The report became an integral part of the planning for the 1977 National Women's Conference.

After the passage of Abzug's bill, the commission's tasks changed from performing research and making recommendations to developing plans for a national convention, organizing fifty-six state and territorial preliminary conventions, and providing support to them. In addition, with the election of President Jimmy Carter, several of the commission members were replaced with his appointees.

Congress gave the commission a feminist mandate, directing it to involve groups "which work to advance the rights of women," to "recognize the contributions of women to the development of our country," and to "assess the progress that has been made to date by both the private and public sectors in promoting equality between men and women in all aspects of life in the United States." The women and men appointed to the commission generally had strong feminist credentials, and some of them were feminist leaders, including commission cochair Abzug, *Ms.* magazine editor Gloria Steinem, Liz Carpenter, National Women's Political Caucus chair Audrey Rowe Colom, former congresswoman Martha Griffiths, former first lady Betty Ford, and others. The topical areas that the commission drafted for the conference's attention reflected feminist priorities: child care, reproductive rights, employment, the Equal Rights Amendment, and related issues.

The commission's duties included appointing state coordinating committees to organize and convene a state meeting. At the state meetings, the public participated by choosing delegates to the national conference, commenting on draft resolutions prepared by the national commission, and proposing resolutions for the national commission's consideration.

Although the state meetings were free to select delegates of their choice, Congress specifically directed the commission to ensure that low-income women; members of diverse racial, ethnic, and religious groups; and women of all ages were represented in the delegations. The commission accomplished the goal by reserving some delegate assignments to itself and creating the required balance after the states had selected their delegates.

Congress appropriated \$5 million to fund the commission. Some of the funds were allocated to the states for their meetings, and the balance was used to provide financial assistance to delegates who could not pay their own expenses, to prepare and distribute background information and the final report, to hire staff, and to pay for the conference and its related expenses.

The National Women's Conference was held in November 1977, and the commission submitted its report, *The Spirit of Houston*, to President Jimmy Carter on 22 March 1978. The commission dissolved on 31 March 1978 as mandated by Congress. Carter established the National Advisory Committee for Women in April 1978, but its effectiveness was limited by a disagreement between Abzug, its chair, and Carter. Ultimately, a group of volunteers formed the National Women's Conference Committee to continue the NWC's work.

See also Abortion; Abzug, Bella Savitzky; Carpenter, Mary Elizabeth (Liz) Sutherland; Employment Discrimination; Equal Rights Amendment; Ford, Elizabeth Ann (Betty) Bloomer; Griffiths, Martha Edna Wright; Luce, Clare Boothe; National Advisory Committee for Women; National Women's Conference; National Women's Conference Committee; Smith, Mary Louise; Steinem, Gloria Marie

References Bird, *What Women Want* (1979); East, *American Women: 1963 1983 2003* (1983).

National Committee on Pay Equity

The National Committee on Pay Equity is a coalition of more than 180 organizations working to end sex-based and race-based wage discrimination. The organization provides leadership, information, and technical assistance to pay equity advocates, public officials, employers, the media, and the public. The organization supports the proposed Paycheck Fairness Act and the proposed Fair Pay Act.

See also Pay Equity

References <http://feminist.com>.

National Committee to Defeat the UnEqual Rights Amendment

Organized in 1944, the National Committee to Defeat the UnEqual Rights Amendment (NCDURA) was a coalition of twenty-seven groups, including labor unions, the National Consumers League, the League of Women

Voters, the National Council of Catholic Women, and the National Council of Negro Women. The organization emerged as the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and attracted increasingly favorable attention during World War II. NCDURA advocated “specific bills for specific ills” instead of the ERA because the ERA would invalidate protective labor legislation for women. The organization first proposed an equal pay act as an alternative to the ERA but was unable to gain congressional approval for the measure.

In 1947, under the leadership of Women’s Bureau director Mary Anderson, NCDURA changed its name to the National Committee on the Status of Women and proposed the Status Bill. The bill stated that “no distinctions on the basis of sex shall be made except such as are reasonably based on differences in physical structure, biological or social function.” The measure also included a provision to create a Commission on the Legal Status of Women to study sex discrimination, but Congress did not pass it. The committee dissolved without passing legislation. President John F. Kennedy, however, created the President’s Commission on the Status of Women in 1961 by executive order.

See also Anderson, Mary; Equal Rights Amendment; League of Women Voters; National Consumers League; National Council of Negro Women; President’s Commission on the Status of Women

References Freeman, “From Protection to Equal Opportunity: The Revolution in Women’s Legal Status” (1990).

National Consumers League

Formed in 1899, the National Consumers League (NCL) sought to improve women’s and children’s working conditions through consumer pressure and protective labor legislation. At the end of the twentieth century, the NCL stated that its mission was “to protect and promote the economic and social interests of America’s consumers.” It operates the National Fraud Information Center and the Internet Fraud Watch and manages the Alliance Against Fraud in Telemarketing, the Child Labor Coalition, and a public service campaign to teach young children what to do in case of a fire.

The NCL began as a local effort in New York to help retail saleswomen obtain relief from long hours and low wages. In 1890, a group of philanthropists, social reformers, and settlement house leaders established the Consumers League of New York (CLNY). The group developed a list of minimum working conditions, including minimum pay at \$6 per week, a ten-hour day, a six-day week, a locker room, a lunch room, and no children under the age of fourteen. CLNY investigated local retailers, identified those that met the minimum conditions, and published the results as its White List. Only eight stores made the first White List, but CLNY leaders

encouraged consumers to limit their purchases to merchants on its list. In addition, the CLNY encouraged and helped women retail workers organize unions despite the resistance of male union leaders. As the league expanded into other cities, it identified sweatshops and the products they made and encouraged consumers to avoid purchasing items produced by them.

As more cities organized consumers' leagues, they joined together as the National Consumers League in 1899. By that time, it had become apparent that voluntary efforts had only limited success, and the organization entered a period of professionalization. A key part of the transformation was the decision to hire Florence Kelley as the first general secretary. Kelley organized leagues in sixty cities in twenty states and launched a series of investigations and reports. First, the league investigated workplaces where women's and children's stitched cotton underwear was produced and documented low wages, long hours, forced speed-ups, and poor working conditions. The second investigation probed home work and revealed filthy tenements, people with contagious diseases working on clothing, starvation wages, and child labor. The third researched child labor, disclosing the 1.7 million children under sixteen years old working in New England and southern textile mills.

Kelley kept the NCL's focus on child labor for the rest of her tenure as the organization's executive secretary. In 1904, NCL published a handbook on child labor that included a state-by-state report on child labor laws. She helped organize the National Child Labor Committee and, with Lillian Wald, proposed the creation of a federal commission on children. President Theodore Roosevelt's 1909 White House Conference on Child Health and Welfare provided a forum for the two women to advocate their proposal. In 1912, Congress created the Children's Bureau, and NCL provided the bureau with information that guided the formation of its legislative agenda. NCL advocated passing federal child labor laws and twice succeeded, but the U.S. Supreme Court found both of them unconstitutional. Proponents next gained congressional approval of a child labor amendment, but the states did not ratify it. New Deal legislation, however, prohibited most child labor.

NCL's 1907 study of self-supporting women's wages and standards of living led to the organization's effort to pass minimum wage laws. Kelley drafted a model minimum wage law that Massachusetts passed in 1912, and she traveled the country, speaking on the law and playing a significant role in nine additional states' passing similar policies within the year.

NCL also played significant roles in defending protective labor legislation in the courts. The most visible case was *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), a challenge to the state's law limiting women's workday to ten hours. Kelley persuaded Louis D. Brandeis, who donated his services, to defend the law

before the U.S. Supreme Court. NCL gathered much of the research for what became known as the Brandeis brief, an innovation that presented more than 100 pages of social and economic research to support the defense. NCL raised funds to print the brief and to pay other expenses. The court decided in favor of Oregon's law limiting women's workday. NCL took thirteen more cases to the courts, and eight of them went to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In the 1930s, New Deal legislation addressed many of the issues that NCL had raised, including minimum wage legislation that covered both women and men, maximum working hours, and child labor. During World War II, NCL turned its attention to advocacy in state legislatures, and in the 1950s and 1960s, NCL worked to include migrant workers under state and federal employment laws. Consumer protection and efforts to reduce child labor were NCL's focus in the 1990s.

See also Employment Discrimination; Kelley, Florence; *Muller v. Oregon*; Protective Legislation

References National Consumers League, *Roots of the Consumer Movement: A Chronicle of Consumer History in the Twentieth Century* (1979); www.nclnet.org.

National Council of Jewish Women

Founded in 1893, the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) emerged from the desire to preserve Judaism by teaching Jewish women their religious duties. It soon became an advocacy organization addressing a wide range of social, health, environmental, and peace issues. Its more than 90,000 members in more than 500 affiliates seek to ensure individual and civil rights, improve the status of women, further the quality of Jewish life, improve day care and public schooling, and promote the well-being of children and families.

Early projects included founding a religious school for Jewish immigrant girls in Chicago and a synagogue in Indiana. Described as a "conduit through which Progressive ideology entered the Jewish community," NCJW provided aid to single immigrant women, meeting them as they entered the country, offering them housing, and providing other services to help prevent them from becoming prostitutes. The success of the programs caused the federal government to seek NCJW's assistance with immigrants. In 1904, NCJW established a permanent immigrant aid station at Ellis Island to receive Jewish women. Other early programs included programs for the blind and assistance to delinquent children.

In the early 1900s, NCJW's advocacy work began with its support for the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act and Meat Inspection Act and continued with advocacy for child labor laws and protective labor legislation for

women. In 1920, NCJW joined the Women's Joint Congressional Committee and helped pass the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921 and the Cable Acts, among other measures. NCJW supported civil rights legislation, beginning with the antilynching bill in 1938; continuing through the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1964, and 1985; and placing particular emphasis on the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The organization supports the Equal Rights Amendment, reproductive rights, an end to domestic violence, and development of safe, affordable, quality child day care.

See also Abortion; Cable Acts; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Domestic Violence; Equal Rights Amendment; Protective Legislation; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921; Voting Rights Act of 1965; Women's Joint Congressional Committee

References Rogow, *Gone to Another Meeting: The National Council of Jewish Women, 1893–1993* (1993); www.ncjw.org.

National Council of Negro Women

Founded in 1935 by Mary McLeod Bethune, the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) was the first national coalition of black women's organizations. The National Association of Colored Women (NACW), founded in 1896, had brought together women's clubs and national associations of women's clubs, and the NCNW created an umbrella organization that included the NACW, African American women's college-based professional sororities, and other professional, religious, and political organizations. NCNW's mission is "to advance opportunities and the quality of life for African American women, their families and communities," and it seeks to "extend the collective power and leadership of African American women."

When she organized NCNW, Bethune believed that bringing black women's organizations together would "harness the great power of nearly a million women into a force for constructive action." After serving as president of the National Association of Colored Women from 1924 to 1928, Bethune was convinced that a national coalition of women's groups was needed to gain the full representation of African American women in national public affairs. By bringing national African American women's organizations together, Bethune believed that coordination of the organizations' efforts would reduce duplication among them and increase their effectiveness.

Ending segregation and other forms of racism has been an NCNW priority since its beginning. In the 1940s, the organization exposed discriminatory practices that excluded African Americans from government training programs and employment opportunities at plants producing

materials for World War II. NCNW worked for the admission of black women into the women's divisions of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and Bethune recruited many of the first black women to join the Women's Army Corps. Through NCNW's advocacy, African American women gained positions in the War Manpower Commission, the Women's and Children's Bureaus, the Department of Labor, and other federal agencies. By the end of Bethune's tenure as president of NCNW in 1949, the organization was recognized as the major advocate for black women.

Another African American woman with strong leadership ability, Dorothy Irene Height, became president in 1957. Height had served NCNW in several posts and brought a strong understanding of the issues before the organization, particularly the emerging civil rights movement. In the 1960s, NCNW worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee on voter registration projects by sending volunteers, money, and other resources. In 1965, NCNW recruited northern white female professionals to work in Freedom Schools that offered classes in voting and other related areas.

Under Height's leadership, NCNW focused attention on youth, employment opportunities, housing, health, hunger, civil rights, women's issues, family issues, and related areas. With a grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development, NCNW established an international division to work with women in Africa, the Caribbean, and other areas of the world. NCNW dedicated the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial in 1974, the first monument to an African American or to a woman of any race on public land in Washington, D.C., and the Mary McLeod Bethune Museum and National Archives for Black Women's History was also dedicated in 1974.

In 1986, Height began the Black Family Reunion celebrations, annual cultural events that focus on the strengths and values of the African American family. The *Black Family Reunion Cookbook* was published in 1992, the first of three volumes that document the diversity and heritage of African American cuisine.

The Dorothy I. Height Leadership Institute held its first programs in 1997. The institute provides three kinds of leadership training—for affiliate organizations' members, community volunteers, and college students. The fourth component of the institute is the African American Women's Critical Issues Research and Development, a think-tank approach to developing positions on current issues and the subsequent dissemination of the information to members and affiliates.

NCNW's membership includes thirty-seven affiliated national organizations, 250 community groups in forty-two states, and 45,000 individuals. The national affiliates include sororities, professional associations, and civic and social clubs.

See also Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; Baker, Ella Josephine; Bethune, Mary Jane McLeod; Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Height, Dorothy Irene; National Association of Colored Women; Tubman, Harriet

References Fitzgerald, *The National Council of Negro Women* (1985); Hine, *Black Women in America* (1993); www.ncnw.com.

National Federation of Afro-American Women

Formed in 1895, the National Federation of Afro-American Women (NFAAW) was organized “to teach an ignorant and suspicious world that our [black women’s] aims are identical with those of all good aspiring women.” African American leader Josephine Ruffin wrote those words as part of her call to create a group to counter a journalist’s assertion that black women were “prostitutes, thieves, and liars.” Ruffin called on African American women to work together to teach the world the truth. Twenty clubs founded the NFAAW, a number that grew to thirty-six clubs from twelve states. NFAAW merged with the Colored Women’s League in 1896 to form the National Association of Colored Women.

See also Colored Women’s League; National Association of Colored Women

References Hine and Thompson, *A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America* (1998).

National Federation of Republican Women

Founded in 1938, the National Federation of Republican Women (NFRW) is the largest women’s partisan organization in the United States, with more than 115,000 members in 2,100 local groups based in every state, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. NFRW members work to elect Republicans to every level of public office through educational programs, fund-raising efforts, and volunteer work.

Republican women had begun forming local groups in the 1870s to support the party’s efforts, particularly in election years. Often, these groups organized on an ad hoc basis and dissolved after the election. Hundreds of clubs existed by the late 1930s; Indiana, for example, had more than 100 Republican women’s organizations. Some of the groups caused Republican Party leaders concern because they tried to establish party policy, endorsed candidates in the primary elections, or worked for Democratic candidates. In addition, by the 1930s the Democratic Party had developed a national network of women volunteers and held firm majorities in Congress; a majority of the nation’s governors were Democrats; and Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House.

Party leaders decided that they could impose discipline on the groups, coordinate their programs, and utilize the volunteer resources by



The National Federation of Republican Women sponsored a get-out-the-vote rally (left to right): Representative Sue Myrick (R-NC); Senator Sheila Frahm (R-KS); Representative Enid Greene (R-UT); Republican National Committee chair Haley Barbour (at the podium); Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX); Marilyn Thayer, president of the federation; and Representative Constance Morella (R-MD), 1996 (Associated Press AP)

bringing them together under an umbrella. In 1938, Republican National Committee (RNC) assistant chairperson and director of women's activities Marion E. Martin called a meeting to unite the groups into a national organization. Eleven states joined as charter members, representing eighty-five clubs and 95,000 members. Martin became executive director of NFRW and developed political education programs, organized affiliates, and provided leadership. By 1940, NFRW had 350,000 members.

At the 1967 NFRW biennial convention, a controversy developed over the election of the group's leadership. Generally, the organization's vice president is elected president for the next two-year term. Phyllis Schlafly had held the vice presidency for the 1965–1967 term, but some NFRW and Republican Party leaders believed that she was too conservative for the good of the party and influenced the nominating committee to endorse NFRW board member Gladys O'Donnell and leave Schlafly off the ballot. Amid charges of unfair voting procedures, O'Donnell won the presidency. Outraged, Schlafly called for the creation of a conservative women's organization and launched the *Phyllis Schlafly Report*, a monthly newsletter.

NFRW seeks to advance the power of women through political access and participation and to develop leaders for the future. NFRW's current programs include recruiting women candidates for local and state office, lobbying, training women in campaign management, and organizing leadership development seminars.

See also Eagle Forum; Martin, Marion E.; National League of Republican Colored Women; Republican Party, Women in the; Schlafly, Phyllis Stewart

References Rymph, “Marion Martin and the Problem of Republican Feminism” (1996); Williams, comp., *The History of the Founding and Development of the National Federation of Republican Women* (1963); www.nfrw.org.

National Gender Balance Project USA

Founded in 1988, the National Gender Balance Project USA (NGBP) works to increase the number of women serving on state boards and commissions by passing legislation requiring governors to appoint women to the positions. In 1988, Iowa became the first state in the nation to require gender balance on all state boards and commissions, committees, and councils. Iowa feminist Kappie Spencer founded NGBP to encourage replication of Iowa’s law in other states. By bringing the concept to the attention of other feminist groups, NGBP has enlisted the support of several groups, including the American Association of University Women, the Women’s Agenda Conference, the National Association of Commissions for Women, and the National Women’s Political Caucus. Several states have adopted variations of Iowa’s law, with Florida expanding it to include ethnic representation. NGBP argues that attaining gender balance better utilizes women’s talents and provides a broader perspective for developing policy. In addition, serving on policymaking bodies provides a route to elective office for women and men.

See also American Association of University Women; National Association of Commissions for Women; National Women’s Political Caucus

National League of Republican Colored Women

The National League of Republican Colored Women (NLRCW) developed from the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) in 1924, when Republican national committeewomen Mamie Williams of Georgia and Mary Booze of Mississippi united black women’s Republican clubs. Among the group’s officers was treasurer Mary Church Terrell, the first president of NACW. With the slogan “We are in politics to stay and we shall be a stay in politics,” the group worked to gain African American women’s support for the Republican ticket in the 1924 elections.

In 1928, NLRCW president Nannie Burroughs of Washington, D.C., was appointed to the Republican National Committee’s Speakers Bureau and was a popular and sought-after speaker. The group celebrated Republican presidential candidate Herbert Hoover’s success, and several NLRCW members went to Washington for his inauguration. When they arrived, however, Burroughs was asked to retrieve inauguration tickets

accidentally sent to the African American women who had worked in the campaign. In addition, the inaugural ball was segregated.

Over the next four years, an accumulation of racial offenses and the Hoover administration's inaction on civil rights prompted many African American women to leave the Republican Party and give their allegiance to the Democratic Party. By 1932, the NLRCW had dissolved.

See also National Federation of Republican Women; Republican Party, Women in the; Terrell, Mary Eliza Church

References Higginbotham, "In Politics to Stay: Black Women Leaders and Party Politics in the 1920s" (1990).

National Organization for Women

Founded in 1966, the National Organization for Women (NOW) has 250,000 members and 450 chapters, making it the largest organization of feminist activists in the United States. NOW was founded out of frustration with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's (EEOC) resistance to enforcing the prohibitions against sex discrimination in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Feminist leaders Betty Friedan, Pauli Murray, EEOC commissioner Aileen Hernandez, Catherine East, and others concluded that a civil rights organization for women was needed to advocate for women's concerns. Their idea was to create a group for women comparable to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Twenty-eight women each contributed \$5, and NOW was born. The founders stated NOW's purpose as follows: "To take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society *now*, assuming all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men." NOW's first action was sending a telegram to the EEOC, urging the commissioners to end sex-segregated help-wanted newspaper ads. Challenging the EEOC was a primary focus of NOW's efforts for several years.

In late October 1966, an organizing conference elected Friedan president, Karen Clarenbach chair of the board, and Hernandez executive vice president. In 1967, task forces on women in poverty, legal and political rights, equal opportunity in employment, the image of women in mass media, and other groups gathered information and stated NOW's position on the issues. NOW's first priorities included federal aid for child care centers and full income tax deductions for child care services. In addition that year, support for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and the repeal of all abortion laws became and continue to be the group's most publicized, most ardently supported, and most controversial issues.

Support for the ERA had a divisive effect on NOW. Several of its leaders and followers came from organized labor, particularly the United

Auto Workers (UAW). In 1967, UAW opposed the ERA, and although the UAW members active in NOW supported the amendment, they felt that they had to withdraw from NOW when the organization endorsed it. Two years later, after the UAW decided to support the ERA, women UAW members rejoined NOW and resumed their active participation.

NOW's support for the repeal of abortion laws also caused division. Some feminists who supported the Equal Rights Amendment believed that adding abortion to the organization's agenda made it unnecessarily controversial and held the potential for alienating feminists who did not want abortion decriminalized. In 1968, one of NOW's founding members left and organized the Women's Equity Action League. Despite the controversy, NOW continued its work for reproductive rights by organizing clinic defense, lobbying Congress for the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, and winning a major lawsuit against Operation Rescue under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) statute.

Attracting and effectively using press attention were among the leadership's greatest strengths. Members picketed men-only restaurants, demonstrated on Mother's Day for "Rights, Not Roses," and protested laws against abortion. NOW initiated and largely organized the Women's Strike for Equality on 26 August 1970, an event that included demonstrations in more than ninety major cities in forty-two states and involved more than 100,000 women nationwide. In another demonstration supporting child care tax deductions, a baby carriage brigade included signs asking: "Are children as important as martinis?" referring to the tax deductions allowed for business entertaining. Other examples of NOW-sponsored marches include the 1978 march for the Equal Rights Amendment, which drew more than 100,000 people to Washington, D.C., and the March for Women's Lives in 1992, which drew 750,000 abortion rights supporters to Washington, D.C., the largest protest ever in the nation's capital.

Through the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDEF), founded in 1970, NOW also gained publicity for the lawsuits it filed. For example, in 1970 NOW filed a sex discrimination complaint under Executive Order 11375 against 1,300 corporations that had failed to file affirmative action plans for hiring women. Beginning in 1971, NOW protested the discriminatory practices of AT&T in hiring, promotions, fringe benefits, and executive appointments. In the agreement reached between the Department of Labor, EEOC, and AT&T, the corporation agreed to a lump-sum payment of \$15 million to 15,000 workers, wage adjustments, and new hiring practices, including giving more women craft jobs and broadened management opportunities. In the 1990s, NOW LDEF won major settlements in sex discrimination lawsuits against the Mitsubishi Corporation and Smith-Barney.

In addition to its controversial stands on abortion and equal rights, NOW added a third issue: lesbianism as a concern of feminism. Initially, Friedan had rejected including lesbian issues in NOW's agenda and had referred to lesbians as the "lavender menace." At its 1971 convention, however, NOW passed a resolution stating that lesbianism was a concern of feminism.

After congressional approval of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1972, NOW committed much of its resources to its ratification. The early successes of the amendment in 1972—twenty-two states ratified that year—lulled some leaders into believing that the amendment would easily be ratified by the necessary thirty-eight states. After Phyllis Schlafly organized Stop ERA in 1973 and defeated ratification attempts in several states, it became clear that a more organized and better-funded effort would be required for ratification. In 1978, NOW announced a boycott of unratified states, an effort that other organizations joined. NOW helped extend the ratification deadline and intensified its efforts, but the amendment failed in 1982.

Although the ERA consumed many of the organization's resources for several years and remains one of the organization's platforms, it continued to support and develop other issues related to obtaining women's equality. NOW works to end sexual harassment and sexual and physical violence against women, elect feminists to public office, end racism, protect abortion rights and reproductive freedom, and secure civil rights for lesbians.

See also Abortion; Affirmative Action; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Equal Rights Amendment; Feminist Movement; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; Hernandez, Aileen Clarke; Murray, Pauli; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; *NOW v. Scheidler*; Suffrage; Women's Equity Action League

References Carabillo, Meuli, and Csida, *Feminist Chronicles 1953–1993* (1993); Freeman, *The Politics of Women's Liberation* (1975); www.now.org.

National Organization of Black Elected Legislative Women

Founded in 1985, the National Organization of Black Elected Legislative Women (NOBEL) trains African American women to prepare them for elective and appointive office. Founded by former state legislator Diane Watson, NOBEL works to increase the number of African American women serving at every level of government by sponsoring forums and other educational programs. NOBEL focuses on public policy issues, promotes black women's participation in the development of public policy, and develops policy proposals.

NOBEL has lobbied for programs to help black youth, pressed for the rights of political refugees in South Africa, and sponsored a symposium on the black community and diseases affecting women.

See also National Political Congress of Black Women; National Women's Political Caucus

References Hine, ed., *Black Women in America* (1993).

National Political Congress of Black Women

Founded in 1984, the National Political Congress of Black Women (NPCBW) provides a political forum for African American women. Shirley Chisholm, the first black woman to run for president of the United States and a former member of Congress, founded the organization to encourage African American women to become active in elective politics. Educating women about all levels of the political process and bringing black women into political leadership are the goals of the organization. NPCBW has identified and recommended African American women for



C. Delores Tucker, chair of the National Political Congress of Black Women, spoke out against gangsta rap at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., 1995 (Associated Press AP)

appointment to high-level policy positions within President Bill Clinton's administration, contributing to the greater number of African American women serving in his administration than in any previous administration.

NPCBW has worked for affirmative action, access to nontraditional jobs, economic development, housing and urban development, and other issues. Through its hearings on housing market discrimination against African Americans, it has prompted legislative action. NPCBW continues to work on job discrimination, health care, drug abuse, single parenting, education, and the availability of child day care.

See also Chisholm, Shirley Anita St. Hill

References www.npcbw.org.

National Right to Life Committee

Founded in 1973 by the Roman Catholic Church, the National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) later became a nonsectarian group. The largest prolife organization in the United States, NRLC was organized after the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade* legalized abortions. NRLC coordinates lobbying efforts at the state and federal levels, involves its membership in letter-writing campaigns and other forms of citizen advocacy to enact restrictions on abortions and to end legal abortions, and employs professional lobbyists.

NRLC has supported a human life amendment to declare the personhood of the fetus from the moment of conception. Although NRLC and other prolife groups have not succeeded in passing the amendment, they have helped to pass restrictive laws in most states, including measures that required parental notification before a minor could obtain an abortion and mandatory waiting periods.

See also Abortion

References Blanchard, *The Anti-Abortion Movement and the Rise of the Religious Right: From Polite to Fiery Protest* (1994).

National Welfare Rights Organization

Founded in 1967, the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) educated welfare recipients about their rights and lobbied Congress. In the 1960s, the presence of poverty in the midst of affluence led President Lyndon Johnson to discuss the possibility of eliminating poverty in the United States. As Congress passed several antipoverty measures, welfare recipients created networks to educate themselves and others about the programs and their rights within them.

Initially, local groups used protest strategies such as occupying welfare offices and demanding resolution to their grievances. Later, NWRO

lobbied Congress for a guaranteed national income and for resources to allow welfare recipients to manage their own lives, and they protested policies that invaded welfare recipients' privacy. The organization's successes included an increase in the benefit level of the food stamp program and the addition of a cost-of-living provision in the program. NWRO also won cases in the U.S. Supreme Court, including one that gave welfare recipients the right to a hearing before the termination of their benefits. Bankruptcy in 1975 forced the closing of the national headquarters.

References Slavin, ed., *U.S. Women's Interest Groups* (1995).

National Woman Suffrage Association

Founded in 1869 by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) resulted from a conflict between the abolitionist and women's rights movements over the Fifteenth Amendment. Conflicts had first emerged over the Fourteenth Amendment's inclusion of the word *male* in its identification of citizens. When the Fifteenth Amendment was proposed, it limited its guarantees for voting rights to former slaves and did not include women. Suffragists Anthony and Stanton supported providing voting rights to former slaves, but they wanted the amendment to also include women. They appealed to the abolitionists and Republicans with whom they had long been allied but to no avail, and the amendment was introduced and ratified without including women in its provisions. To organize opposition against the amendment and to organize support for a woman suffrage amendment, Anthony and Stanton formed NWSA. In response, women's rights advocates who supported the Fifteenth Amendment, even though it did not include women, organized the American Woman Suffrage Association. The two groups merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1890.

See also American Woman Suffrage Association; Anthony, Susan Brownell; Fifteenth Amendment; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Nineteenth Amendment; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady

References Flexner and Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, enlarged edition (1996).

National Woman's Loyal League

See Woman's National Loyal League

National Woman's Party

The National Woman's Party (NWP), founded by Alice Paul, initiated the concept of the Equal Rights Amendment in the early 1920s and continues to support passage and ratification of it. For decades, the NWP was the

Amelia Earhart joined members of the National Woman's Party in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, 1932 (Archive Photos)



only active advocate of the amendment and was regularly in conflict with many women's organizations, leaving it isolated from them. In addition, the NWP membership was an elite group of women, and its leaders made no attempt to become a mass membership organization.

The NWP has its roots in two organizations founded to further the suffrage cause. The first, the Congressional Union, sought to obtain congressional approval of a suffrage amendment. In 1916, Paul began organizing the second organization, the Woman's Party, in states that had granted women suffrage. Through the Woman's Party, Paul hoped to elect congressional candidates who would support the suffrage amendment. After passage of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women suffrage, the Woman's Party and the Congressional Union dissolved, and the NWP emerged in its place.

NWP viewed woman suffrage as the first step in women achieving full equality, noting that the vote had not eliminated sex discrimination. NWP conducted a survey of state laws and identified policies that discriminated against women, including limits on women's rights to their earnings, to own property, to serve on juries, and to hold public office. In addition, child custody and divorce laws favored men. Based upon its research, the NWP announced its goal to gain complete equality for women.

In 1923, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Seneca Falls, New York, women's rights convention, the NWP approved the Lucretia Mott Amendment, also known as the Equal Rights Amendment. The amendment stated: "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

Social feminists and several women's organizations, including the National Women's Trade Union League, the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, opposed the amendment, fearing that it would make protective labor laws for women unconstitutional. They proposed the alternative of passing laws that removed the discriminatory policies, one law at a time, one state at a time. The NWP acknowledged that the ERA would likely outlaw protective labor legislation. In addition, some members believed that the protective legislation kept women out of higher-paying jobs and generally reduced their opportunities. They rejected the alternative, saying that it would take too long. By insisting on the amendment, NWP became alienated from other women's organizations.

Through the efforts of the NWP, the ERA was introduced in the U.S. Congress every session beginning in 1923. Occasionally, hearings were held on it, but there was no substantial action on it. With the advent of World War II, NWP launched a massive publicity campaign to pass the ERA. It obtained endorsements for the ERA from celebrities, including novelist Pearl Buck, artist Georgia O'Keeffe, and actresses Helen Hayes and Katharine Hepburn, but the NWP remained unable to overcome labor and women's groups' objections to the amendment. After World War II, organizational turmoil and disputes diminished the group's effectiveness, and by the mid-1950s, its membership had declined from old age and death.

Although the NWP was able to have the amendment introduced in Congress, it was unable to move it beyond that initial step. In the 1960s, as the modern feminist movement developed and the ERA gained the support of the newly formed women's political organizations, NWP participated in congressional hearings. However, leadership in the ratification campaign that followed congressional approval of the ERA came from the National Organization for Women, the National Women's Political Caucus, and other groups.

See also American Association of University Women; Congressional Union; Equal Rights Amendment; General Federation of Women's Clubs; Juries, Women on; League of Women Voters; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Organization for Women; National Women's Political Caucus; Nineteenth Amendment; Paul, Alice; Suffrage; Women's Trade Union League

References Cott, "Feminist Politics in the 1920s: The National Woman's Party" (1984); Freeman, "From Protection to Equal Opportunity: The Revolution in Women's Legal Status" (1990); Lemon, *The Woman Citizen* (1973).

National Women's Conference

Held in Houston, Texas, from 19 to 21 November 1977, the National Women's Conference (NWC) brought together thousands of U.S. women delegates and observers to debate and approve the National Plan of Action. The NWC was the brainchild of Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-NY), who successfully sponsored legislation authorizing the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975 to call the conference and to provide federal funding for it.

Congress provided the commission with clear directions regarding conference delegates, purposes, and processes. Public Law 94-167, which mandated the conference, overtly stated feminist goals, including recognition of "the contributions of women to the development of our country"; an assessment of "the progress that has been made to date by both the private and public sectors in promoting equality between men and women in all aspects of life in the United States"; an identification of "the barriers that prevent women from participating fully and equally in all aspects of national life"; and development of "recommendations for means by which such barriers can be removed." The feminist predisposition of the commission becomes apparent from some of those appointed to it: commission cochair Abzug, *Ms.* magazine editor Gloria Steinem, former congresswoman Martha Griffiths (D-MI), California assemblywoman and later congresswoman Maxine Waters (D-CA), National Organization for Women president Eleanor Smeal, and other feminist leaders. Although the law also called for racial, ethnic, age, and religious diversity and the purposeful inclusion of low-income women, it did not require political diversity.

Congress mandated state meetings in every state and the six territories (the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands), and in compliance fifty-six state conferences were held before the November NWC. At the state meetings, which were open to the public, attendees debated the draft resolutions proposed by the commission and proposed their own resolutions. Attendees also selected delegates to the NWC, an open process that resulted in considerable consternation among conference organizers when conservative groups such as the Eagle Forum, the John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Mormon Church began packing state meetings to elect sympathetic delegates. After Utah, Mississippi, and other states elected conservative delegates, NWC organizers began to fear confrontations between feminists and conservatives and the ultimate defeat of their agenda.

After states had chosen their delegations, 1,403 women had been selected. In addition, 186 alternates, forty-seven commissioners, and 370



delegates-at-large had official standing at the NWC. The status of delegate-at-large had been created as a way for the commission to establish the required diversity. The states, however, had successfully reached out to groups that had historically been underrepresented, resulting in 64.5 percent of the delegates being white, compared to 84.4 percent of the general female population, leaving some of the delegate-at-large positions to be filled by white, middle-class women.

The NWC opened on 19 November 1977, featuring the presentation of a lighted torch that more than 2,000 women runners had relayed 2,610 miles from Seneca Falls, New York, the site of the first women's rights convention, to Houston. After First Lady Rosalynn Carter and former first ladies Betty Ford and Lady Bird Johnson spoke to the convention, deliberations on the resolutions began. Using microphones placed throughout the convention hall, delegates addressed the convention, supporting, attempting to amend, and speaking against the proposed resolutions. The confrontations between feminists and conservatives did not develop in any significant way. Delegates held signs and wore buttons that announced their support of or opposition to issues such as abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment.

The NWC approved twenty-six resolutions that became the National Plan of Action. The resolutions called for the end of violence in the home, prevention of child abuse and treatment for abused children, expanded legislation recognizing the needs of disabled women, an increase in the

Notable women rallied for the Equal Rights Amendment at the National Women's Conference in Houston (left to right): Betty Friedan, Elizabeth Carpenter, First Lady Rosalynn Carter, First Lady Betty Ford, Esther Peterson, Jill Ruckelshaus, and Representative Bella Abzug (D-NY), 1977 (Corbis/Bettmann)

number of women in elective and appointive public offices, ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, support for displaced homemaker programs, improved services for older women, and changes in criminal codes to correct inequities against rape victims. Among the other topical areas were arts and humanities, business, child care, credit, education, minority women, offenders, rural women, and welfare and poverty.

NWC organizers had known that the two most controversial resolutions were on reproductive freedom and sexual preference. As debate began on the reproductive freedom resolution, which included abortion rights, supporters stepped to the microphones and made their points, but there were only a few brief comments from the opposition to the resolution, despite the chair's request that an opponent comment. Delegates approved the resolution.

The resolution to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sexual preferences had not been among the recommendations drafted by the commission, but thirty state meetings had approved the issue in their agendas. The commission responded by adding a resolution barring discrimination on the basis of sexual preferences for consideration by the NWC. Both feminists and conservatives struggled with the resolution, with one feminist calling it "an albatross" for the feminist agenda and saying that it would make ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment more difficult. Feminist Betty Friedan told the convention: "I am known to be violently opposed to the lesbian issue" but added: "I believe we must help the women who are lesbians" and supported the resolution. After the conference approved the resolution, delegates from Mississippi turned their backs to the podium, bent their heads as if praying, and held signs saying "Keep Them in the Closet."

The last resolution approved by the conference related to establishing a committee of the conference with the responsibility to call another NWC, as required by Public Law 94-167. In April 1978, President Jimmy Carter established the National Advisory Committee for Women (NACW), appointed forty people to it, and named Bella Abzug and Carmen Delgado Votaw its cochairs. The NACW's effectiveness was interrupted by a dispute between Abzug and Carter, resulting in Carter's dismissal of Abzug and several committee members' resignations in protest.

Ultimately, a group of volunteers formed the National Women's Conference Committee, which coordinated efforts to implement the National Plan of Action.

See also Abortion; Abzug, Bella Savitzky; Domestic Violence; Education, Women and; Equal Rights Amendment; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; Griffiths, Martha Edna Wright; Lesbian Rights; National Advisory Committee for Women; National Commission on the Observance of International

Women's Year, 1975; National Women's Conference Committee; Rape; Schlafly, Phyllis Stewart; Smeal, Eleanor Cutri; Steinem, Gloria Marie; Waters, Maxine Moore

References Bird, *What Women Want* (1979); East, *American Women: 1963 1983 2003* (1983).

National Women's Conference Committee

The National Women's Conference Committee (NWCC) works through existing organizations to implement the National Plan of Action approved by the National Women's Conference in 1977. Created in 1978 as the International Women's Year Continuing Committee, the NWCC is a private, nonprofit corporation that is supported by paid memberships and a volunteer corps.

The NWCC has its roots in the 1977 National Women's Conference held in Houston, Texas. The National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975, which had planned and organized the conference, dissolved in early 1978 as required by the law that had authorized the conference. Among the resolutions in the National Plan of Action was one for a continuing committee, which had also been a provision of the legislation authorizing the conference. Within a short time, President Jimmy Carter had created the National Advisory Committee for Women, but its work was abandoned after Carter and committee cochair Abzug disagreed and Carter fired her, prompting several committee members to resign. Carter appointed another committee, but it dissolved at the end of his administration in 1980.

A group of women who had been involved in the National Women's Conference organized the NWCC to pursue the goals it had outlined. NWCC has helped organize advocacy networks in thirty-four states, developed strategies for international networks of women, and convened annual national meetings to assess progress on the National Plan of Action. It has published materials on the Equal Rights Amendment and on the National Plan of Action.

See also Abzug, Bella Savitzky; National Advisory Committee for Women; National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975; National Women's Conference

References Bird, *What Women Want* (1979); East, *American Women: 1963 1983 2003* (1983).

National Women's Political Caucus

Founded in 1971, the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) is a national grassroots organization dedicated to increasing the number of prochoice women in elected and appointed positions at every level of

government. Through its work, NWPC has helped raise women's awareness of themselves as a political interest group and has helped gain politicians' recognition of women as a constituency.

Feminist leader Betty Friedan conceived the idea of forming the NWPC and founded the organization with some of modern feminism's most notable leaders, including Gloria Steinem, Fannie Lou Hamer, Olga Madar, LaDonna Harris, Liz Carpenter, Dorothy Height, and Congresswomen Shirley Chisholm and Bella Abzug, among many others. They shared a belief that a multipartisan women's organization was needed to promote the election and appointment of women to political offices.

At the time, the number of women serving in political leadership roles and public office had not become an issue in the public consciousness. There were no national campaign funds for women candidates and only random efforts to obtain political appointments for women. In the year NWPC was founded, less than 3 percent of the members of Congress were women, and 4.5 percent of the members of state legislatures were women. Caucus members believed that increasing the number of women would enhance the potential for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and other feminist legislative priorities.

NWPC identifies, recruits, trains, and supports women seeking elected and appointed office. In one campaign cycle in the 1990s, NWPC trained more than 2,500 women, teaching them how to raise money, develop a campaign message and strategy, motivate volunteers, and work with the news media. It also endorses candidates and raises money for endorsed candidates.

Increasing the numbers of women delegates to the Democratic National Convention and the Republican National Convention was an early priority for NWPC. In 1972, NWPC established training programs to assist women interested in becoming delegates and to teach them the process of becoming delegates. NWPC also sent representatives to both parties' conventions, meeting with women delegates, explaining NWPC's priorities, organizing networks, and providing support in the forms of information and strategy suggestions. The Republican Women's Task Force and the Democratic Women's Task Force emerged from the 1972 efforts and continued to work for feminist platform proposals at subsequent national conventions.

NWPC's legislative priorities have included the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, child care, economic equity, welfare reform, fair housing, and the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978. NWPC organizes and works with coalitions for the appointment of women to policymaking positions.

See also Abzug, Bella Savitzky; Carpenter, Mary Elizabeth (Liz) Sutherland;

Chisholm, Shirley Anita St. Hill; Congress, Women in; Democratic Party, Women in the; Equal Rights Amendment; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; Hamer, Fannie Lou Townsend; Height, Dorothy Irene; Madar, Olga Marie; Meissner, Doris Marie; Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978; Republican Party, Women in the; State Legislatures, Women in; Steinem, Gloria Marie

References Feit, "Organizing for Political Power: The National Women's Political Caucus" (1979); www.feminist.com/nwpc.htm.

Natividad, Irene (b. 1948)

Irene Natividad was chair of the National Women's Political Caucus from 1985 to 1989. Under Natividad's leadership, the NWPC established the Minority Women Candidates' Training Program, analyzed factors affecting success and defeat in women's congressional races, and held training workshops for political candidates and their staffs. In addition, Natividad explained: "One of our missions [at the NWPC] is to transfer the political experience we have developed on a national level to the state and local level. We want to train women to run for local offices because if we don't feed that pipeline we won't have winners." Interested in helping women obtain federal appointments, she met with President George Bush to discuss potential women appointees in his administration.

After the end of her second term as chair of NWPC in 1989, Natividad's interests turned to international issues. She worked on the 1992 Global Forum of Women and the 1994 Taiwan Forum for Women.

Born in Manila, the Philippines, Irene Natividad moved with her family to Okinawa, Japan, Iran, Greece, and India because of her father's work. Natividad graduated from high school in Greece. She earned her bachelor's degree in 1971 from Long Island University and a master's degree in American literature in 1973 and another master's degree in philosophy in 1976, both from Columbia University. She completed the course requirements for a doctoral degree but has yet to complete her dissertation for it.

Natividad became involved in politics during Eugene McCarthy's unsuccessful campaign for president in 1968. She held college faculty and administrative positions from 1974 to 1985. Founder and president of Asian American Professional Women in 1980, she also founded the National Network of Asian-Pacific American Women and the Child Care Action Campaign. From 1982 to 1984, Natividad chaired the New York state Asian Pacific Caucus of the Democratic Party and was deputy vice chair of the Asian Pacific Caucus of the Democratic National Committee. During Democratic vice presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro's 1984 campaign, Natividad served as Asian American liaison for it.

See also National Women's Political Caucus

References *New York Times*, 18 November 1987; Zia and Gall, eds., *Notable Asian Americans* (1995).

Neuberger, Maurine Brown (b. 1907)

Democrat Maurine Neuberger of Oregon served in the U.S. Senate from 9 November 1960 to 3 January 1967. Her political career began shortly after she married Richard L. Neuberger in 1945. In 1948 Richard Neuberger won a seat in the Oregon state Senate, and in 1950 Maurine Neuberger won a seat in the Oregon House of Representatives. When the session began in 1951, Maurine and Richard Neuberger were the first married couple in the nation to serve simultaneously in both houses of a state legislature. They wrote *Adventures in Politics: We Go to the Legislature* (1954) about their experiences, in addition to other published work.

While in the legislature, Maurine Neuberger cosponsored the bill that created the Oregon Fair Employment Practices Act. She contributed to the passage of bills that made it unlawful to discriminate in employment, housing, public accommodations, and education based upon race, color, national origin, religion, sex, marital status, handicap, or age. Maurine Neuberger served in the Oregon House of Representatives through the 1955 session, when she decided to join her husband in Washington, D.C. In 1954, Richard Neuberger had won election to the U.S. Senate.

In Washington, Neuberger became her husband's political partner, worked in his office, researched bills, wrote a monthly constituent newsletter, and prepared a weekly radio program. When Richard Neuberger unexpectedly died on 9 March 1960, two days before the filing deadline for the primary elections, Maurine Neuberger became a candidate to fill the vacancy and to serve for the full term beginning in 1961. She won both contests.

As a member of the U.S. Senate, Maurine Neuberger supported the regulation of billboards along federal highways, higher soybean price supports, reform of immigration laws to end national origins quota systems, and stronger controls on cigarette advertising and warning labels on cigarette packages. She declined to run for a second full term. She later taught at Boston University, Radcliffe Institute, and Reed College.

Born in Multnomah County, Oregon, Maurine Neuberger graduated from high school in 1923 and two years later earned a teaching certificate from Oregon College of Education. After teaching in public schools for a few years, she returned to college and earned a bachelor's degree in English and physical education from the University of Oregon. She later attended graduate school at the University of California at Los Angeles.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook*, 1961; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1991* (1991).

New York Radical Women

Formed by Pam Allen and Shulamith Firestone in 1967, New York Radical Women (NYRW) was one of the earliest radical women's liberation groups. The group's most publicized demonstration occurred outside the 1968 Miss America beauty pageant in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Two hundred women carried picket signs saying: "Women are people, not livestock" and "Can makeup cover the wounds of our oppression?" They designated a large container "the freedom trash can" and invited participants to toss items of "female torture" into it. Hair curlers, girdles, bras, and high heels went into the can, acts that attracted media attention. Reports that women burned their bras at the event are untrue, but from those reports feminists were given the derogatory appellation of "bra burners." The media attention alerted the nation that a new feminist movement was emerging in this country. The group dissolved in 1969.

References Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975* (1989)

News Media, Women Politicians and

The U.S. news media plays a substantial role in shaping the public's appraisals of political candidates and politicians, female and male. The media has a long tradition of reporting on political women differently than it has reported on political men, encouraging the perception that women do not belong in the political arena and perpetuating stereotypes of women. The information news outlets offer about female candidates may be accurate, but it also may emphasize matters of little consequence or use prejudicial language.

Women's physical appearance and attire have attracted undue attention, with descriptions of a woman's height, weight, and hairstyle appearing regularly. In 1982, for example, the *Des Moines Register* concluded that Iowa Democratic gubernatorial nominee Roxanne Conlin's changing hairstyles over several years deserved space in its news section and displayed several photos of her with different hairstyles. Other political women have objected when their clothing received more space than their accomplishments. In 1974, after President Richard Nixon resigned as a result of the Watergate scandal, Mary Louise Smith became chair of the Republican National Committee (RNC). At a time when the Republican Party was mired in controversy, reporters asked Smith if she planned to dye her hair and if she purchased her clothes from designers or off the rack. Such practices trivialize political women and minimize their accomplishments.

The adjectives used to describe political women provide an example of the news media's tendency to stereotype women. Female members of

Congress have been described as “plucky,” “perky,” “spunky,” and “feisty,” words that would not be used to describe a male member of Congress. U.S. Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX) was once described as an “aging cheerleader” and U.S. Representative Bella Abzug (D-NY) was called “aggressive” and “abrasive.” Abzug noted that if she were a man, the words *courageous* and *dynamic* would more likely have been used. RNC chair Smith was consistently referred to as a gray-haired grandmother from Iowa, which was true, but reporters did not characterize Democratic National Committee chairman Robert Strauss as a gray-haired grandfather from Texas.

Sex-role stereotyping in the news media takes several forms. Political women are asked about their homemaking, sewing, and cooking skills, questions that political men are spared. In addition, men are not asked about their abilities to repair an automobile, build a house, or mow a lawn. Reporters frequently question political women about how it feels to be a woman officeholder, a question that men are not asked to address.

See also Abzug, Bella Savitzky; Hutchison, Kathryn (Kay) Ann Bailey; Public Offices, Women Elected to; Smith, Mary Louise

References Braden, *Women Politicians and the Media* (1996).

9to5, National Association of Working Women

Founded in 1973 by Karen Nussbaum and nine other women, 9to5, National Association of Working Women seeks to end workplace discrimination and to help women make the transition from welfare to work. The organization and its 15,000 members work on several levels, from providing information to working women seeking advice to lobbying state legislatures and Congress. Its bill of rights for working women includes fair pay, family-friendly policies, prorated benefits for part-time work, a voice in job design, job security, safe and healthful workplaces, and workplaces free from all forms of discrimination and harassment.

Through its Job Survival Hotline, staff members answer as many as 25,000 phone calls a year from women wanting advice on job security, sexual harassment, workers' rights, maternity leave, and discrimination. Because ending sexual harassment in the workplace is a priority for 9to5, the association's director, Ellen Bravo, and Ellen Cassidy wrote *The 9to5 Guide to Combating Sexual Harassment: Candid Advice from 9to5, the National Association of Working Women* in 1992. The book defines sexual harassment, provides statistics about it, offers advice on how to deal with harassers, and includes information on filing complaints.

9to5's public policy priorities include tax benefits for family-friendly companies, withholding government contracts from those companies that are not family-friendly, increasing the minimum wage, increasing



child care options, and requiring benefits for part-time employees. The organization supported the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, the Civil Rights Act of 1991, the 1990 child care legislation, and state laws on workplace health and safety and sexual harassment.

The organization inspired the 1980 movie and song *Nine to Five*.

See also Bravo, Ellen; Child Day Care; Civil Rights Act of 1991; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; Nussbaum, Karen; Pay Equity; Sexual Harassment

References www.feminist.com.

Suffragists looked on as Governor Edwin P. Morrow of Kentucky signed the Anthony Amendment; Kentucky was the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment, which passed in 1920 (Library of Congress)

Nineteenth Amendment

The Nineteenth Amendment guarantees women the right to vote. Passed by Congress on 4 June 1919, it was ratified and added to the U.S. Constitution on 26 August 1920 after more than seventy years of lobbying, organizing, and campaigning for it.

The text of the Nineteenth Amendment reads:

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.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

See also American Woman Suffrage Association; Anthony, Susan Brownell; Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman; Mott, Lucretia Coffin; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman's Party; Paul, Alice; Seneca Falls Convention; Stone, Lucy; Suffrage

Nixon, Pat Ryan (1912–1993)

Pat Nixon was first lady from 1969 to 1974, the years her husband Richard Nixon was president of the United States. Her life as a politician's wife began in 1946, the year her husband ran for Congress, and continued until he resigned from office as a result of the Watergate scandal. Throughout Richard Nixon's political career, Pat Nixon steadfastly stood by her husband, campaigning for him, entertaining political supporters and other guests, and traveling with him on international trips, especially during the years he was vice president and president. During Richard Nixon's first term as president, she sought but did not identify a special project by which she would become known. Although she continued to explore possibilities during his second term, the turmoil created by the Watergate scandal overwhelmed her search. After Richard Nixon resigned from the presidency, the couple returned to California.

First Lady Patricia Nixon witnessed her husband's inauguration ceremony, 1969 (Archive Photos)



Born in Ely, Nevada, Pat Nixon was named Thelma Catherine Ryan, which she changed to Pat Ryan in 1931. After graduating from the University of Southern California in 1937, she taught school in Whittier, California, and met Richard Nixon when they both had roles in a community theater production. They married in 1941, and she ended her teaching career.

References Eisenhower, *Pat Nixon* (1986).

Nolan, Mae Ella Hunt (1886–1973)

Republican Mae Nolan of California served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 23 January 1923 to 3 March 1925. She won the election to fill the vacancy created by the death of her husband, John Nolan. As chair of the Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department, Mae Nolan was the first woman to chair a House committee. She introduced a measure for a minimum daily wage of \$3 for federal employees, which passed the House but failed in the Senate. She passed legislation that transferred the Palace of Fine Arts from the federal government to the City of San Francisco and that authorized the construction of a federal building. She declined to run for a second term, saying politics was “entirely too masculine to have any attraction for feminine responsibilities.”

Born in San Francisco, California, Mae Ella Nolan attended Ayres Business College in San Francisco.

See also Congress, Women in

References Chamberlin, *A Minority of Members* (1973); Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974).

Norrell, Catherine Dorris (1901–1981)

Democrat Catherine Norrell of Arkansas served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 18 April 1961 to 3 January 1963. She entered politics through her husband, Congressman William Norrell, serving as his staff assistant. After her husband died in office, she won the election to fill the vacancy. Congresswoman Norrell sought to protect Arkansas’s clay, textile, and lumber industries through tariffs and other government regulation. She declined to run for a second term.

Born in Camden, Arkansas, Catherine Norrell attended Ouachita Baptist College and the University of Arkansas. She then taught music and was director of the Arkansas A&M music department.

After leaving Congress, Norrell was appointed deputy assistant secretary of state for educational and cultural affairs by President John Kennedy and served from 1963 to 1965. She was director of the State Department’s reception center in Honolulu from 1965 to 1969.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Northrup, Anne Meagher (b. 1948)

Republican Anne Meagher Northrup of Kentucky entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1997. Among her congressional priorities is the construction of a bridge over the Ohio River near Louisville. Northrup has worked to increase accountability in federal programs and seeks local government control of programs and the reduction of government regulations to help small businesses. Northrup has also worked on health care reform, focusing on making health care both affordable and accessible. She founded the House Reading Caucus in 1998, a bipartisan group that seeks to raise awareness of the problems of illiteracy.

Born in Louisville, Kentucky, Anne Northrup earned her bachelor's degree in economics and business from St. Mary's College in 1970. Northrup served in the Kentucky House of Representatives from 1987 to 1996.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/northrup/bio.htm.

Norton, Eleanor Holmes (b. 1937)

Democrat Eleanor Holmes Norton of the District of Columbia entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1991. As representative for the district, Norton is a delegate and does not have a vote in House business. She is the first African American woman elected to Congress from the District of Columbia.

Born in Washington, D.C., Eleanor Holmes Norton earned her bachelor of arts degree from Antioch College in 1959 and her master of arts degree in 1963 and her law degree in 1964 from Yale Law School. Norton clerked for a federal judge following law school and then was assistant legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Representing a white supremacist group that had been denied permission to hold a rally in Maryland, she argued and won her first case before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1968.

Norton headed the New York City Human Rights Commission from 1971 to 1977. She convinced several companies to provide maternity benefits, helped change workers' compensation policies, and won a woman sportswriter the right to sit in the press box at hockey games, in addition to other successes. From 1977 to 1981, Norton chaired the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). When she began her work



Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC), with Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women, discussed possible minority voter intimidation in the elections, 1998 (Associated Press AP)

there, the commission had a backlog of almost 100,000 worker complaints. Norton changed the arbitration system and reduced the backlog to 32,000 cases. Her work with the EEOC contributed to her decision in 1991 to urge the Senate to hold hearings after Anita Hill alleged that she had been sexually harassed by U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas. One of the women who marched to the U.S. Senate in October 1991, Norton explained: “As a black woman I identified with Anita Hill, as the former chair of the EEOC and because I wrote the guidelines, I had a special obligation and I believe if we didn’t walk the hearing would not have been held.” She walked for “black women who have had their sexuality trivialized and scandalized; black women who have had their sexuality demeaned just as Clarence Thomas had done to Anita Hill.”

Congresswoman Norton has worked for civil rights, women’s rights, law enforcement, education, and economic development and political independence for the District of Columbia. A unique situation exists in the district. Residents pay taxes, but their congressional representative does not have a constitutional right to vote on the floor of the House. In 1993, Norton persuaded her colleagues to grant the district’s representative that privilege, but when Republicans gained the majority for the 104th Congress in 1995, the privilege was withdrawn. Norton relies on her persuasive abilities perhaps more than other members of Congress as she works to represent the district’s needs for infrastructure maintenance and improvements, additional federal funds, and an adequate tax system.

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Hill, Anita Faye; Sexual Harassment

Norton, Mary Teresa Hopkins (1875–1959)

Democrat Mary Teresa Norton of New Jersey served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 4 March 1925 to 3 January 1951, making her the dean of congresswomen at the time of her retirement. Norton's political careers emerged from her efforts to assist working women through a day nursery she founded. Seeking financial support from Jersey City, she appealed to Mayor Frank Hague, who facilitated the city government's making a financial commitment to the nursery. In return, Norton permitted Hague and the state Democratic committee to use her name on its list of members.

After the woman suffrage amendment was ratified in 1920, both Democrats and Republicans sought women's votes and organizational skills. Democrat Hague, one of the most powerful political bosses in U.S. history, enlisted Norton's help attracting women to the party and helped her develop her political skills. For three years, she recruited and organized women voters. In 1923, Hague persuaded Norton to run for the Hudson County Board of Freeholders. On the county board, she worked for the construction of a maternity hospital that the county would build and support, an effort that resulted in the only facility in the country financed that way. Her experience on the board exposed her to the inadequate services and assistance available for disabled, old, or elderly people.

At Hague's urging, Norton resigned from the board in 1924 to run for the U.S. House of Representatives. With the help of Hague and the mothers who had known Norton through the day nursery, she won the election. She was the first Democratic woman elected to Congress who had not followed her husband into the office and the first woman elected from the East. After her election, a reporter asked her to pose for photographs: one hanging clothes on the line and the other cooking in her kitchen. She refused, saying: "I do not expect to cook, and I do not expect to wash any clothes in Congress."

In 1925, Congresswoman Norton sponsored legislation that funded construction of the first veterans' hospital in New Jersey. By 1928, Norton had become part of a circle of Democratic women activists that included Eleanor Roosevelt, Belle Moskowitz, and Molly Dewson, all of whom worked to involve more women in party politics. During the 1930s, Norton worked with Dewson to enhance the status of women working for the party at the local level and sought to highlight their contributions to the party and reward them.

When Democrats gained the majority in Congress in 1931, Norton became the second woman to chair a congressional committee, the District of Columbia Committee. At the time, Congress governed the district. Norton worked for home rule for the district, to improve slum areas in the city, to give women the right to serve on juries, and to permit women to be police officers. She helped improve the district's public transportation, made progress in improving its slums, passed the district's first old-age pension, and obtained an appropriation to build a hospital for tubercular children. Her diligent attention to the district earned Norton the nickname "Mayor of Washington." She chaired the committee until 1937.

She next chaired the Labor Committee, making her the first woman to chair a major legislative committee, beginning in 1937 and holding the post until 1946. A strong supporter of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal legislation, she had been instrumental in the passage of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. As chair of the Labor Committee, her most outstanding work was the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which took a full year to pass. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins and Norton shared a commitment to establish a minimum pay provision based upon occupation and not sex, but the American Federation of Labor (AFL) opposed the wages and hours sections of the bill and wanted it killed. At the request of the AFL, Hague asked Norton to kill the bill, a power she had as committee chair, but she refused and took the bill to the House floor, where it failed. In 1938, Norton negotiated a compromise with AFL and brought out a new bill, but the Rules Committee buried it. Norton obtained the necessary 218 signatures on a discharge petition to move the bill out of the Rules Committee and onto the floor for debate. The bill passed with its provision that maximum hours and minimum wages be the same for men and women. The act established a minimum wage of twenty-five cents an hour, a forty-hour workweek, and overtime wages at time and a half. In addition, it prohibited child labor. After the bill's passage, Norton said: "I am prouder of getting that bill through the House than anything else I've ever done in my life."

Her interest in the area of pay continued, and she was instrumental in raising the minimum wage, eventually to seventy-five cents an hour. In 1945, she introduced the Women's Equal Pay Act, but a measure enacting the policy did not pass until 1963. As committee chair, Norton encountered the resentment of some of her male colleagues, who sabotaged some legislation originating in her committee. In addition, important labor legislation that was within the purview of her committee sometimes went to other committees because a woman chaired the Labor Committee.

In 1941, Norton enlisted the help of eight of the nine women in Congress to develop bipartisan support for a \$6 million appropriation for fed-

eral nursery schools for the children of women working in war industries. During the years of World War II, the appropriation rose to \$75 million.

Since the 1920s, when Norton had recruited women to join the ranks of the Democratic Party, she had continued her efforts to encourage women to become politically active. Her interests included displaced homemakers, maternity leave, and equal pay for equal work for women. She wrote: “I think women should first of all be interested in other women, interested in other women’s projects, their dreams, and their ambitions. It’s up to women to stand for each other.” She had intended to run for another term in 1950, but while she was in the hospital with pneumonia, she decided against it. She served as a consultant to the Labor Department until 1953.

Born in Jersey City, New Jersey, Norton’s formal education ended when she was fourteen years old.

See also Congress, Women in; Displaced Homemakers; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993

References Kaptur, *Women of Congress* (1996); Mitchell, “Women Standing for Women: The Early Political Career of Mary T. Norton” (1978); Tomlinson, “Making Their Way: A Study of New Jersey Congresswomen, 1924–1994” (1996).

Novello, Antonia Coello (b. 1944)

Antonia Novello was the first woman, the first Puerto Rican, and the first Hispanic surgeon general of the United States, serving from 1990 to 1993. Before appointing her surgeon general, President George Bush confirmed that Novello shared the administration’s opposition to abortion. Novello, who was born with an abnormally large and malfunctioning colon that required several surgical operations, explained: “Having been born with a congenital defect makes me think that everything has a chance to live.” She added: “Women have to move a little bit away from abortion as the only issue to tackle.”

As surgeon general, Novello campaigned against teen smoking and called on R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company to stop using ads featuring Joe Camel, a cartoon character that had more appeal to children than to adults. She also asked beer and wine companies to end advertising campaigns directed at children and teenagers, saying: “The ads have youth believing that instead of getting up early, exercising, going to school, playing a sport or learning to be a team player, all they have to do to fit in is learn to drink the right alcohol.” Novello also focused attention on domestic violence, the number of children not vaccinated against common infectious diseases, and the high rates of injury and death experienced by farm families.

Born in Fajardo, Puerto Rico, Novello earned her bachelor of science degree in 1965 and her medical degree in 1970, both from the University

of Puerto Rico. She completed her internship in pediatrics at the University of Michigan and subspecialty training in pediatric nephrology at the University of Michigan Medical Center from 1973 to 1974 and at Georgetown University Hospital from 1974 to 1975. She earned her master's degree in public health from Johns Hopkins University in 1982.

Novello opened a private practice in Springfield, Virginia, in 1976, but left it two years later, saying, "when the pediatrician cries as much as the parents [of the patients] do, then you know it's time to get out." She joined the U.S. Public Health Service and was a project officer in the artificial kidney and chronic uremia program at the National Institutes of Health (NIH). A staff physician at NIH in 1979 and 1980, she was executive secretary of the Division of Grants at NIH from 1981 to 1986 and deputy director of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development from 1986 until 1989. While at NIH, Novello also held a legislative fellowship and worked with the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources. During her fellowship, she made significant contributions to the drafting and enactment of the National Organ Transplant Act of 1984 and helped draft the warning used on cigarette packages.

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook*, 1992 (1992).

***NOW v. Scheidler* (1994)**

In *NOW v. Scheidler* (1994), the U.S. Supreme Court found that the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) applied to a coalition of antiabortion groups. The case arose from a lawsuit brought by the National Organization for Women (NOW) and abortion clinics, alleging that the Pro-Life Action League Network (PLAN); Operation Rescue; and several individuals, including Joseph Scheidler, who was named in the lawsuit, were part of a nationwide conspiracy that sought to close abortion clinics. NOW contended that the violence that had occurred at abortion clinics, including trespass, threats, physical attacks, arson, theft



Former U.S. surgeon general Antonia Novello talked with Arthur Roth in the New York state Senate chamber as she waited to be confirmed as state health commissioner, 1999 (Associated Press AP)

of fetuses, and other actions, was coordinated events. The question that the Court had to decide was whether RICO applied only to enterprises with an economic motive, and the Supreme Court concluded that the law could be applied more broadly.

See also Abortion; National Organization for Women; Operation Rescue; Pro-Life Action League

References Bradley, “*NOW v. Scheidler*: RICO Meets the First Amendment” (1995).

Nussbaum, Karen (b. 1950)

Karen Nussbaum was a cofounder of 9to5, National Association of Working Women and served as its first executive director from 1973 to 1993. She was director of the Women’s Bureau of the Department of Labor from 1993 to 1996.

When she worked as a clerk-typist at Harvard University, Nussbaum found the low pay and lack of benefits and vacation time unacceptable and resented the lack of respect with which secretaries were treated. Discussing the issues with other women secretaries, she found several of them shared her grievances. With a few of her colleagues, Nussbaum called a meeting that about fifty women attended. The group expanded from Harvard University to include Boston in 1973. The Boston group joined similar groups that had formed in other cities to create 9to5, National Association of Working Women.

The organization seeks to improve its members’ working conditions, wages, and promotion opportunities. Nussbaum led the formation of a national union in 1982, District 925 of the Service Employees International Union, a sister organization for those workers who want to belong to a union.

In 1993, President Bill Clinton appointed Nussbaum director of the Women’s Bureau. She focused the bureau’s attention on average working women and initiated the Working Women Count! survey of working women and the challenges they face in the workplace. She created programs to inform working women of their rights regarding sexual harassment, pregnancy discrimination, and the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993. In 1996, Nussbaum became the first head of the Working Women’s Department of the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Born in Chicago, Illinois, Karen Nussbaum attended the University of Chicago.

See also Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; 9to5, National Association of Working Women; Women’s Bureau

References <http://dol.gov/dol/opa/public/media/press/wb/wb96066.htm>;
www.dol.gov/dol/wb/public/edu/gallery.htm.

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Oakar, Mary Rose (b. 1940)

Democrat Mary Rose Oakar of Ohio served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1977 to 3 January 1993. Oakar entered politics by serving on the Cleveland City Council from 1973 to 1976. In her 1976 congressional campaign, Oakar was one of twelve candidates in the Democratic primary and the only woman, a point that she highlighted and that helped her win. As a member of Congress, Oakar worked to protect retirement benefits for federal retirees and to expand health care coverage for elderly Americans.

An early advocate of Medicare coverage for mammograms, she succeeded in getting the coverage included in a 1988 act, but it was repealed the next year, along with several other programs. In 1990, Oakar again sought to have Medicare coverage for mammograms, but Republicans fought it because of the cost. After assuming that this benefit had been included in the 1991 budget bill, Oakar said: “When I found out they left it out, I just lost it.” She went to the media to develop public support for it, and she raised the issue on the House floor, during caucus meetings and whip meetings. She explained her crusade “as just day after day of badgering.” Her most influential convert was House Ways and Means Committee chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL), who helped her convince others in leadership that the coverage was necessary. Medicare coverage of mammograms was included in the 1991 budget bill. Oakar served as secretary of the House Democratic Caucus in the 99th Congress (1985–1987) and as vice chair of the House Democratic Caucus in the 100th Congress (1987–1989).

Oakar came under investigation for having 213 overdrafts in the 1991 House bank scandal. Even though she was defeated in 1992, the probe continued and revealed that she had transferred \$16,000 in campaign contributions from her House bank account to her campaign. She had also filed false information with the Federal Election Commission in an effort to camouflage the sources of campaign donations. In 1997, Oakar admitted committing both offenses. She was fined and sentenced to two years of probation and ordered to perform 200 hours of community service.

Oakar is chief executive officer and president of Oakar and Associates, Inc., a consulting and public relations firm working on both the domestic and international levels. She also hosts radio broadcasts and a television talk show.

Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Oakar earned her bachelor of arts degree at Ursuline College in 1962, completed her master of arts degree at John Carroll University in 1966, and studied acting at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts in London. She taught English and drama in a high school from 1963 to 1967 and was a college professor from 1967 to 1975.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); *Politics in America: The 98th Congress* (1983); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1992* (1993); "Former Rep. Oakar Sentenced in Campaign Finance Case" (1998).

O'Connor, Sandra Day (b. 1930)

Appointed by President Ronald Reagan in 1981, Republican Sandra Day O'Connor is the first woman to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court. As an associate justice, O'Connor's work has been categorized as restrained. She has been called a leader of the new center on the court and has regularly cast the deciding vote in cases.

Born in El Paso, Texas, O'Connor earned her bachelor of arts degree in 1950 and her law degree in 1952, both from Stanford University. Even though O'Connor graduated third in her law school class, she encountered sex discrimination when she began her job search. Employers refused to hire a woman lawyer, but one firm offered her a job as a legal secretary that she declined.

O'Connor began her professional career as deputy county attorney for San Mateo County, California, in 1952. A civil attorney for the U.S. Army in Frankfurt, West Germany, from 1954 to 1957, O'Connor opened a private practice in 1959 in Phoenix, Arizona, and was assistant attorney general for the State of Arizona from 1965 to 1969. She served in the Arizona state Senate from 1969 to 1975. Elected majority leader in 1973, she was the first woman in the nation to hold that leadership position. Her

legislative achievements included regular reviews for people committed to mental institutions, probate code reform, establishment of no-fault divorce laws, and repeal of a law that limited women to an eight-hour workday.

In 1975, O'Connor won election to become a superior court judge in Maricopa County, Arizona. She served on the Arizona Court of Appeals from 1979 to 1981, when President Ronald Reagan appointed her to the U.S. Supreme Court.

See also Divorce Law Reform; Ginsburg, Ruth Joan Bader; Protective Legislation; State Legislatures, Women in

References *New York Times*, 8 July 1981; Van Sickle, *Not a Particularly Different Voice: The Jurisprudence of Sandra Day O'Connor* (1998).



O'Day, Caroline Love Goodwin (1875–1943)

Democrat Caroline O'Day of New York served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1935 to 3 January 1943. A social reformer, O'Day was involved in the suffrage movement, the New York Consumers League, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the League of Women Voters. She also worked at a maternity center and a social settlement house in New York. After serving as commissioner of the New York State Board of Social Welfare from 1923 to 1935, she chaired the Women's Division of the Democratic state committee in 1923 and worked with Eleanor Roosevelt recruiting and organizing women for the party. When O'Day ran for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, Eleanor Roosevelt made personal appearances for her, and the Roosevelt administration supported her candidacy.

Congresswoman O'Day supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal proposals and helped pass child labor amendments to a 1936 act that set employment standards for government contractors and to an act setting minimum ages for employment. O'Day declined to run for a fifth term. She died the day following the end of her congressional service.

Born on her grandfather's plantation near Perry, Georgia, O'Day studied art at the Cooper Union and in Paris, Munich, and Holland. She supported herself by doing magazine illustrations but ended her painting career following her marriage in 1901. Her husband died in 1916.

Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor was the first woman to be appointed to the Supreme Court, 1983 (Library of Congress)

See also Child Labor Amendment; Congress, Women in; League of Women Voters; National Consumers League; Suffrage; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

References Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); James, ed., *Notable American Women 1607–1950* (1971); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

O'Hare, Kathleen Richards (1876–1948)

Noted orator and Socialist Party leader Kathleen Richards O'Hare traveled the country in the 1900s and 1910s calling for protective legislation for all workers, shorter workdays, and the end of child labor. Committed to the working masses of the United States, she believed that the exploitation of the proletariat would help undermine the capitalist structure so that socialism could replace it and improve workers' lives through reform.

Opposed to U.S. entry into World War I, O'Hare spoke against the draft and advised men to resist it. Charged under the Espionage Act of 1917 for allegedly saying in 1917 that U.S. women were “nothing more or less than brood sows to raise children to get into the army and be made into fertilizer,” she insisted she did not make that statement. The prosecution said that she made the statement to discourage enlistment and to undermine Americans' patriotism. Found guilty and sentenced to five years in prison, she appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, but the Court refused to hear her case. She served fourteen months of the sentence before President Woodrow Wilson commuted it in 1920.

When she left prison, she found that the Socialist Party had lost much of its vitality and turned her attention to seeking political amnesty for people convicted under the Espionage Act of 1917 and Sedition Act of 1918 and ending convict labor in the prison system. After 1930, she retreated from public life.

Born in a sod-walled cabin in Kansas, O'Hare attended a school for Socialist organizers in 1901.

See also Addams, Jane; Communist Party, USA; Socialism

References Miller, *From Prairie to Prison: The Life of Social Activist Kate Richards O'Hare* (1993).

Ohio v. Akron Center (1990)

In 1985, the Ohio legislature enacted a measure making it a criminal offense for a physician or other person to perform an abortion on an unmarried, unemancipated woman under eighteen years of age, with several exceptions. The exceptions included the physician giving one of the woman's parents, guardians, or custodians twenty-four-hour notice of the

intention to perform the procedure. If the attempts to notify a parent failed, then the physician could give forty-eight hours' notice by mail. Another option involved the minor and the woman's adult brother, sister, stepparent, or grandparent filing affidavits that the minor feared physical, sexual, or severe emotional abuse from one of her parents. In addition, a parent, guardian, or custodian could consent in writing. Two judicial bypass procedures provided other options.

The U.S. Supreme Court decided that Ohio's law did not place an undue or unconstitutional burden on a minor seeking an abortion. The Court wrote: "It would deny all dignity to the family to say that the State cannot take this reasonable step in regulating its health professions to ensure that, in most cases, a young woman will receive guidance and understanding from a parent."

See also Abortion; *Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*; *Bellotti v. Baird*; *Planned Parenthood Association of Kansas City, Mo. v. Ashcroft*

References *Ohio v. Akron Center*, 497 U.S. 502 (1990).

O'Laughlin, Kathryn Ellen McCarthy (1894–1952)

Democrat Kathryn McCarthy of Kansas served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 4 March 1933 to 3 January 1935. In Congress, McCarthy supported New Deal legislation, particularly the Agriculture Adjustment Act, which she hoped would help Kansas farmers. Seeking reelection in 1934, she found farmers frustrated with the bureaucratic requirements of the program and lost the race. McCarthy returned to her Kansas law practice.

Born in Ellis County, Kansas, McCarthy graduated from Kansas State Teachers College in 1917 and the University of Chicago's law school in 1920. She practiced law in Chicago, returning to Kansas to practice law in 1928. McCarthy became involved in the Democratic Party in 1930 and won a seat in the Kansas House of Representatives, serving from 1931 to 1933.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Oldfield, Pearl Peden (1876–1962)

Democrat Pearl Oldfield of Arkansas served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 9 January 1929 to 3 March 1931. Following her husband's death in office, Oldfield won the special election to fill the vacancy and election to a full term. Congresswoman Oldfield worked to continue federal aid to rehabilitate farmland damaged by the 1927 Mississippi River floods. She also sought \$15 million to alleviate malnutrition in areas

affected by drought. In 1929, she explained: "I shall advance no strange or exceptional feminine governmental ideas, as I entertain none. I believe that a government if properly administered in behalf of our husbands, our sons, our fathers, and our brothers is equally safe and sound for our women." Oldfield did not run in 1932 because she said that a woman's place was at home.

Born in Cotton Plant, Arkansas, Oldfield attended Arkansas College.

See also Congress, Women in

References <http://clerkweb.house.gov>; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); "Representative Pearl Peden Oldfield" (1929).

O'Leary, Hazel Rollins (b. 1937)

African American Hazel O'Leary was the first woman to serve as U.S. secretary of energy, a position she held from 1993 to 1997. O'Leary reorganized the department, made the lines of authority clearer, and reduced the duplication of effort within it. She lifted the veil of secrecy that had surrounded the government's nuclear armaments by declassifying more than 32 million documents. She revealed the federal government's radiation experiments on uninformed citizens in the 1940s, 1950s, and as late as the 1980s. In at least forty-eight experiments, Americans were given radioactive isotopes to explore the effects of radiation on the human body. In other tests, radiation was deliberately released over populated areas. O'Leary offered a public apology for the government's role to the families involved in the experiments. She sought to protect nuclear plant employees who revealed rules infractions and laws broken by their employers.

Born in Newport News, Virginia, Hazel O'Leary attended racially segregated schools for her first eight years and then lived with an aunt in New Jersey, where she attended Arts High School for artistically gifted students. She earned her bachelor of arts degree from Fisk University in 1959 and her law degree from Rutgers University School of Law in 1966.

O'Leary began her work in public service as assistant prosecutor in Essex County, New Jersey, in 1967 and later was an assistant attorney general for the state. In President Gerald Ford's administration, she worked in the Federal Energy Administration's (FEA) Office of Consumer Affairs as director of several antipoverty programs. Through her work there, O'Leary became known as an advocate for the poor. General counsel for the Community Services Administration in 1976 and 1977, she was assistant administrator for conservation and environment with the FEA. During President Jimmy Carter's administration, O'Leary was chief of the Department of Energy's Economic Regulatory Commission from 1978 to 1980.

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1994* (1994); *New York Times*, 24 November 1997.

Onassis, Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy (1929–1994)

First lady from 1961 to 1963, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis charmed Americans with her elegance, style, and grace. Following the November 1963 assassination of her husband, President John F. Kennedy, the nation mourned with her.

Born in Southampton, New York, Onassis attended Vassar College for two years, spent her junior year in Paris, and graduated from George Washington University in 1951. She married Representative John Kennedy in 1953.

As first lady, Onassis led the restoration of the White House and helped create the White House Historical Association in 1961 to assist with the restoration of the dwelling. In early 1962, she conducted a tour of the White House for television crews that brought additional support to the effort.

After President Kennedy's assassination, she arranged his funeral, modeling it after President Abraham Lincoln's funeral. She married Aristotle Onassis in 1968. Following his death in 1975, she was an editor for Viking Press and then Doubleday.

References Caroli, "Jacqueline Kennedy" (1996).

Operation Rescue

Founded in 1986 by Randall Terry, Operation Rescue protests abortion by holding demonstrations at abortion clinics and practicing civil disobedience with the intention of preventing abortions from being performed during the protest. A demonstration at a specific clinic might be scheduled for one day or for several weeks, depending upon the site and members' willingness to continue the protest. Protest organizers often inform law enforcement officers of their plans, the number of protesters expected, and the number prepared to be arrested for civil disobedience, usually blockading the clinic entrance. Blockade participants have chained themselves to clinic entrances or in other ways attempted to hinder access to clinics.

Operation Rescue's goals include closing all clinics in the area of the demonstration because of the threat created by the demonstration at the selected clinic, placing prochoice groups on the defensive, and providing inspiration to the prolife movement. Operation Rescue succeeded in temporarily closing several clinics, but the fines, injunctions, and other actions taken against the organizations and its members in the 1990s limited

its ability to continue. In addition, the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994 created greater penalties for the actions Operation Rescue had characteristically conducted.

In the early 1990s, the National Organization for Women (NOW) sued Operation Rescue, the Pro-Life Action League, other groups, and Joseph Scheidler, alleging the defendants were part of a nationwide conspiracy that sought to close abortion clinics. In 1994, the U.S. Supreme Court found that the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act applied to the coalition of antiabortion groups, but it did not decide the merits of the case.

See also Abortion; National Organization for Women; *NOW v. Scheidler*; Pro-Life Action League

References Bell, "Operation Rescue" (1988); Blanchard, *The Anti-Abortion Movement and the Rise of the Religious Right: From Polite to Fiercy Protest* (1994); Bradley, "*NOW v. Scheidler*: RICO Meets the First Amendment" (1995).



Governor Kay Orr (R-NE) was the first woman governor of Nebraska, 1988 (Associated Press AP)

Orr, Kay Avonne Stark (b. 1939)

The first elected Republican woman governor in U.S. history, Kay Orr served as governor of Nebraska from 1987 to 1991. Her gubernatorial campaign was the first in the nation in which two women ran against each other. Throughout her campaign, Orr promised that she would not increase taxes in the state. As governor, Orr created benefits for business and reduced income taxes for the highest and lowest ends of the scale. Lower- and middle-income taxpayers, however, paid higher taxes and believed that Orr had broken her promise. In addition, her support for creating a nuclear waste dump in the state was so controversial that she received threats on her life, and she refused to campaign in the area of the dump site when

she ran for reelection. She lost her bid for reelection in 1990.

Born in Burlington, Iowa, Kay Orr attended the University of Iowa from 1956 to 1957. Her political career began when she worked for Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign. She held offices at the county, state, and national levels of the Federation of Young Republicans in the 1960s. Nebraska governor Charles Thone's chief of staff from 1979 to 1981, she was appointed state treasurer to fill a vacancy in 1981, was elected to the position in 1982, and served until 1986.

See also Governors, Women

References Mullaney, ed., *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States 1988–1994* (1994).

Orr v. Orr (1979)

Orr v. Orr challenged Alabama divorce laws that provided that husbands, but not wives, may be required to pay alimony. The U.S. Supreme Court wrote that “even statutes purportedly designed to compensate for and ameliorate the effects of past discrimination must be carefully tailored.” The Court found the Alabama statutes unconstitutional under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

See also Fourteenth Amendment

References *Orr v. Orr*, 440 U.S. 268 (1979).

Ortega, Katherine Davalos (b. 1934)

Appointed treasurer of the United States by President Ronald Reagan, Hispanic American Katherine D. Ortega served from September 1983 to June 1989. She first served in the Reagan administration as a member of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Small and Minority Business Ownership.

Born in Tularosa, New Mexico, Ortega earned her bachelor’s degree at Eastern New Mexico State University in 1957. She became a certified public accountant in 1979. Ortega worked in accounting and banking in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1975, she became the first woman president of a California bank.

References Telgen and Kamp, eds., *Notable Hispanic American Women* (1993).

Owen Rohde, Ruth Bryan (1885–1954)

Democrat Ruth Owen of Florida served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 15 April 1929 to 4 March 1933. The daughter of William Jennings Bryan, who had run for president three times and who was renowned for his oratory, Owen shared her father’s oratorical skills. In the 1920s she was a professional lecturer with the Chautauqua, which traveled the country offering education and entertainment. Her abilities as a speaker helped her win a congressional seat in 1928 after a failed attempt for Congress in 1926. Her opponent, however, challenged her success by claiming that her citizenship status was uncertain. Owen had married a British subject in 1910, and under the laws of the time, she had forfeited her U.S. citizenship. The Cable Act of 1922 had given women independent citizenship, but legal technicalities left her citizenship in doubt. The

Elections Committee, however, decided in her favor. As a member of Congress, Owen clarified married women's status as citizens by amending the Cable Act, one of her most significant achievements in Congress. The first woman since Jeannette Rankin (R-MT) to work for women's issues, Owen proposed the creation of a federal Department of Home and Child and supported the creation of a mothers' pension.

Owen sought to make the Everglades a national park and worked for other conservation and wildlife preservation issues. She also supported Prohibition, a position that likely contributed to her defeat in the 1932 primary election. President Franklin Roosevelt appointed her to head a U.S. diplomatic mission to Denmark in 1933, making her the first woman to hold the position of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. She resigned in 1936 after marrying a Danish citizen. She held other appointments in the State Department and to the United Nations.

Born in Jacksonville, Illinois, Owen lived in Jamaica, West Indies, from 1910 to 1912 and in London, England, from 1912 to 1915. A war nurse in the Voluntary Aid Detachment in the Egypt-Palestine campaign from 1915 to 1918, she returned to the United States in 1919. She lectured regularly on the Chautauqua and Lyceum series from 1918 to 1928 and was a member of the University of Miami faculty from 1926 to 1928.

See also Cable Acts; Congress, Women in

References Breckenridge, *Women in the Twentieth Century* (1933); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography: Who's News and Why, 1944* (1944); Tolchin, *Women in Congress: 1917–1976* (1976).

P

Park, Maud Wood (1871–1955)

First president of the League of Women Voters, Maud Wood Park led the congressional lobbying effort of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) from 1917 to 1919. As chair of NAWSA's Congressional Committee, Park's task was to obtain congressional approval of the woman suffrage amendment. She trained volunteers who visited Washington, D.C., to lobby their congressional representatives, coordinated the lobbying effort, managed an extensive set of biographical and personal information about each member of Congress, and developed strategies for the amendment's passage. Because the United States had entered World War I and Congress had decided to debate only war-related measures, Parks sought to have a special committee on woman suffrage created as a way to circumvent the limit. Using social contacts and the political network she had developed, Parks got her committee, which favorably reported a woman suffrage amendment. The U.S. House of Representatives approved it in 1918, but the Senate did not approve it that session. In 1919 both chambers passed the amendment, and it was ratified in 1920.

In 1919, Park agreed to accept the presidency of the League of Women Voters (LWV), the organization that NAWSA president Carrie Chapman Catt had proposed to succeed NAWSA. Park traveled the country lecturing and recruiting members for the league, helped develop its legislative agenda, and led the organization during its formative years, serving as president from 1920 to 1924. In addition to her league responsibilities,

Park helped organize and was head of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, a lobbying coalition that passed the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921 and the Cable Act of 1922.

Born in Boston, Massachusetts, Park graduated from Radcliffe College in 1898.

See also Cable Acts; Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman; League of Women Voters; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Nineteenth Amendment; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921; Suffrage; Women's Joint Congressional Committee

References Park, *The Front Door Lobby* (1960); Sichertman and Green, eds., *Notable American Women: The Modern Period* (1980).



Rosa Parks, the woman who sparked the civil rights movement for refusing to give up her seat on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955, received the Congressional Medal of Honor in 1999 (Courtesy: National Archives)

Parks, Rosa Louise McCauley (b. 1913)

Called “the first lady of civil rights” and “the mother of the freedom movement,” Rosa Parks helped launch the modern civil rights movement in the 1950s by refusing to relinquish her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama, city bus to a white man. Her refusal to comply with the city’s bus segregation laws provided a catalyst for a bus boycott that lasted 381 days and a U.S. Supreme Court decision that bus segregation was illegal.

Parks’s visible work in civil rights began in 1943, when she became secretary of the Montgomery affiliate of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). She attempted to register to vote in 1943, but her application was denied, as it was in 1944. She re-

ceived her certificate to vote in 1945. In addition to her NAACP work, Parks belonged to the Montgomery (Alabama) Voters League, and in the summer of 1955 she had attended civil rights workshops. Acutely aware of segregation and offended by it, she avoided using segregated facilities whenever she could.

On 1 December 1955, she was riding home from her job as an assistant tailor and was seated in the first row of seats designated for blacks. When the white section filled and another white rider got on the bus, the bus driver asked the four black people sitting in that first row of the black section to move to give the seat to the white man. Three of them submitted. Parks refused. She later recollected:

After so many years of oppression and being a victim of the mistreatment that my people suffered, not giving up my seat—and whatever I had to face after not giving it up—was not important. I did not feel any fear at sitting in the seat I was sitting in. All I felt was tired. Tired of being pushed around. . . . Tired of the Jim Crow laws. Tired of being oppressed. I was just plain tired.

Arrested, jailed, convicted, and fined \$10, Parks refused to pay the fine and appealed her case.

The Women's Political Council, a local civil rights organization, had been looking for an opportunity to challenge bus segregation, and Parks's arrest provided the opportunity. On 2 December, the council distributed more than 52,000 flyers calling for a one-day bus boycott on the day of Parks's trial. More than 7,000 African Americans responded by gathering at the Holt Street Baptist Church, which led to the formation of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the group that helped launch Martin Luther King, Jr.'s national leadership. The bus boycott that followed helped galvanize the civil rights movement and ended when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a lower court decision that segregated bus seating was unconstitutional.

By that time, Parks had lost her job, but she has said that she had no proof that she lost her job because of the boycott. She moved to Detroit, remained involved in the civil rights movement, and continued to support herself by working as a seamstress. In 1965, she joined Congressman John Conyers's staff.

Born in Tuskegee, Alabama, Rosa Parks left high school to care for her seriously ill mother and worked as a housekeeper and a seamstress. She received her high school diploma in 1934. She wrote her autobiography, *Rosa Parks: My Story*, in 1992. She continues to speak around the country and to raise money for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1989* (1989); Parks, *Quiet Strength* (1994).

Patterson, Elizabeth Johnston (b. 1939)

Democrat Elizabeth Patterson of South Carolina served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1987 to 3 January 1993. Patterson's political experience began when she was a young girl working on her father Olin D. Johnston's campaign for the U.S. Senate in 1945 and continued through 1965. Patterson's first political office was on the Spartanburg

County Council, where she served from 1975 to 1976. She then served in the South Carolina Senate from 1979 to 1986.

A fiscal conservative, Patterson worked to reduce the federal budget deficit, supported a constitutional amendment to ban desecration of the American flag, worked for veterans' concerns, and opposed the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993. She chaired the Congressional Textile Caucus and the Conservative Democratic Forum's Budget Reform Task Force. Defeated in 1992, she became director of continuing education for Converse College and an adjunct professor at Spartanburg Methodist College.

Born in Columbia, South Carolina, Patterson graduated from Columbia College in 1961 and attended graduate school at the University of South Carolina for a year. She worked for the Peace Corps from 1962 to 1964 and for VISTA from 1965 to 1967, was a Head Start coordinator from 1967 to 1968, and held a job as a congressional staff assistant from 1969 to 1970.

See also Congress, Women in; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1992* (1991); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Paul, Alice (1885–1977)

American militant suffrage leader Alice Paul introduced controversial and confrontational strategies to the U.S. campaign for woman suffrage, founded the National Woman's Party, and proposed the first Equal Rights Amendment. She began her political activism in England and Scotland, where she lived from 1907 to 1910, working with mother-and-daughter British suffragists Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst. From them, she learned the strategies that characterized her efforts in the U.S. woman suffrage campaign, including the use of civil disobedience to generate publicity for a cause. Arrested seven times and jailed three times for her suffrage activities, she went on hunger strikes each time she was incarcerated. During one of the hunger strikes, officials force-fed her using a nasal tube twice a day for four weeks, a painful and bloody process.

When Paul returned to the United States in 1910, she joined the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). From the time that Paul became involved in the U.S. suffrage movement, she and NAWSA's leaders differed in their perceptions of effective strategies to pass the woman suffrage amendment. NAWSA focused on passing state constitutional amendments and placed less emphasis on its Congressional Committee, a group that was allotted a budget of only \$10 a year. NAWSA was successful in gaining the introduction of the amendment every ses-



Alice Paul, radical leader of the National Woman's Party and tireless advocate of the Equal Rights Amendment, 1920 (Library of Congress)

sion but was unable to move it out of committee. In addition, NAWSA leaders resisted public demonstrations, believing in a more reserved approach. Paul believed that state campaigns would take too long and were an inefficient use of resources. She firmly believed in a federal amendment and organized demonstrations, parades, and other events to attract publicity and place the amendment before the public.

In 1912, Paul accepted the chair of NAWSA's Congressional Committee with the understanding that NAWSA would not allocate any funds to the committee. She planned a massive suffrage parade in Washington, D.C., raised funds to pay for it, and invited women across the country to

participate. She scheduled the event for 3 March 1913, the day President-elect Woodrow Wilson was to arrive in the city and the day before his inauguration. Twenty-six floats, ten bands, five squadrons of cavalry, six chariots, and approximately 8,000 women marched by 500,000 spectators, who chose to watch the suffragists instead of Wilson's arrival in the city. When the crowd became unruly and moved into the parade route, the police did not protect the marchers, and 200 people were treated for injuries. Press coverage of the parade and the subsequent Senate investigation of the police superintendent renewed interest in the Congressional Committee and the amendment.

A month after the parade, conflicts between Paul and NAWSA developed over money. Paul's success raising money led some NAWSA leaders to suggest that Paul should give some of it to the larger organization because they felt that donors were confused about which group they had contributed to. Paul solved the problem by creating the Congressional Union (CU), a separate organization that was affiliated with NAWSA, to raise money for the Congressional Committee's projects. She continued to chair the Congressional Committee, and conflict persisted. Late in 1913, NAWSA leaders told Paul she could chair the Congressional Committee or the CU but not both. Paul chose the Congressional Union. Because NAWSA president Anna Howard Shaw viewed the CU as a threat to her organization, the CU was not permitted to remain a NAWSA auxiliary. In 1914, Paul left NAWSA and continued to lead the CU.

Paul had brought the idea of marches and parades to the United States from her experience in England. She also used the British suffragists' strategy of placing responsibility on the political party in power, regardless of individual members' support for suffrage. By organizing women voters in suffrage states to oppose Democratic candidates in the 1914 elections, she made suffrage an issue in several states. The CU took credit for defeating five Democrats and contributing to the defeat of twenty-three more. In 1916, Paul formed the Woman's Party and repeated the strategy.

As the United States prepared to enter World War I, Paul and her followers remained steadfast in their focus on suffrage. Although many suffragists opposed the war, only Paul supported Wyoming congresswoman Jeannette Rankin's vote against declaring war. Early in 1917, Paul and her followers started picketing outside the White House. After several months, police began to arrest the pickets for obstructing traffic but would then release them. As the pickets continued, they were arrested, tried, found guilty, and fined. Those who refused to pay the fines were jailed for a few days. When Paul was arrested in an October 1917 demonstration, however, she was sentenced to seven months at a women's prison, where she went on a hunger strike. Force-fed, she was separated from other prisoners and

placed in a psychiatric ward and denied visitors, mail, and messages. Protests over her treatment led to her release within a month.

The Nineteenth Amendment granting woman suffrage became part of the U.S. Constitution on 26 August 1920. Paul's contributions to the suffrage campaign include attracting publicity to the amendment through the marches, parades, and pickets she organized and by making the amendment an issue in the 1914 and 1916 elections. President of NAWSA Carrie Chapman Catt, however, has generally received primary credit for the amendment's passage in Congress and its ratification by the states, with Paul's role receiving considerably less attention.

In 1921, Paul transformed the Woman's Party into the National Woman's Party (NWP), which had as its sole purpose the passage and ratification of a federal equal rights amendment. Sometimes referred to as the Lucretia Mott Amendment, it read: "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." Initially, the amendment was opposed by virtually every women's organization in the country. Paul and the NWP, however, worked for the amendment for the next fifty years. They succeeded in getting the amendment introduced in every session of Congress beginning in 1923. When Congress passed the amendment in 1972, it was the result of work done by the modern feminist movement. Paul worked for its ratification until 1974, when ill health prevented her from continuing. The amendment failed because it was three states short of the thirty-eight needed for ratification when the final deadline arrived in 1982.

Paul also worked on the international level. She led the creation of the World Woman's Party in 1938 and served as its founding president. Intended to unite American, Asian, and European feminists, the potential for the World Woman's Party was lost when World II began. She later fought for the inclusion of sex equality in the preamble to the United Nations Charter. In 1977, Paul said: "The thing I think that was the most useful I ever did was having a part in getting the vote for all the women, because that was a big transformation for the country to have one-half the country enfranchised."

Born in Moorestown, New Jersey, Alice Paul graduated from Swarthmore College in 1905 and earned her master of arts degree in 1907 and her doctoral degree in 1912, both from the University of Pennsylvania. She also held three law degrees.

See also Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman; Congressional Union; Equal Rights Amendment; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Consumers League; National Woman's Party; Nineteenth Amendment; Protective Legislation; Rankin, Jeannette Pickering; Shaw, Anna Howard; Suffrage; Women's Bureau; Women's Trade Union League

References Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party* (1986); *New York Times*, 4 November 1975, 10 January 1977.

Pay Equity

Pay equity, sometimes called “comparable worth” or “fair pay,” is a method for determining wages so as to overcome traditional gender and racial biases that result, on average, in female workers earning less than male workers and minority workers earning less than white workers. The wage gap for women has ranged from 56.6 percent of men’s earnings in 1973 to 73.8 percent in 1996, although there has not been a steady increase. In 1997, white women earned about 75 percent of men’s earnings, African American women earned about 67 percent, Asian American women earned about 80 percent, and Latinas earned about 58 percent. In a 1994 survey conducted by the Women’s Bureau, over a quarter of a million U.S. women said that their top priority was “improving pay scales.”

Following the passage of the 1963 Equal Pay Act, many thought that the differences between women’s and men’s pay would significantly diminish. When it became clear that the act would not close the wage gap, other reasons for its persistence were examined. Pay discrimination continues despite state and federal policies against it, and women tend to work in traditionally undervalued jobs and cluster in a few job categories: clerical, teaching, service work, and nursing. The more that an occupation is dominated by women or people of color, the greater the wage gap between people in that occupation and men in general.

One approach used to achieve pay equity is comparable worth, a method for evaluating jobs that uses a point system to rate the skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions of each job; totals the points; and establishes the job’s relative worth. Seniority, merit, quantity of work, and quality of work continue to differentiate individuals’ wages within equivalent job classifications. Some states and municipalities have implemented comparable worth programs, even though the approach has not received support at the federal level. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission concluded that Congress had not authorized it to implement comparable worth programs, and the courts have not made a definitive decision on the issue.

In the 1990s, pay equity or fair pay proposals gained renewed vitality as groups supporting the issue began to identify pay equity as a working family issue instead of exclusively a women’s issue. Several organizations made pay equity a legislative priority, including the Coalition of Labor Union Women, National Committee on Pay Equity, and American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations. In addition, the

Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor has established the Fair Pay Clearinghouse, offering resources and information about fair pay. Conservative groups, including Concerned Women for America, have generally opposed the idea of pay equity.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Coalition of Labor Union Women; Concerned Women for America; *County of Washington, Oregon v. Gunther*; Employment Discrimination; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; National Committee on Pay Equity; Women's Bureau

References Baer, *Women in American Law*, 2nd ed. (1996); www.cwfa.org; www.dol.gov/dol/wb/public/programs.

Peace Movement

Women's leadership in the peace movement gained visibility and formal organization in 1914 as war raged in Europe. The Woman's Peace Party has its roots in the Civil War era and developed in response to World War I, later becoming the U.S. section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Jane Addams, Emily Greene Balch, and Carrie Chapman Catt were among the most notable leaders in the two organizations. During the interwar years, peace activists sought disarmament and mediation for international disputes. The peace movement languished during World War II and gained limited momentum in the 1950s as activists opposed the proliferation of nuclear weapons and intervention by the U.S. military in conflicts.

Concern about radioactive fallout from aboveground nuclear bomb threats prompted the formation of Women Strike for Peace (WSP) in 1961. Along with other women and men who were not part of established organizations, WSP and WILPF opposed the Vietnam War and publicly demonstrated against U.S. involvement in it. In the 1980s and 1990s, peace activists advocated a range of alternatives to war to resolve international conflicts, including educational programs, economic development, and increased power for women.

See also Addams, Jane; Balch, Emily Greene; Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman; Woman's Peace Party; Women Strike for Peace; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

References Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (1993).

Pelosi, Nancy B. (b. 1940)

Democrat Nancy Pelosi of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 2 June 1987. The daughter of Thomas D'Alesandro, a former member of Congress and a former mayor of Baltimore, Pelosi grew up in a powerful political family. Democratic national committeewoman for

California from 1976 to 1996, Pelosi chaired the Northern California Democratic Party from 1977 to 1981 and was state party chair from 1981 to 1983. She was financial chairperson of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee from 1985 to 1986.

Early in 1987, Sala Burton, the incumbent member of Congress for the district, was stricken ill with cancer and endorsed Pelosi to succeed her. Although well known among party leaders, Pelosi was not familiar to voters, and Burton's support helped her win the election.

When the Presidio, a military base in San Francisco, was scheduled to be closed, Congresswoman Pelosi worked to have it converted to national park land. To ease the financial burden on the National Park Service, which was already underfunded, she proposed leasing the grounds for five years and putting the proceeds in a trust fund to maintain the buildings and grounds.

Congresswoman Pelosi has written and passed legislation relating to health insurance coverage, programs for people stricken with acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), and perinatal care for low-income families. Pelosi has also authored and passed bills to prevent homelessness among people with AIDS, to preserve housing for low-income people, and to promote human rights and environmental protection.

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, Nancy Pelosi received her bachelor of arts degree from Trinity College in 1962.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); www.house.gov/pelosi.bio_pel.htm.

Perkins, Frances (Fanny) Corlie (1882–1965)

Appointed secretary of labor in 1933 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Frances Perkins was the first woman to hold a cabinet position. A social reformer, Perkins entered politics through her work as a researcher and lobbyist for the New York Consumers League. She found a supporter for the league's agenda in assemblyman Al Smith, who helped her pass a bill limiting women's and children's workweeks to fifty-four hours. In 1919, when Smith was governor of New York, he asked Perkins to serve on the state's Industrial Commission, a position she held until 1921, when Smith lost his bid for reelection. After Smith won his 1923 bid for the governorship, he appointed Perkins to the New York Industrial Board. In 1928, Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected governor of New York. Through the efforts of Democratic Party leader Molly Dewson, who had organized women to help Roosevelt win the election, Governor Roosevelt appointed Perkins to serve again on the New York Industrial Commission. After

Roosevelt was elected president in 1932, Dewson again served as Perkins's advocate and persuaded him to appoint Perkins to the position of secretary of labor.

Perkins had several ideas for the Department of Labor's role in relieving the problems created by the Depression. She believed in public works to stimulate the economy, advocated passing federal minimum wage legislation, and argued for unemployment insurance. She reorganized the Bureau of Immigration, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the federal employment office and developed the Civilian Conservation Corps. She organized a conference that brought together union representatives and the Department of Labor to plan strategies to respond to the Depression. They developed a package of recommendations that included establishing a federal employment relief fund that the states would distribute, creating public works to stimulate basic industries, abolishing child labor, and placing limits on the number of hours employees worked per week.

In 1934, Perkins chaired the Committee on Economic Security, the group that drafted the framework for Social Security, unemployment insurance, and assistance for the elderly. The next year, Perkins drafted the Public Contracts Act to replace the National Industrial Recovery Act (NRA). Perkins helped pass the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which instituted a minimum wage, set maximum hours people could work, and prohibited child labor in products sold in interstate commerce, policies that reformers had advocated for decades.

As the nation began preparations for involvement in World War II, the Depression eased, and the focus moved from economic recovery to producing military materials and machinery. Perkins's role changed as many of the new programs and projects were designed and administered by military and war boards and commissions. Following Roosevelt's death in 1945, Perkins resigned at President Harry Truman's request. Truman later appointed her to the Social Security Commission.

In 1955, she became a visiting professor at Cornell University. She wrote *People at Work* (1934), a history of labor from the colonial era to the



Frances Perkins, appointed as secretary of labor by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was the first woman to serve in the U.S. Cabinet, 1941 (Courtesy: National Archives)

Depression and a description of the Department of Labor's responsibilities, and *The Roosevelt I Knew* (1946).

Born in Boston, Frances Perkins earned her undergraduate degree from Mount Holyoke in 1902 and her master's degree from Columbia University in 1910.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential; Child Labor Amendment; Democratic Party, Women in the; Dewson, Mary (Molly) Williams; Protective Legislation; Roosevelt, Eleanor

References Martin, *Madam Secretary Frances Perkins* (1976); Roosevelt and Hickok, *Ladies of Courage* (1954).

Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 made the most dramatic changes in welfare in the United States since the Great Society programs of the 1960s by replacing the federal welfare program with block grants to states that provided financial incentives for moving welfare recipients into the workforce. The measure initiated work requirements, limiting benefits to two years, at which time recipients would have to show "work activity," with a lifetime cap of five years. The act also provided support for families moving from welfare to work through child care funding and guaranteed medical coverage for a year after leaving welfare.

The law strengthened child support enforcement measures by creating new tools for identifying parents delinquent in their child support and simplifying the legal process for establishing paternity. New provisions related to minors include the development of programs to prevent teen pregnancy and the requirement that unmarried minor parents live with a responsible adult or in a setting with adult supervision and participate in educational and training activities.

Two years after the measure was enacted, the Children's Defense Fund (CDF) reported that welfare rolls had declined, that an increased number of recipients had found employment, and that there was a slight decline in the child poverty rate. CDF also reported that there was an increase in extreme childhood poverty, that most of the new jobs paid salaries below the poverty line (about \$16,000 for a family of four in 1999), and that many former welfare recipients had not found steady jobs.

See also Children's Defense Fund

References www.acf.dhhs.gov; www.childrensdefense.org.

Personnel Administrator of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. Feeney (1979)

In *Personnel Administrator of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. Feeney*, Massachusetts state employee Helen B. Feeney challenged the constitutionality of Massachusetts's veterans preference law on the grounds that it discriminated against women in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Massachusetts law states that all veterans who qualify for state civil service positions must be considered for appointment before any qualifying nonveterans. Feeney, who was not a veteran, had been a state employee for twelve years and had passed several qualifying civil service exams for higher-paying positions, but she had not been appointed to them because veterans had to be considered before nonveterans. Feeney argued that because until 1975 the military had quotas limiting the number of women who could serve in it to 2 percent, the policy violated her Fourteenth Amendment rights.

The Court wrote: "Absolute and permanent preferences . . . have always been subject to the objection that they give the veteran more than a square deal. But the Fourteenth Amendment cannot be made a refuge from ill-advised . . . laws. The substantial edge granted to veterans [by the Massachusetts law] may reflect unwise policy." The Court found the Massachusetts veterans preference law constitutional.

See also Fourteenth Amendment

References *Personnel Administrator of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. Feeney*, 442 U.S. 256 (1979).

Peterson, Esther (1906–1997)

The highest-ranking woman in President John F. Kennedy's administration, Esther Peterson was director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor from 1961 to 1964 and assistant secretary of labor for labor standards from 1961 to 1969. Peterson's work in labor issues began in the 1930s, when she taught at the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry. Assistant director of education for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, she was the organization's lobbyist in the 1940s. From 1958 to 1961, she lobbied for the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

From her years in the labor movement, Peterson strongly supported protective labor legislation for women and adamantly opposed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) because it would make such protective measures unconstitutional. In the hopes of proving the ERA unnecessary, Peterson lobbied Kennedy to create a commission to study state and federal laws and policies related to women. With the added encouragement of

Eleanor Roosevelt, Kennedy established the President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1961 and made Peterson its executive vice chairperson.

Another priority of Peterson's was to get Congress to pass the equal pay for equal work bill that had languished since 1945; she believed that its passage would also help reduce interest in the ERA. In 1961, Peterson hired a lobbyist to coordinate congressional work for the equal pay bill and enlisted the help of Congresswoman Edith Green and others. The Equal Pay Act became law in 1963.

When President Lyndon Johnson appointed Peterson to be a special assistant for consumer affairs in 1964, one trade group called her "the most pernicious threat to advertising today." Peterson worked for uniform packaging, unit pricing, truth in advertising, and nutrition information labeling. At one time, manufacturers used codes for the expiration dates on perishable items; she successfully pressed for "sell by" or "use by" dates. She resigned from the Johnson administration because of the pressure from business. She said: "Industry hated me, but you've got to say what you've got to say."

Peterson returned to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America from 1969 to 1970. She was chair of the Consumer Affairs Council from 1970 to 1980, and during President Jimmy Carter's administration, she again served as special assistant to the president for consumer affairs from 1977 to 1980. President Bill Clinton appointed her to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations in the mid-1990s.

Born in Provo, Utah, Peterson earned her bachelor of arts degree from Brigham Young University in 1927 and her master of arts degree from Columbia Teachers College in 1930. She began her teaching career in 1927 at the Branch Agricultural College in Cedar City, Utah, in 1927. She also taught at Utah State University, Windsor School in Boston, and the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry from 1932 to 1939.

See also Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendment; National Organization for Women; President's Commission on the Status of Women; Women's Bureau

References Harrison, *On Account of Sex: The Politics of Women's Issues, 1945-1968* (1988); *New York Times*, 18 December 1996, 22 December 1997.

Pettis Roberson, Shirley Neil McCumber (b. 1924)

Republican Shirley Pettis of California served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 29 April 1975 to 3 January 1979. Following the death of her husband, Congressman Jerry Pettis, Shirley Pettis won the special election to fill the vacancy. She passed legislation that established the California Desert Conservation Area and gave wilderness status to almost 500,000 acres in the Joshua Tree National Monument. She won a full term in 1976 but did not seek a second full term.

Born in Mountain View, California, Shirley Pettis attended Andrews University in Michigan from 1942 to 1943 and the University of California at Berkeley from 1944 to 1945.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Pfost, Gracie Bowers (1906–1965)

Democrat Gracie Pfost of Idaho served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1953 to 3 January 1963. Pfost first ran for Congress in 1950 but lost. When she ran in 1952, she designed her campaign slogan to let voters know how to pronounce her name: “Tie Your Vote to a Solid Post—Gracie Pfost for Congress.” As a member of Congress, Pfost supported irrigation, flood control, and power projects on the Snake River, and she wanted the federal government to build them. Nicknamed “Hell’s Belle” for her fight against private construction of a dam in Hell’s Canyon, she lost the battle in 1957. She is credited with passing the Wilderness Act that preserved areas in the far West. She unsuccessfully ran for the U.S. Senate in 1962. From 1963 until her death, Pfost served as special assistant for the elderly in the Federal Housing Administration.

Born in Harrison, Arkansas, Gracie Pfost graduated from Link’s Business College and Secretarial School in Boise, Idaho, in 1929. Over the next ten years, she held several offices in the Canyon County, Idaho, government. From 1941 to 1951, she was the county’s treasurer.

See also Congress, Women in

References Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Tolchin, *Women in Congress: 1917–1976* (1976).

***Phillips v. Martin Marietta Corporation* (1971)**

Phillips v. Martin Marietta Corporation was the first case to reach the U.S. Supreme Court that dealt with gender discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In the case, Ida Phillips, a mother with two young children, applied for an assembly trainee position with Martin Marietta, but the company’s hiring policy excluded mothers with preschool children. The company, however, did hire men with preschool children. The Court decided that the company’s policy discriminated against women based on Title VII.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Employment Discrimination; Sex Discrimination

References *Phillips v. Martin Marietta Corporation*, 400 U.S. 542 (1971).

Planned Parenthood Association of Kansas City, Mo. v. Ashcroft (1983)

In *Planned Parenthood Association of Kansas City, Mo. v. Ashcroft*, the U.S. Supreme Court considered four questions regarding Missouri laws related to abortion. The Court rejected the state's requirement that abortions after twelve weeks of pregnancy had to be performed in a hospital because it "unreasonably infringes upon a woman's constitutional right to obtain an abortion," as the Court noted in *Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health* (1983). The Court found that the state's requirement of a pathology report after an abortion was reasonable and constitutional. The Court also accepted the state's requirement that a second physician be present during abortions because the state has a compelling interest in fetal life. In addition, the Court accepted the state's requirement that minors obtain parental consent or consent from the juvenile court for an abortion, saying that by providing the judicial alternative to parental consent, the state had met the legal standards.

See also Abortion; *Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*

References: Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 98th Congress, 1st Session . . . 1983* (1984); *Planned Parenthood Association of Kansas City, Mo. v. Ashcroft*, 462 U.S. 476 (1983).

Planned Parenthood Federation of America

Founded in 1939 as the Birth Control Federation of America, Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA) provides reproductive health care, offers educational programs on human sexuality, promotes research on reproductive health, and advocates public policies that guarantee reproductive rights. PPFA and its affiliates have challenged several state and federal laws in the courts and have participated in cases initiated by others that relate to reproductive rights. PPFA has over 150 affiliates in forty-nine states and the District of Columbia and serves more than 5 million Americans.

The Birth Control Federation of America was formed when the American Birth Control League and the Clinical Research Bureau merged in 1939. Birth control advocate Margaret Sanger had founded both groups in her quest to overturn the portions of the 1873 Comstock laws that classified contraceptive information as obscene and made its dissemination illegal. In 1936, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals decided in *United States v. One Package of Japanese Pessaries* (a pessary is a contraceptive device) that birth control could no longer be classified as obscene, but the decision applied only to New York, Connecticut, and Vermont. In 1965 the U.S. Supreme Court found unconstitutional state laws prohibiting married couples from using contraceptives in *Griswold v. Connecticut*, and in

1972 the Court found unconstitutional a state law forbidding the distribution of contraceptives to unmarried people in *Eisenstadt v. Baird*.

After the U.S. Supreme Court legalized abortion in *Roe v. Wade*, PPFA affiliates began offering abortion counseling and services in their clinics as well as continuing to offer family planning counseling and distributing contraceptives. As the states and the federal government enacted restrictions on abortions, such as informed consent, parental notification or consent, and other regulations, PPFA and its affiliates challenged these policies in the courts.

As the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) epidemic struck the nation in the 1980s, PPFA affiliates worked to educate the public about the disease and other sexually transmitted diseases as part of their mission to provide a wide range of reproductive health services, including screening. The organization has also worked to address the problem of teen pregnancy through its educational programs.

See also Abortion; Dennett, Mary Coffin Ware; *Eisenstadt v. Baird*; *Griswold v. Connecticut*; *Roe v. Wade*; Sanger, Margaret Louise Higgins

References www.plannedparenthood.org.

Planned Parenthood of Central Missouri v. Danforth (1976)

In *Planned Parenthood of Central Missouri v. Danforth*, the U.S. Supreme Court considered several aspects of a Missouri abortion law. The Court accepted the state's requirement that a woman seeking an abortion sign a form asserting that she had freely given her consent to the procedure as well as the requirement that health facilities and physicians performing abortions maintain records on the abortions they perform and report them to the state. The Court rejected the stipulation that a married woman obtain the written consent of her spouse before obtaining an abortion, saying that the state cannot give a husband power that the state is forbidden to exercise. The Court also found unconstitutional the requirement that an unmarried woman under the age of eighteen obtain written consent from a parent before being able to have an abortion, although the Court would revisit this issue several times over the next two decades. It rejected the prohibition against using the abortion procedure known as saline amniocentesis after the first twelve weeks of the pregnancy. The Court said that it was the most commonly used and safest procedure and that the policy was designed to prevent the majority of abortions after the first twelve weeks, thus making it unconstitutional. Finally, the Court found unconstitutional the requirement that physicians preserve the fetus's life and health regardless of the stage of the pregnancy.

See also Abortion

References *Planned Parenthood of Central Missouri v. Danforth*, 428 U.S. 52 (1976).

Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey (1992)

The U.S. Supreme Court affirmed a woman's right to end a pregnancy in its early stages, discarded the trimester framework it had established in *Roe v. Wade*, adopted a less rigorous standard for review of abortion restrictions, and approved new restrictions on the procedure in *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*. The new standard for evaluating abortion laws became "undue burden test," meaning that state regulations can survive constitutional review as long as they do not place a "substantial obstacle in the path of a woman seeking an abortion of a nonviable fetus."

The Court upheld a Pennsylvania law mandating a twenty-four-hour waiting period before an abortion may be performed, overturning its 1983 decision in *City of Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*. It also upheld a provision requiring physicians to provide patients with information about fetal development in an effort to discourage abortion, overturning its 1986 decision in *Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology*. A provision requiring reports on abortions, including the name and location of facilities performing abortions that receive state funds, was also upheld. The Court struck down a provision that required a married woman seeking an abortion to notify her husband before the procedure could be performed.

See also Abortion; *Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*; *Roe v. Wade*; *Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology*

References Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1992 (1993); *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*, 505 U.S. 833 (1992); www.aclu.org.

Poelker v. Doe (1977)

The public hospitals owned by the City of St. Louis provided publicly financed hospital services for childbirth and abortions when there was a threat of grave physiological injury or death to the mother. The hospitals did not provide nontherapeutic abortions. The question before the U.S. Supreme Court was whether the policy violated any constitutional rights. The Court concluded that the constitutional question involved was the same as that involved in *Maher v. Roe* (1977), which concerned a state's refusal to provide Medicaid benefits for abortions while providing them for childbirth. As in *Maher*, the Court found that the City of St. Louis did not violate the Constitution by providing publicly financed hospital services for childbirth and for certain abortions but not for nontherapeutic abortions.

See also Abortion; *Maher v. Roe*

References *Poelker v. Doe*, 432 U.S. 519 (1977).

Pornography

In 1985, Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon proposed an ordinance that defined pornography as sex discrimination and an infringement on women's civil rights. They argue that pornography promotes misogynist attitudes and behaviors and that it constitutes an evil comparable to racism because both pornography and racism represent one person's or group's power over another person or group.

Dworkin and MacKinnon's antipornography ordinances to protect women's liberties, however, clash with First Amendment rights to free speech. To overcome this obstacle, they point out that pornography resembles other categories of speech that the courts have decided are not protected under the First Amendment, and some feminists agree with them. Women Against Pornography was organized to support antipornography ordinances as women's route to freedom from harm, pain, and humiliation. The group contends that pornography degrades women and that a society that tolerates it also accepts women's inferiority. The Feminists Against Censorship Task Force (FACT), in contrast, argues that the antipornography measures pose a threat to First Amendment rights. FACT also seeks to protect women's rights to earn their living as models or stars in pornographic productions.

Minneapolis, Minnesota, adopted versions of the ordinance in 1983 and 1984, but the mayor vetoed it both times. Indianapolis, Indiana, also adopted a version of it, but the U.S. Supreme Court found it unconstitutional in 1986, saying that the definition of pornography was too broad. Versions of the measure have been adopted in Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, and the Philippines. In 1992, Canada's Supreme Court permitted a definition of obscenity that included materials that degrade or dehumanize women.

See also Dworkin, Andrea; MacKinnon, Catharine Alice

References Brill, "Freedom, Fantasy, Foes, and Feminism: The Debate around Pornography" (1990); Cowan, "Pornography: Conflict among Feminists" (1995).

Poverty

See **Feminization of Poverty**

Pratt, Eliza Jane (1902–1981)

Democrat Eliza Jane Pratt of North Carolina served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 25 May 1946 to 3 January 1947. From 1924 to 1946, Pratt worked as administrative assistant to the members of Congress who represented the Eighth Congressional District. When the incumbent died in 1946, she won the special election to fill the vacancy. She concluded that

Representative Ruth Pratt (R-NY) demonstrated how a voting machine works during her campaign, 1928 (Corbis/Bettmann)



she could not afford the costs of a campaign for a full term and declined to run. Between 1947 and 1956, she worked for several federal agencies, and from 1957 to 1962, she was again secretary to the congressional representative for the Eighth Congressional District.

Born in Morven, North Carolina, Pratt attended Queens College in North Carolina.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Pratt, Ruth Sears Baker (1877–1965)

Republican Ruth Pratt of New York served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 4 March 1929 to 3 March 1933. In Congress, she worked for appropriations to publish books for the blind, opposed the Eighteenth Amendment establishing Prohibition, and supported President Herbert Hoover's policy to avoid public financing of programs to relieve the unemployment created by the Depression. She lost her bid for a third term.

Born in Ware, Massachusetts, Pratt attended Wellesley College. A woman suffrage leader, she was active in Republican Party politics, serving as a committee vice chair for the Republican National Committee in 1918. In 1925, Pratt became the first female alderman in New York City, a post she held until 1929, when she ran for Congress. She was Republican national committeewoman for New York from 1929 to 1943.

See also Congress, Women in; Suffrage

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978

The Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 amends Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by prohibiting discrimination on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions. Under the Pregnancy Discrimination Act, employers are not allowed to refuse to hire a pregnant woman if she can perform the major tasks of the job. Employers must treat pregnancy the same as any other temporary disability, which means they must provide disability benefits and accrued sick leave for hospitalization and recovery from childbirth.

The U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *General Electric v. Gilbert* (1976), that pregnancy was a unique condition that did not have to be treated by employers as an ensured disability and that the exclusion did not violate Title VII, led women's rights groups, labor organizations, and civil rights groups to draft legislation to reverse the decision. Among the more than fifty organizations involved in lobbying for the bill were the National Organization for Women, the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations, and an antiabortion group.

After introducing the bill in 1977, its supporters argued that discrimination based on pregnancy was a central women's employment issue. They insisted that employers had used pregnancy as a way to place women on the margins of the workforce. Supporters believed that the bill would enhance women's equal employment opportunities. Opponents of the bill argued that it would be expensive and that pregnancy was not an equal employment issue. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the National Association of Manufacturers worried that women would abuse the system. They insisted that pregnancy was a voluntary condition and should not be considered a disability.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Fourteenth Amendment; *Geduldig v. Aiello*; *General Electric v. Gilbert*

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 95th Congress, 1st Session . . . 1977* (1977), *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 95th Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1978* (1979); *Geduldig v. Aiello*, 417 U.S. 484 (1974); www.eeoc.gov/facts/fs-preg.html.

President and Vice President, Women Candidates for

More than twenty women have sought the presidency of the United States, but none of them have won the nomination of the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. In 1964, Republican senator Margaret Chase Smith

was the first woman to run for the nomination of a major party and to secure nomination for president by a major party. Smith ran in primaries in several states, received twenty-seven votes at the convention, and then withdrew her name. Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of New York became the first African American woman to enter a presidential race when she ran for the Democratic Party's nomination in 1972. Chisholm entered twelve primaries and campaigned across the country in an effort to educate the public on a wide array of issues. When the party met to choose its candidate, Chisholm received 151.25 votes. Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder of Colorado considered entering the Democratic primaries for president but abandoned the attempt before entering any primaries. She concluded that she could not raise enough money to be a serious contender.

In 1952, Charlotta Spears Bass was the first African American woman to run for vice president when she was the Progressive Party's candidate. LaDonna Harris was the Citizens Party's 1980 vice presidential candidate. Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro of New York became the first, and to date the only, woman to receive a major party's nomination for vice president in 1984, when Democratic Party presidential candidate Walter Mondale named her as his running mate. Twelve years earlier, Gloria Steinem had orchestrated an effort to place Frances "Sissy" Farenthold's name in nomination for vice president on the Democratic Party ticket in 1972. Farenthold received 400 votes.

In 1872, before women could vote, Victoria Claflin Woodhull ran on the Equal Rights Party ticket. Lawyer Belva Lockwood followed her in 1884 and 1888 on that party's ticket. Women have run on other third-party tickets, including the New Alliance Party, Communist Party, Socialist Party, Workers World Party, and Reform Party.

In 1998, a group of women organized the White House Project to create a climate of opinion that would make voters more amenable to a woman president by the year 2008.

See also Bass, Charlotta Spears; Chisholm, Shirley Anita St. Hill; Democratic Party, Women in the; Farenthold, Frances (Sissy) Talton; Ferraro, Geraldine Anne; Harris, LaDonna; Lockwood, Belva Ann Bennett McNall; Republican Party, Women in the; Schroeder, Patricia Nell Scott; Smith, Margaret Madeline Chase; Steinem, Gloria Marie; Woodhull, Victoria Claflin

References Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

President's Commission on the Status of Women

With Executive Order 10980, President John F. Kennedy created the President's Commission on the Status of Women on 14 December 1961. He appointed fifteen women and eleven men to serve on the commission,

which published its report in October 1963. Formed in part to halt congressional passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), the commission instead renewed interest in it.

The American Association of University Women and Business and Professional Women/USA (BPW/USA) had worked for the creation of a commission since the 1940s but failed to obtain congressional approval for it. In 1957, the National Manpower Commission at Columbia University recommended that the Department of Labor review state and federal laws related to women's employment, but the Women's Bureau rejected the idea. The concept gained momentum in 1961 with Esther Peterson's appointment to head the Women's Bureau. With the creation of a commission on the status of women, Peterson saw an opportunity to stop congressional action on the ERA, a measure she opposed because she believed it would end protective labor legislation for women. Peterson believed that the more appropriate way to end women's legal disabilities was through "specific bills for specific ills" and that a panel to identify legal barriers confronting women would serve that purpose. Peterson obtained the support of Eleanor Roosevelt, who in turn discussed it with Kennedy. The idea appealed to Kennedy, the first president since Herbert Hoover who did not have a woman in his cabinet, because it provided him with a program for women.

Kennedy appointed Roosevelt to chair the commission, which included U.S. senators Maurine Neuberger and George D. Aiken; Congresswomen Edith Green and Jessica M. Weis; National Council of Negro Women president Dorothy Height; Margaret Hickey, public affairs editor for *Ladies Home Journal*; cabinet members; labor representatives; and others. In addition to the commission members, more than 100 people served on the commission's committees and consulting groups. Fifty organizations contributed to the commission's work, some of them by preparing papers. Absent from those recruited to serve on the commission or to contribute to the reports were members of the National Woman's Party, an organization that had first conceptualized the ERA and had advocated its passage since 1923. The only commission member who supported the amendment was Marguerite Rawalt, a former BPW/USA president.

The commission established seven study committees: education and counseling, home and community services, women in employment, labor standards, security of basic income, women under the law, and women as citizens. Two additional committees addressed the specific problems that African American women confronted and the portrayal of women in the mass media. In its report, the commission made several recommendations for enhancing women's status and opportunities. The educational recommendations included vocational education at all

levels, continuing education for adult women, and increased guidance counseling. In the area of home and community, the commission pointed to the need for child care services and called for fewer restrictions on tax deductions for child care and for equal opportunity in employment. Under labor standards, the commission sought the extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to categories of employment not covered, including retail establishments, agriculture, and nonprofit organizations. Other recommendations included passage of state laws to establish the principle of equal pay for comparable work and to protect the right of all workers to join unions of their choice and to bargain collectively.

In the area of equal rights, the panel suggested three routes for securing them: litigating to test sex discrimination in the courts, filing court cases arguing that the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments provided women with constitutional equality, passing the ERA, and pressing for state legislative action. The panel preferred court and state action over the ERA but did not reject it as a possibility. Encouraging women to serve in elective and appointive offices, the commission said that positions at every level of government should be filled without regard to sex.

The commission's last recommendation called for the appointment of a cabinet officer to direct implementation of the report. On 1 November 1963, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 11126, creating the Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women and the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women to ensure the continuation of the work begun by the commission. Among the other implemented recommendations were the equalization of civil service health benefits, revisions in the Departments of State and Defense regulations for dependency allowances, and amendments in the Department of Labor's eligibility rules to end sex bias in federal apprenticeship programs.

In 1963, the governor of Washington appointed the first state commission, and by 1967 every state except one had some form of panel on women's status. The President's Commission on the Status of Women and the state commissions that followed can be credited, at least in part, with influencing several changes, beginning in the mid-1960s. Three states repealed laws limiting the hours women could work, and eleven states made them less restrictive; nine states enacted equal pay laws; four states changed their policies regarding women and jury service; six states enacted minimum wage laws that applied to both women and men, and nine states extended the coverage to men; and three states amended laws that restricted women's rights to dispose of their own property. Throughout the country, state reports created an agenda for change, and panel members became advocates for it.

In 1964, the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women and the Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women held the first of several annual, national conferences of the state commissions. At the third conference in 1966, a small group of attendees created the National Organization for Women, which became a leading advocate for the ERA.

See also American Association of University Women; Business and Professional Women/USA; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendment; Executive Order 10980; Executive Order 11126; Fourteenth Amendment; Green, Edith Louise Starrett; Height, Dorothy Irene; Juries, Women on; National Association of Commissions for Women; National Committee to Defeat the UnEqual Rights Amendment; National Council of Negro Women; National Organization for Women; Neuberger, Maurine Brown; Peterson, Esther; Protective Legislation; Roosevelt, Eleanor; Weis, Jessica McCullough; Women's Bureau

References Harrison, *On Account of Sex: The Politics of Women's Issues, 1945–1968* (1988); Mead and Kaplan, eds., *American Women: The Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women and Other Publications of the Commission* (1965).

President's Interagency Council on Women

Established by President Bill Clinton in 1995, the President's Interagency Council on Women seeks to implement the Platform for Action adopted at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women held that year. Through interagency groups, the council develops policy, organizes events, promotes dialogue on issues, holds quarterly public briefings and discussions, and publishes updates on its progress and priorities.

The six working groups focus on women and the global economy, mentoring, women and prisons, rural women, trafficking in women and girls, and gender and institutional change, with each group establishing its own agenda. For example, the agenda for the group on women and the global economy includes developing a bibliography on the effects of globalization on women and producing an overview of federal government activities relating to the global economy and women. The council also sponsors events that involve the public, including the Ms. Foundation for Women's Take Our Daughters to Work Day.

See also Ms. Foundation for Women

References <http://secretary.state.gov/www/iacw/>.

President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities

Established by President Richard Nixon on 1 October 1969, the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities was charged

with reviewing women's status and making recommendations to advance women's opportunities. The task force dissolved on 15 December 1969 after presenting its report.

The task force resulted from the intense lobbying by four Republican congresswomen, Florence Dwyer of New Jersey, Margaret Heckler of Massachusetts, Catherine Barnes May of Washington, and Charlotte Reid of Illinois, who believed that Republicans needed to demonstrate an interest in and concern for women's issues. Nixon agreed to create the task force and asked it to collect information for his 1970 State of the Union Address. The ten women and two men appointed to it detailed discrimination against women and recommended steps to alleviate it. Nixon, however, did not mention women in his address.

The task force's guidelines stated that the report was for the president's information and guidance and that its contents were not to be revealed to the public by the task force. Completed and delivered on 15 December 1969, it was not released to the public until bootlegged copies appeared in the *Miami Herald* and other newspapers in mid-1970. After Elizabeth Koontz, head of the Women's Bureau, and several women's organizations protested the administration's continued resistance to making the report public, it was officially released.

The report, titled "A Matter of Simple Justice," recommended that Nixon establish an Office of Women's Rights and Responsibilities, convene a White House Conference on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, and urge passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, a measure he endorsed. Other recommendations included granting the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission enforcement powers, amending the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex in public accommodations, and expanding the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to grant the Civil Rights Commission jurisdiction in cases involving denial of rights because of sex. Examples of recommendations to the executive branch included appointing more women to the cabinet and other high-level positions and directives to federal department heads to establish women's units to end discrimination within the departments. A total of twenty-two recommendations were made in the report.

Few of the recommendations were implemented; however, Nixon appointed Barbara Hackman Franklin to identify and recruit women to high-level federal appointments, and Congress passed the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 empowering the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to file lawsuits against employers that discriminated against women.

See also Dwyer, Florence Price; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Franklin, Barbara Hackman; Heckler, Margaret Mary O'Shaughnessy; Koontz,

Elizabeth Duncan; May Bedell, Catherine Dean Barnes; Reid, Charlotte Thompson; Women's Bureau

References Linden-Ward and Green, *American Women in the 1960s: Changing the Future* (1993).

***Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins* (1989)**

In *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided whether an employer's consideration of sex in employment decisions violated Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Ann Hopkins had worked for the accounting firm of Price Waterhouse for five years by 1982, when she was a proposed candidate for partner in the company. At the time, Price Waterhouse had 662 partners, seven of whom were women; that year, of the eighty-eight candidates for partner, only Hopkins was a woman. The firm admitted forty-seven new partners, rejected twenty-one candidates, and held twenty over for recommendation the next year. Hopkins was among those whose candidacy was held over, but the partners refused to propose her again. Hopkins sued Price Waterhouse, accusing the company of sex discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Price Waterhouse partners praised Hopkins's accomplishments, character, and professional skills, but in criticism of her interpersonal skills they also said that she could be abrasive, impatient, and unduly harsh. Some of the partners reacted negatively to Hopkins's personality because she was a woman. One partner described her as macho, another said that she "overcompensated for being a woman," and another suggested she take a charm school course. Yet another partner said that she should learn to "walk more femininely, talk more femininely, dress more femininely, wear make-up, have her hair styled, and wear jewelry." Lower courts concluded that the sex stereotyping and the sex-based evaluations constituted discrimination based on sex in violation of Title VII. The courts said that when an employer allowed discrimination to play a role in an employment decision, it had to prove by clear and convincing evidence that it would have made the same decision if the discrimination had not been part of the decision.

The U.S. Supreme Court disagreed with the lower courts, saying that the level of proof (clear and convincing evidence) that the lower courts had used was too high and that the employer only had to prove that it would have made the same decision with a preponderance of the evidence. Congress disagreed with the Court, and in the Civil Rights Act of 1991, it prohibited the consideration of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in employment decisions, even if the decision would have been the same without consideration of those factors.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1991; Employment Discrimination

References *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*, 490 U.S. 228 (1989).

Priest, Ivy Maude Baker (1905–1975)

Head of the Women's Division of the Republican National Committee (RNC) in 1952 and 1953, Ivy Baker Priest served as treasurer of the United States from 1953 to 1961. Priest became active in politics in 1932 doing organizational work for the Young Republicans. After an unsuccessful candidacy for the Utah legislature, she was president of Utah Young Republicans from 1934 to 1936, Republican cochairperson for eleven western states, and Republican national committeewoman for Utah from 1944 to 1952. In 1950, she unsuccessfully ran for Congress, losing to Reva Beck Bosone.

An early supporter of Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidential candidacy in 1952, she was the only Utah delegate to the Republican National Convention committed to him. Following his nomination by the Republican Party that year, Priest was appointed assistant chair of the RNC and head of the Women's Division, holding primary responsibility for organizing women's support for Eisenhower.

After his election, President Eisenhower appointed Priest treasurer of the United States, the second woman to hold the position. At the end of Eisenhower's second term, Priest moved to California. In 1966, she successfully ran for state treasurer, serving from 1967 to 1975.

Born in Kimberly, Utah, Ivy Baker Priest took extension courses at the University of Utah. She abandoned her studies when her father's ill health made it necessary for her to find employment. Priest worked as a telephone operator, sales clerk, and department store buyer. Her autobiography, *Green Grows Ivy*, was published in 1958.

See also Bosone, Reva Zilpha Beck; Clark Gray, Georgia Neese; Republican Party, Women in the

References Layton, "Ivy Baker Priest" (1996); *New York Times*, 25 June 1975.

Progressive Party, Women in the

Before women had voting rights, women reformers worked for and with Progressive Party candidates at the local, state, and national levels. When the Progressive Party organized on the national level in 1912, women held seats on its national committee, recognition that Democrats did not give their female members until 1920 and Republicans until 1924. Women delegates to the 1912 Progressive Party convention helped write the party platform, which included support for woman suffrage, minimum wage insurance, child labor reform, and old age insurance, all priorities of women reformers. Women joined Bull Moose Clubs to work for Theodore

Roosevelt's election, held offices in them, and ran for statewide offices themselves on the party's ticket.

Among the more notable women involved in the party were Jane Addams and Ruth Hanna McCormick. Addams became the first woman to nominate a major political candidate when she gave her speech for Theodore Roosevelt at the 1912 convention. McCormick served as an important member of the party's campaign committee. Women promoted the Progressive Party as the one most likely to help women gain suffrage and as the party that offered women the opportunity to have a national voice in politics.

See also Addams, Jane; Democratic Party, Women in the; McCormick Simms, Ruth Hanna; Republican Party, Women in the

References Dinkin, *Before Equal Suffrage: Women in Partisan Politics from Colonial Times to 1920* (1995).

Pro-Life Action League

Founded in 1980 by Joseph M. Scheidler, the Pro-Life Action League (PLAL) seeks to prevent abortion through direct action, including picketing, closing abortion clinics, and sidewalk counseling. Sidewalk counseling, which PLAL considers one of its more effective strategies, involves approaching women going into abortion clinics and attempting to persuade them not to proceed with their abortions. PLAL demonstrates at abortion clinics, offices of prochoice organizations, and homes of physicians who perform abortions. In addition, PLAL leaders take pride in their ability to infiltrate prochoice conventions and monitor prochoice activities. PLAL lobbies Congress and state legislatures and takes credit for Illinois's restrictive abortion laws. In addition, the organization opposes birth control and sex education in public schools.

PLAL has been the target of several lawsuits, including *NOW v. Scheidler*, a case that went to the U.S. Supreme Court. In the case, the National Organization for Women (NOW) sued Operation Rescue, the Pro-Life Action League, other groups, and Joseph Scheidler, alleging the defendants were part of a nationwide conspiracy that sought to close abortion clinics. In 1994, the U.S. Supreme Court found that the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act applied to the coalition of antiabortion groups, but it did not decide the merits of the lawsuit.

See also Abortion; National Organization for Women; *NOW v. Scheidler*; Operation Rescue

References Blanchard, *The Anti-Abortion Movement and the Rise of the Religious Right: From Polite to Fiery Protest* (1994); Bradley, "NOW v. Scheidler: RICO Meets the First Amendment" (1995).

Protective Legislation

Protective legislation emerged as a social reform issue in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Through it, advocates sought to shield workers from the harshest abuses and the health and safety hazards of factory work, mining, and other industries. The U.S. Supreme Court's rejection of the laws that covered women and men led social reformers to limit legislation to women and children. The Women's Trade Union League, the National Consumers League, and other groups worked for the passage of legislation that limited the number of hours per day and the number of days per week that women and children could work, prohibited them from working at night, established minimum pay, limited the amount of weight they could lift, and excluded them from certain occupations. Massachusetts passed the first effective protective legislation in 1874, a measure that limited women and children to working ten hours per day. By 1900, fourteen states had passed comparable measures. The U.S. Supreme Court accepted measures that were limited to women in *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), and by 1960, every state had some form of protective legislation.

When Congress passed Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the measure made discrimination on the basis of sex illegal. The law did not specifically address protective legislation, but the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission concluded that protective legislation discriminated on the basis of sex and that the federal policy overruled state laws.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Equal Rights Amendment; *Muller v. Oregon*; National Consumers League; Women's Trade Union League

References Baer, *The Chains of Protection: The Judicial Response to Women's Labor Legislation* (1978); Lehrer, *Origins of Protective Labor Legislation for Women, 1905–1925* (1987).

Pryce, Deborah (b. 1951)

Republican Deborah Pryce of Ohio entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1993. Pryce held the leadership position of House conference secretary in the 105th and 106th Congresses (1997–2001). A fiscal conservative, Pryce told the House: "For the Democrats, it is the American people who have too much money. For us Republicans, it is the government that has too much." She has been a leader in efforts to fight congressional spending, win passage of national term limits legislation, and enact a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. A member of the Decorum and Civility Task Force, which works to improve relations between parties and foster civil conduct in the House of Representatives, she has also worked to improve deliberations and accountability in the House.



Representative Deborah Pryce (R-OH) with Representative Jennifer Dunn (R-WA) supported the short-lived election of Representative Bob Livingston (R-LA) as speaker of the House, 1998 (Associated Press AP)

Born in Warren, Ohio, Pryce received her bachelor of arts degree from Ohio State University in 1973 and her law degree from Capital University in 1976. A prosecutor for eight years, her first elected post was to the Franklin County Municipal Court as a judge, where she served from 1985 to 1992.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995); www.house.gov/pryce/prycebio.htm.

Public Offices, Women Elected to

Women have been elected to public offices since the late nineteenth century. Laura J. Eisenhuth, North Dakota superintendent of public instruction from 1893 to 1895, was the first woman elected to a statewide public office. Susannah Medora Salter of Argonia, Kansas, was the first woman mayor in the United States, serving from 1887 to 1889. Colorado was the first state to elect women to its state legislature, sending three women to its House of Representatives in 1894. Republican Jeannette Rankin of Montana was the first woman elected to Congress, entering the House of Representatives in 1917. The first woman governor was Democrat Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming, who served from 1925 to 1927. By 1969, however, only twenty-three women held statewide elective executive offices, or

6.6 percent of the 346 offices in the nation. Over the next thirty years, the number grew to ninety-one women in statewide elective executive offices, or 28.2 percent of 323 offices. (In the meantime, states had eliminated certain offices, combined them with other offices, or made them appointed positions.)

Several factors account for the small number of women who have served in public offices. Although women in some states, including Montana, had voting rights when Rankin was elected to Congress, U.S. women did not gain full suffrage rights until the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. Of the women who developed political experience as leaders in the suffrage movement, few sought public office, and fewer succeeded.

Women found that the Democratic and Republican Parties did not welcome them into their decisionmaking circles, appoint them to party positions, or recommend them for appointive positions in government. Seeking equality in the parties has been a long struggle for women, one that has received significant attention from women and from party leaders. The parties also resisted nominating women for public office unless it appeared that that party's candidate had virtually no chance of winning the general election. For example, in 1924, of the five Democratic women running for Congress, four of them ran in Republican districts, and the lone Republican woman ran in the South. Only Democrat Mary T. Norton of New Jersey won that year because of the backing of the party's machine.

Women have also found it difficult to raise the money needed to adequately finance their campaigns, in part because so many ran as sacrificial lambs for offices that they had little chance of winning. In the 1970s, the National Women's Political Caucus was founded to recruit women to pursue public office and train candidates to run effective campaigns, as well as help fund the campaigns. In the 1980s, EMILY's List, the WISH List, and other political action committees (PACs) formed to raise money for female candidates' campaigns. These groups have educated potential donors about the necessity of candidates having adequate financing for their campaigns and have raised substantial amounts of money, but money remains a significant barrier to women's candidacies and women's successes.

Another factor for women seeking office is incumbency, which both benefits women in office and poses a barrier to women challenging incumbents. In the 1998 elections, all fifty women seeking reelection to the U.S. House of Representatives won. Of the seventeen women nominated by a major party who ran for open seats, six won, but none of the fifty-four women challenging House incumbents won. In the U.S. Senate, three of the four women seeking reelection won, one of the two women running for open seats won, and none of the four women challengers won. Both

women governors who ran for reelection won, and thirty-four of the thirty-six women incumbents seeking statewide offices won.

Arizona made history in the 1998 elections when voters elected women to all five statewide executive positions in the line of constitutional succession. The governor, secretary of state, attorney general, state treasurer, and state superintendent of schools in Arizona are all women, the first time any state has selected women for all its top offices.

See also Congress, Women in; Democratic Party, Women in the; EMILY's List; Landes, Bertha Ethel Knight; Republican Party, Women in the; State Legislatures, Women in; WISH List

References Center for the American Woman and Politics, National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Rutgers University.

Public Speaking

In the early nineteenth century, several barriers stood between women and their participation in society. One of the first obstacles that women overcame was the social and religious prohibition against their speaking in public before audiences of women and men. Women's public silence had its roots in St. Paul's admonition that women should not be permitted to speak, a rule that the dominant Protestant churches heeded. In addition, it was considered unseemly for women to be heard in public. The exception was women of the Quaker religion, who were permitted to speak in meetings.

The first few women who broke through the barrier suffered the outrage of ministers and the public. In 1828 and 1829, Frances Wright, probably the first female public speaker in the United States, advocated equal education for women and men. Notorious for speaking in public and for her ideas, she attracted both large audiences and condemnation from the pulpit and the press. African American Maria Stewart was likely the next female public speaker, lecturing in Boston in 1832 and 1833 on abolition and educational opportunities for girls.

The two women who truly opened the public lecture stage to women were Angelina and Sarah Grimké, the first female agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society. These two sisters went on several speaking tours between 1837 and 1839. Attacked by churches for speaking in public, the Grimké sisters responded to their critics by articulating the connection between slavery and women's rights and arguing that women needed equality in order to take their places in the fight against slavery. In 1838, Angelina Grimké entered new territory for women when she spoke to the Massachusetts legislature on the need to end the slave trade in Washington, D.C. She was the first woman to speak to a legislative body. The Grimké sisters broke the public speaking barrier, and other women soon

followed them, first calling for the end of slavery and then calling for women's rights.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the; Grimké, Angelina Emily and Sarah Moore; Stewart, Maria W.; Wright, Frances (Fanny)

References Flexner and Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (1996).

Pyle, Gladys (1890–1989)

Republican Gladys Pyle of South Dakota served in the U.S. Senate from 9 November 1938 to 3 January 1939 but was never sworn into office. She was elected to the Senate following the death of the incumbent, but Congress had adjourned before her election and did not convene until the new Congress was organized following the 1938 general elections.

Pyle entered public service as the first woman elected to the South Dakota House of Representatives, an office she held from 1923 to 1927. She orchestrated the state's ratification of the Child Labor Amendment in 1923 and worked to give women the right to serve on juries, a right women gained in 1947. South Dakota secretary of state from 1927 to 1931, Pyle was the first woman in the state elected to hold a constitutional office. As secretary of state, Pyle sponsored legislation for a safety code for motor vehicles. In 1930, she lost in her attempt to become the Republican Party's candidate for governor, even though she received the most votes of the five Republican candidates. To win the nomination, a candidate needed at least 35 percent of the votes cast, which neither Pyle nor the other candidates accomplished, and the decision went to the state Republican convention. The candidate who had received the fewest votes in the election became the nominee. Appointed to the state's securities commission, Pyle served from 1931 to 1933, again the first woman to serve on a state commission. She was also a member of the South Dakota Board of Charities and Corrections from 1943 to 1957.

Born in Huron, South Dakota, Gladys Pyle earned her bachelor of arts degree from Huron College in 1911 and also studied at the American Conservatory of Music for one year. She taught in public high schools from 1912 to 1920.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Kinyon and Walz, *The Incredible Gladys Pyle* (1985); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Q

Quaker Women

Quaker women emerged as the first group of European women in America to have public lives, a status that developed from their roles as preachers and one that led them to take active and public roles in the temperance, abolitionist, and suffrage movements. The tenets of the Quaker faith provided the unusual independence Quaker women had from male authority. Quakers believe that the “inner light” reveals the way to truth and salvation and that it is available to both women and men, empowering women and men and giving both authority. Among the nineteenth-century Quaker women leaders were suffragists Susan B. Anthony and Lucretia Mott.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the; Anthony, Susan Brownell; Mott, Lucretia Coffin; Suffrage; Temperance Movement, Women in the

References Matthews, *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman's Power and Woman's Place in the United States, 1630–1970* (1992).

Quinton, Amelia Stone (1833–1926)

Native American rights advocate Amelia Stone Quinton joined Mary L. Bonney's crusade in 1879 to protect the Oklahoma Territory from white settlers and to save it for the Native Americans to whom it belonged. Working with Bonney in the Central Indian Committee, which eventually became the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA), Quinton planned and organized the efforts, and Bonney provided the financial support. The WNIA advocated doing away with reservations, allotting

private plots of land to individuals, and assimilating Native Americans into white culture.

Quinton prepared research, drafted petitions, and organized other groups to help with the petition effort. In 1882, Quinton and five others presented President Chester A. Arthur with more than 100,000 signatures on petitions for Native American land allotment, education, and citizenship. She also made speeches, lobbied members of Congress, persuaded others to send letters to Congress, and wrote articles. Quinton's work significantly contributed to the passage of the Dawes Act of 1887. Under the measure's provisions, Native Americans could exchange their participation in tribal holdings for an individual land grant and American citizenship.

Quinton served as president of WNIA from 1887 to 1905. During those years, the organization grew, expanding into the South and West and from eighty-six auxiliaries to 120. She continued to lobby Congress, particularly to improve conditions on reservations. With her health declining, Quinton refused reelection to the presidency of WNIA in 1905. She continued, however, to work for Native Americans until 1910.

Born in Jamesville, New York, Quinton received her education at Cortland Academy in Homer, New York, and taught in girls' seminaries and academies. One of the earliest members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, she represented the organization and helped establish new chapters from 1874 to 1877.

See also Bonney, Mary Lucinda; Woman's Christian Temperance Union

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993).

R

Racial Discrimination

Racial discrimination in the United States has its roots in the enslavement of Africans beginning in the seventeenth century. With the passage and ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, slavery ended in the United States, but the amendment did not end discrimination on the basis of race. Throughout the nation, local and state laws and policies as well as local customs authorized or permitted racial discrimination at every level.

The U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, provided the first substantial federal policy to end some discriminatory practices by ordering the end of segregated public schools. Laws and policies requiring or permitting discrimination on the basis of race in employment, housing, public accommodations, and higher education, however, persisted until passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited those forms of discrimination. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 provided the legal basis and enforcement for ending policies that discriminated against African Americans seeking to register to vote.

The first significant law restricting immigration into the United States discriminated against the Chinese. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibited Chinese immigration for ten years and was renewed in 1892 for another ten years. Congress made Chinese immigration permanently illegal in 1902. In addition, citizenship was denied to Chinese until 1943.

Official discrimination against Japanese immigrants was based upon a "gentleman's agreement" between President Theodore Roosevelt and

Japan made in 1907, prohibiting immigration from that country. Following Japan's bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the U.S. federal government forced all Japanese Americans, citizens and noncitizens, to leave the West Coast. Forced to quickly dispose of their property, deprived of the opportunity to continue their occupations, and placed into internment camps, 100,000 people of Japanese descent were denied their constitutional civil rights. The United States was also at war with Germany and Italy, but people of those descents were not deprived of their freedoms. In addition, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the internment of Japanese immigrants and people of Japanese descent. President Franklin Roosevelt withdrew the internment order in 1945 and the camps closed later that year. Japanese Americans were reimbursed for lost property in 1968 and Congress gave \$20,000 to each of the 60,000 surviving internees in 1988.

Native Americans and Latinos have also endured racial discrimination that limited their access to education, housing, and employment. Like the groups mentioned above, they have been denied their constitutional civil rights, and often their pleas to obtain those rights have been rejected. While the Civil Rights Act of 1964, affirmative action programs, and other measures have attempted to address racial discrimination, the legacy of racial discrimination continues to haunt American society and to limit the full realization of the fundamental ideals of the U.S. Constitution.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Voting Rights Act of 1965

References Crawford, Rouse, and Woods, eds., *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941–1965* (1990); Foner and Garraty, *The Reader's Companion to American History* (1991).

Radicalesbians

Founded in 1970, Radicalesbians resulted from attempts to purge lesbians from the feminist movement. Labeled the “lavender menace” by feminist and National Organization for Women (NOW) president Betty Friedan, Rita Mae Brown and other lesbians left NOW to form a lesbian feminist movement. At the second Congress to Unite Women, the lights went out in the meeting hall, and when the lights came back on, they revealed several lesbians wearing lavender T-shirts stenciled with the words “lavender menace.” The women described their experiences as lesbians in a heterosexual culture and distributed copies of the “The Woman-Identified Woman,” a paper intended to assuage feminists’ fears of lesbianism. The paper described lesbianism as a political choice that aligned women with other women and not solely as a matter of sexual expression.

See also Brown, Rita Mae; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; Lesbian Rights; National Organization for Women

References Wandersee, *American Women in the 1970s: On the Move* (1988).

Rambaut, Mary Lucinda Bonney

See Bonney, Mary Lucinda

Rankin, Jeannette Pickering (1880–1973)

Republican Jeannette Rankin of Montana was the first woman to serve in the U.S. Congress. When Rankin won the race for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1916, women in three-fourths of the states still did not have full suffrage rights. She served from 4 March 1917 to 3 March 1919 and from 3 January 1941 to 3 January 1943. A devoted peace advocate, she was the only person to vote against U.S. entry into both World War I and World War II.

Born near Missoula, Montana, Jeannette Rankin was the eldest daughter in a prosperous ranching family. Early in her life, Rankin wrote in her journal: “Go! Go! Go! It makes no difference where just so you go!” and she did. She entered the University of Montana in 1898, graduated with a degree in biology in 1902, and began teaching school. She soon decided that teaching was not for her and began traveling across the country looking for her life’s work.

A trip to Boston exposed her to urban poverty and the squalor in which poor families lived, especially women and children. From 1904 until 1908, Rankin sought to help remedy the problems of poverty through social work in several cities, including New York and San Francisco. By 1913, she had concluded that without the vote women could not make substantial societal change and had turned her efforts toward woman suffrage. She worked in a number of states, including her home state of Montana, which passed a state constitutional amendment for woman suffrage in 1914.

A Progressive Republican, she decided to run for the U.S. Congress in 1916. She began her campaign with an important advantage. Through her travels for the suffrage amendment, Rankin had developed a wide base of supporters who worked on her campaign.

Her primary campaign theme was the need for attention to children’s well-being, which was consistent with her earlier social work. One example she used to demonstrate the lack of interest in children was that the federal government spent \$300,000 a year for research on pig fodder but only \$30,000 a year to study children’s needs. She promised to work for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution for full woman suffrage. Another campaign issue involved the war raging in Europe. Americans were not yet involved in World War I, but the possibility of it appeared increasingly great. Rankin pledged that she would not vote to send Montana boys to war.

Rankin took her seat in Congress on 2 April 1917, and on 6 April Congress voted on a declaration of war. Rankin carefully deliberated



Representative Jeannette Rankin (R-MT) was the only member of Congress to vote against both world wars, for which she had to have a police escort to ensure her safety (Library of Congress)

about how she would vote. Because she was the first woman to serve in Congress, some people regarded her as a test of whether or not women should be there. If she voted against war, it might be interpreted as proof that women were weak and could not make difficult decisions. If she voted for war, she would be breaking her campaign pledge to stay out of it. She voted against war, along with fifty-five male members of the House of Representatives. She later said being the first woman elected to Congress was less significant than being “the first woman who was ever asked what she thought about war [and] said ‘no!’”

Rankin supported several measures that addressed women’s concerns. She passed a bill to regulate the hours and con-

ditions for women workers at the U.S. Mint, protective labor legislation that social reformers of the time favored. She developed support for woman suffrage and introduced a bill to end child labor. Her bill to provide health care and instruction for mothers became the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921, and she helped build support for the Cable Act of 1922, giving women citizenship rights regardless of their marital status or the citizenship of their husband.

She decided to run for the U.S. Senate in 1918 but lost in the Republican primary. Her vote against war had turned voters against her. Rankin’s commitment to peace became clear in her work over the next twenty years. She devoted herself to lobbying Congress and organizing people to work for peace.

Her work in peace issues once again attracted Montana voters’ support in 1940, when she ran for the U.S. House of Representatives the second time. As in 1916, Europe was at war, and Americans were debating whether or not to enter World War II. Rankin campaigned on peace themes and won her seat in Congress. True to her beliefs, when Congress voted on whether or not to enter the war, she voted no. She was the only person in the House or the Senate to cast a no vote and the only person in the United States to vote against both world wars. Widely ridiculed for having kept her campaign promises, she did not run again in 1942.

During the Vietnam War, she joined the peace protests against it. As the leader of the Jeannette Rankin Brigade, she marched in Washington,

D.C., with other protesters in an antiwar rally in 1968. That same year, she considered running for Congress for the third time, but poor health made her abandon those plans. She was eighty-eight years old. She died five years later, in 1973, in Carmel, California.

See also Congress, Women in; Suffrage

References Anderson, “Steps to Political Equality: Woman Suffrage and Electoral Politics in the Lives of Emily Newell Blair, Anne Henrietta Martin, and Jeannette Rankin” (1997); Kaptur, *Women of Congress: A Twentieth Century Odyssey* (1996).

Rape

With the emergence of the modern feminist movement in the 1960s, women focused attention on rape, reports on it, prosecutions of it, and laws relating to it. The topic began to receive serious attention through the efforts of Susan Brownmiller, who was a leader in the New York Radical Women’s decisions to hold a speak-out and a conference in 1971 on the topic. These events contributed to raising women’s consciousness about rape, served as forums for analyzing societal assumptions about it, and provided some of the inspiration for Brownmiller’s landmark study of it. In *Against Our Will* (1975), Brownmiller traced the social and legal history of rape, arguing that rape “is an exercise in power” and not an act of passion. She explained that rape “is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which *all men* keep *all women* in a state of fear.” The fear affected the dailiness of women’s lives, including their willingness to live alone, walk outside alone at night, or leave their windows open.

Rape is one of the most underreported of crimes—approximately 132,000 women report that they have been victims of rape or of attempted rape every year, but it is estimated that two to six times that number of women are raped but do not report it. The crime is generally not reported for several reasons, including women’s fear and embarrassment and their knowledge that prosecutors are often reluctant to file charges and that prosecutions are difficult to obtain.

Women often find the experience of dealing with law enforcement officials degrading and traumatic, contributing to their resistance to continuing with the reporting process. Because women had so few options at the time the feminist movement began, feminists opened rape crisis hotlines and rape crisis centers, with the first hotline opening in Washington, D.C., in 1972 and hundreds more opening over the next four years. The centers generally provide assistance to rape victims, accompany them to police stations, and serve as advocates for them after the attack. Centers also offer self-defense classes, rape prevention seminars, support groups, and training for professionals.

In the 1970s, feminists also began to change state laws related to rape. Several states had special rules of evidence in rape trials, including requiring corroborating evidence in addition to the woman's testimony. To prove that force was involved and that the woman had resisted, the evidence could include a weapon, bruises, or torn clothing. To prove that penetration had occurred, possible evidence included vaginal tears, bruises, and sperm. The courts permitted testimony about the woman's prior sexual history as relevant to the issue of consent, and the victim's attire could be part of the defense, which could assert that revealing or sexy clothing constituted an invitation to be assaulted, the "she asked for it" defense. In addition, judges' instructions to juries included the caution articulated by a seventeenth-century jurist: "Rape is an accusation easily to be made and hard to be proved, and harder to be defended."

Since the 1970s, every state in the country has revised its rape laws, with some of the states amending them several times to move the emphasis from the victim's behavior and clothing to the defendant's actions. The requirement that women resist the attack and examinations of victims' behavior and prior sexual activity, with some exceptions, and the seventeenth-century instructions to the jury have been dropped in most states. As states changed their laws, they also renamed the offense sexual assault and made it gender-neutral.

In the 1970s, because rape was defined as "forcible penetration of an act of sexual intercourse on the body of a woman not the man's wife," forced sex between a husband and wife was legal, and even if she was injured, no law had been broken. Whether a state labeled forcible sex as rape or as sexual assault, there was often a marital exemption, but by the 1990s, that exemption had been eliminated in almost every state. In addition, sexual assault laws covered cohabitants and people on dates.

In the 1990s, an increasing number of women reported that they had been raped after they had been drugged. An odorless, colorless, tasteless drug, Rohypnol relaxes people so that resistance is almost impossible and it may lead to memory loss. By secretly placing the drug in a drink, rapists disarmed their intended victims. In 1996, Congress increased the penalties for giving drugs, especially Rohypnol, to a person without the person's knowledge and with the intent to commit a violent crime. In addition, college safety groups and other organizations produced warnings to alert women of the potential danger.

See also Feminist Movement; New York Radical Women

References Baer, *Women in American Law: The Struggle toward Equality from the New Deal to the Present* (1996); Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (1975); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 104th Congress,*

Ray, Dixy Lee (1914–1994)

Democrat Dixy Lee Ray was governor of Washington from 1977 to 1981. President Richard Nixon appointed her to the Atomic Energy Commission in 1972, and she chaired it from 1973 to 1975. A strong supporter of nuclear power, she believed that nuclear power plants were safe and that mass destruction from an accident was unlikely. When the Atomic Energy Commission's responsibilities were transferred to another agency, President Gerald Ford appointed Ray assistant secretary of state for oceans, international environmental, and scientific affairs. After leaving the federal government, Ray ran for governor of the state of Washington. Governor Ray was viewed as friendly to business and was criticized by environmentalists for her support of nuclear power and its development. Ray ran for a second term but lost in the primary election.

Born in Tacoma, Washington, Dixy Lee Ray earned her bachelor's degree from Mills College in 1937 and her doctorate from Stanford University in 1945. Ray taught in Oakland, California, from 1938 to 1942. She was an associate professor of zoology at the University of Washington from 1945 to 1976.

See also Governors, Women

References *New York Times*, 3 January 1994.

Reagan, Nancy Robins (b. 1923?)

Nancy Reagan served as first lady from 1981 to 1989, when her husband Ronald Reagan was president of the United States. Nancy Reagan began her years in the White House supervising a major restoration of the residence and its furnishings, a project that became one of the first controversies she encountered. The drug abuse prevention program she developed, "Just Say No," was criticized for its seemingly simplistic approach to a complex social problem. Her influence on the president in the areas of his staff and policy was questioned and criticized. She acknowledged that she did not like White House chief of staff Donald Regan, but she insisted that she did not stage a coup to get rid of him, despite his assertions that she had managed his dismissal and those of other officials in the administration. Nancy Reagan explained her perspective on a president's wife's duties: "Don't be afraid to look after your husband or to voice your opinions, either to him or his staff. In spite of a White House full of people taking care of various aspects of a President's life, you're the one who knows him best."

First Lady Nancy Reagan spoke out against drugs during her “Just Say No” campaign at a conference at the White House, 1986 (Corbis/Bettmann)



While President Reagan was in office, in 1987, Nancy Reagan learned that she had breast cancer. She, like Betty Ford before her, permitted the information to be made public. Following the announcement, the number of women obtaining mammograms increased substantially.

Born in New York City, Nancy Reagan was christened Anne Frances Robins but was called Nancy throughout her life. An actress, she performed on Broadway, television, and in movies. She married Ronald Reagan in 1952 and soon left her acting career in favor of homemaking and raising her family.

References *New York Times*, 25 May 1988; Reagan, *My Turn* (1989).

Redstockings

Founded in New York City in 1969 by Shulamith Firestone and Ellen Willis, the Redstockings were a group of women's liberationists who viewed themselves as radical and militant. The group's name derived from the term *bluestocking*, a nineteenth-century derogatory term used to describe feminist theorists and writers, and the symbolism of the revolutionary color red.

Redstockings' members argued in their manifesto that women's submission to male domination "was not the result of brainwashing, stupidity, or mental illness but of continual, daily pressure from men." They also argued that women marry because of the difficulties of being single and working at a "boring and alienating job." One member suggested that women worked to make themselves attractive to men as a survival strategy.

Committed to action, they chose the New York legislature's hearing on abortion reform as the stage for their first public protest and disrupted the hearing by speaking from the audience and calling for the repeal of abortion laws, not reform. The Redstockings later held a public speak-out on abortion, at which a dozen women who had had illegal abortions described their experiences to an audience of 300 people. The group disbanded in 1970.

See also Women's Liberation Movement

References Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975* (1989).

Reece, Louise Goff (1898–1970)

Republican Louise Reece of Tennessee served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 16 May 1961 to 3 January 1963. Following the death of her husband Brazilla Reece, Louise Reece won the special election to fill the vacancy. In Congress, Louise Reece worked to protect her district's glass industry. She did not run for reelection.

Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Louise Reece was the daughter and granddaughter of U.S. senators. An active businesswoman, she chaired the boards of two banks and managed Goff Properties.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Reed v. Reed (1971)

In *Reed v. Reed*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment applied to sex discrimination and

invalidated a state law on that basis. In addition, the Court established an intermediate level of scrutiny that applied only to sex discrimination cases.

The Idaho law in question designated the classes of people eligible to administer a deceased person's estate. Under the law, when a man and a woman of the same relationship to the deceased filed to be appointed the estate administrator, the state gave mandatory preferences to the man. The Court decided that mandatory preferences to members of either sex "merely to accomplish the elimination of hearings on the merits, is to make the very kind of arbitrary legislative choice forbidden by the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment" and found the law unconstitutional.

Reed v. Reed was the first case litigated by the American Civil Liberties Union's Women's Rights Project. Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, then a law professor and head of the Women's Rights Project, directed the project and argued the case.

See also Fourteenth Amendment; Ginsburg, Ruth Joan Bader

References Getman, "The Emerging Constitutional Principle of Sexual Equality" (1973); *Reed v. Reed*, 404 U.S. 71 (1971).

Reid, Charlotte Thompson (b. 1913)

Republican Charlotte Reid of Illinois served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1963 to 7 October 1971. Charlotte Reid's husband Frank Reid was running for Congress in 1962 when he died. Republican political leaders chose Charlotte Reid to replace him on the ticket, and she won the election. Congresswoman Reid worked to protect agricultural interests through price supports, favored building a National Cultural Center, and introduced a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools. She opposed much of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs but supported Johnson's and President Richard Nixon's conduct of the Vietnam War. Reid resigned her congressional seat to accept an appointment to the Federal Communications Commission in 1971, serving until 1976. She served on the President's Task Force on International Private Enterprise from 1983 to 1985.

Born in Kankakee, Illinois, Charlotte Reid attended Illinois College. She sang professionally for NBC using the name Annette King. Following her marriage to Frank Reid, she became involved in civic, community, and political groups.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice

The Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice (RCRC) was founded in 1973 to protect women's right to an abortion and to offer an interpretation of abortion based on religious faith that was an alternative to the Roman Catholic Church's opposition to abortion. Although all of the forty member organizations support reproductive rights, they represent a spectrum of specific views on abortion, but none of them intend to have their denominational stance written into law.

Initially called the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR), the organization was established to counter the U.S. Catholic Conference's commitment to reverse *Roe v. Wade* (1973), the U.S. Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion. Twenty major Christian, Jewish, and other religious organizations were brought together by the United Methodist General Board of Church and Society as a temporary group to respond to the antichoice movement, but when it became apparent that a sustained effort was necessary, RCAR was independently incorporated in 1981. It later changed its name to Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice.

RCRC works through forty member organizations, fifty-five grassroots organizations, and a network of prochoice clergy to advocate its position on the local, state, and federal levels. It supported the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1994 and opposed cuts in family planning appropriations and efforts to outlaw partial birth abortion. Other priorities include medical care for all children, sexuality education, and teen pregnancy prevention programs.

Another facet of RCRC's work is its Women of Color Partnership, a program that focuses on including Latinas and African American women, poor women, and underrepresented women in its policymaking and programs. Through the Women of Color Partnership, RCRC seeks to counter racism and related prejudices that contribute to the formulation of punitive public policies and practices.

RCRC's membership includes boards and committees of the United Methodist Church, Presbyterian Church USA, United Church of Christ, Episcopal Church, and Moravian Church in America. In addition, several federations and associations within the conservative, reconstructionist, and reform movement of the Jewish faith belong, as well as those in the Unitarian Universalist denomination and the Ethical Culture Movement.

See also Abortion; *Roe v. Wade*

References Wood, "The Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights: An Analysis of Its Role in the Pro-Choice Movement" (1990); www.rcrc.org.

Attorney General Janet Reno endured not only many controversies, such as the tragedy at the Branch Davidian complex in Waco, Texas, but also the onset of Parkinson's disease, 1995 (Archive Photos)



Reno, Janet (b. 1938)

Janet Reno became the first female attorney general of the United States in 1993. She was President Bill Clinton's third choice. His first choice had withdrawn because she had hired an illegal immigrant as a nanny and had not paid Social Security taxes for her. A second woman's nomination was planned but was not made because she had also employed an undocumented worker as a nanny. Although the practice had been legal at the time, it was enough to make Clinton reconsider her nomination. The longest-serving attorney general, Reno has also been one of the most visible and popular officials in President Bill Clinton's administration. Known for her ability to speak her mind, Reno once told a convention of juvenile court judges that they were "dunderheads" and walked out.

Born in Miami, Florida, Janet Reno earned her bachelor of arts degree from Cornell University in 1960 and her law degree from Harvard University in 1963. When Reno began looking for a job after receiving her law degree, she encountered sex discrimination but eventually found a job in private practice. One of the law firms that refused to hire her at that time made her a partner fourteen years later.

In 1971 and 1972, Reno served as staff director for the Judicial Committee of the Florida House of Representatives. In 1973, she was consultant to the Florida Senate's Criminal Justice Committee for Revision of Florida's Criminal Code. Administrative assistant to the state prosecutor for Dade County from 1973 to 1976, Reno was a partner in a private law practice from 1976 to 1978. When the state attorney resigned before the end of his term, Florida governor Reubin Askew appointed Reno state

attorney for Dade County. She was elected to the office of state attorney in November 1978, where she served until 1993.

As state attorney, Reno was responsible for an annual budget of \$30 million and 940 employees. Her office prosecuted cases involving homicide, child abuse, rape, drug trafficking, and white-collar crimes. She helped reform the juvenile justice system and pursued parents who were delinquent on their child support payments. She also established a special court for drug offenses. During her tenure, she dealt with race riots, waves of immigrants, political corruption, and police brutality.

Reno's priorities as U.S. attorney general include reducing crime and violence by incarcerating serious, repeat offenders and finding alternative forms of punishment for first-time offenders. By focusing on prevention and early intervention, she hopes to keep children away from gangs, drugs, and violence. Other priorities include protecting the environment and making integrity, excellence, and professionalism the hallmarks of the Department of Justice.

Shortly after becoming attorney general and head of the U.S. Department of Justice, Reno was faced with several crises: she was responsible for the investigation of the terrorist bombing of the New York World Trade Center; allegations were made that the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had been involved in misconduct; and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms was engaged in a standoff with the Branch Davidians, a religious group in Waco, Texas. After two months, Reno authorized the FBI to use nonlethal tear gas to end the siege, but a fire erupted that killed eighty-five people. Reno took full responsibility for the tragedy. A Department of Justice inquiry challenged some of the statements she had made regarding the reasons for using the tear gas and criticized her for not being more directly involved in the siege.

Reno has traveled across the country, speaking to bar associations, elementary school students, and rehabilitation clinics and visiting police stations to inspect crime-fighting programs.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References Congressional Quarterly, *Cabinets and Counselors: The President and the Executive Branch* (1997); *New York Times*, 12 February 1993, 15 May 1994; www.usdoj.gov/bios/jreno.html.

Reproductive Rights

Reproductive rights are based upon the premise that human dignity and equality grant each person the right and the responsibility to make reproductive decisions for herself or himself. Information about human sexuality and reproduction is fundamental to making those decisions, as is access to the services necessary to act upon the decisions. Among the areas

encompassed by reproductive rights are good personal health practices, fertility, family planning, pregnancy, fetal development, childbirth, contraception, and abortion. Reproductive rights include fertility services for infertile couples, prenatal care that enhances the health of mother and fetus, delivery and postnatal procedures that contribute to the health of mother and baby, safe abortion procedures, freedom from forced sterilization, and many other reproductive options.

In the United States, a range of obstacles inhibit women's exercise of their reproductive rights. Financial barriers prevent many poor and low-income women, especially women of color, from having adequate health insurance. Even women who have health insurance may find that their insurance company discriminates against them by refusing to cover birth control prescriptions while covering prescriptions for male erectile dysfunction like Viagra. Medicaid, the government health insurance program for poor people, does not cover most abortions, further limiting low-income women's options. Economic considerations are also a barrier to women having regular gynecological exams and mammograms. Inadequate or nonexistent prenatal care contributes to infant mortality rates being nearly twice as high for Native American and African American infants as they are for white infants. Another economic factor that limits the full exercise of reproductive rights appears in welfare programs. For example, some states cap benefits to families that have additional children while receiving welfare, a policy known as a "family cap." Forced sterilizations, forced use of contraceptives, and unneeded surgical procedures during childbirth (Cesarean section deliveries) are violations of reproductive health rights that are imposed upon women of color and low-income women more frequently than upon wealthier white women. The uneven distribution of health care providers across the country also limits reproductive rights. Twenty-six percent of the counties in the United States do not have a hospital or clinic that provides prenatal care, and more than half of the counties do not have an abortion provider. Inner-city health facilities may be understaffed and often have inadequate funding.

See also Abortion

References www.crlp.org.

Republican Party, Women in the

Women's relationship with the Republican Party has ranged from trying to find their place in it to strong party allegiance to their growing dissatisfaction with it in the 1990s, as evidenced by the gender gap. For many women, the National Federation of Republican Women, an auxiliary, has provided an avenue for them to develop their skills and make their con-



tributions. Other women have worked to create places for themselves and other women in the party itself.

At the 1876 Republican National Convention, a Massachusetts woman became the first woman to address a convention committee when she made a presentation to the Resolutions Committee on woman suffrage. Women were first officially seated at the 1892 convention, when two women from Wyoming were alternate delegates. Also at that convention, for the first time a woman addressed an entire convention, saying that women were there to help the party and were there to stay. The first woman delegate to a Republican National Convention was also a Wyoming woman, who was seated in 1900.

The Republican Party reluctantly endorsed woman suffrage at its 1916 national convention, but it endorsed state amendments only, not the federal amendment that suffrage leaders sought. As states granted women suffrage rights, the party sought to gain their support and their votes by establishing the Women's Division of the Republican National Committee (RNC) in 1919. After women gained suffrage rights nationwide in 1920, the party created the position of associate member, one for each state, to give women a voice but not a vote in the party's decisionmaking body.

Republican women gathered for a tribute from the Republican National Committee (left to right): Republican National Committee cochair Evelyn McPhail, Elizabeth Dole, Maureen Reagan, and Representative Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV), 1996 (Associated Press AP)

Delegates to the 1924 Republican National Convention discarded the classification of associate members and created the office of national committeewoman, parallel to the existing national committeeman, again one for each state.

The years between 1932 and 1952 were difficult for the party. Democrats held the presidency, and they gained significant attention for the number of women appointed to posts in the party and in government. In addition, Democratic women had the tremendous benefit of Eleanor Roosevelt's advocacy for their inclusion in party leadership. Republican women, however, had formed local women's clubs for decades, and although many of them existed only through an election cycle and then disbanded, some of them had become semipermanent by the 1930s. To impose discipline on them, develop members' skills, and organize their efforts, RNC assistant chairperson Marion Martin brought the clubs together under an umbrella organization, the National Federation of Republican Women, in 1937. The clubs proved to be a significant resource during elections, but for most women, the clubs did not advance their status or power in the party machinery.

In 1940, the Republican National Convention endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment, the first major party to include the amendment in its platform. That year, women gained equal representation on all RNC committees. Equal representation on the convention committees took significantly longer, but the process started in 1944 when women gained equal representation on the resolutions committee.

The 1952 presidential campaign was the party's first organized effort to mobilize American women's vote, a strategy developed Ivy Baker Priest for Dwight D. Eisenhower. The 1952 campaign was also the first time that the gender gap appeared, with a greater proportion of female than male voters supporting Republican Eisenhower. The next gender gap would not appear until the 1980s. President Eisenhower appointed Oveta Culp Hobby secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1953, the first Republican woman to serve in a Republican president's cabinet.

Women's status and power in the party, however, changed little between 1924 and the late 1960s. Margaret Chase Smith ran for the party's presidential nomination in 1964, and the next year Elly Peterson of Michigan was the first woman to chair a state party in either major party, but most women continued to be excluded from positions of power and status in the Republican Party. Partly to increase the number of women delegates to the 1972 national convention, a group of women convinced the party to establish the Delegates and Organization Committee (DOC) to review the party's rules and make recommendations. Chaired by Rosemary Ginn of Missouri, the DOC could only make suggestions to states

about selecting delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention, but the committee called on each state to “endeavor to have equal representation of men and women in its delegation.” Seventeen percent of the 1968 convention delegates had been women, but by 1972 almost 30 percent of the delegates were women.

One of the groups that had worked with Ginn and her committee was the newly formed National Women’s Political Caucus (NWPC), an organization that sought to increase women’s power in the political parties and to encourage and help women gain election or appointment to public offices. The NWPC established an office at the 1972 Republican National Convention to organize delegates to support the Equal Rights Amendment and reproductive rights. NWPC executive director Doris Meissner invited women delegates to daily meetings to explain the caucus’s purpose, goals, and strategies. The convention strengthened the party’s statement supporting the ERA, passed two rules calling on state parties to increase their efforts to broaden the diversity of their delegations to the 1976 convention, and ignored reproductive rights.

In 1974, at the recommendation of President Gerald Ford, the RNC elected Mary Louise Smith as chair. The first woman to hold the position in the Republican Party, Smith became chair during one of the party’s most difficult times, only a few weeks after President Richard Nixon resigned in the midst of the Watergate scandal. Throughout the more than two years Smith chaired the party, her primary focus centered on rebuilding the party, which at times could claim the allegiance of as few as 17 percent of Americans.

The Republican Women’s Task Force (RWTF) of the National Women’s Political Caucus led the campaign to keep the Equal Rights Amendment in the party’s 1976 platform. President Ford and RNC chairperson Mary Louise Smith both strongly supported the amendment, and Smith was a strong advocate for abortion rights. By 1976, however, Republican leader Phyllis Schlafly had organized Stop ERA, and Ronald Reagan was challenging Ford for the party’s nomination. Ford’s intercession kept the amendment in the platform. Instead of feminists adding a reproductive rights plank to the platform, the party added an antiabortion plank to the platform, despite valiant efforts by Representative Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey to keep it out.

At the 1980 convention, former RNC chairperson Smith represented feminists at the platform hearings, and she met with likely presidential nominee Ronald Reagan to discuss abortion rights and the ERA. The convention expressed strong prolife sentiments and removed the ERA from the platform. Moderate Republicans, both women and men, found themselves increasingly distanced from the party, whereas conser-

vative Republicans on the religious right were nurturing their constituencies into dominance in the party. Party cochair, moderate Mary Dent Crisp, was pushed out of the party in 1980 because of her prochoice views. The fissures that had appeared between feminists and the party in 1976 became chasms by 1984. In addition, women, regardless of their views on abortion and the ERA, increasingly receded into the background, with the exception of Schlafly, who did not have an office in the party but did have power.

The party's conservative views served it well in many ways. After Ronald Reagan's 1980 election to the presidency and his reelection in 1984, his vice president, George Bush, succeeded him in 1988. The gender gap that had first appeared in the 1980 race between Jimmy Carter and Reagan expanded throughout the 1980s: women voters increasingly favored the Democratic Party and its candidates more than men did, and men increasingly favored the Republican Party and its candidates. In the 1992 presidential contest between President Bush and Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, women provided Clinton with the winning margin of votes, as they did again in 1996. Republican women have tried to convince the party to address the gender gap by developing programs that will attract women voters. At the end of the twentieth century, however, the Republican Party continued to lose women voters' support.

See also Abortion; Adkins, Bertha Sheppard; Democratic Party, Women in the; Equal Rights Amendment; Fenwick, Millicent Hammond; National Federation of Republican Women; National Women's Political Caucus; Schlafly, Phyllis Stewart; Smith, Margaret Madeline Chase; Smith, Mary Louise; Stop ERA

References Feit, "Organizing for Political Power: The National Women's Political Caucus" (1979); Freeman, "Feminism vs. Family Values: Women at the 1992 Democratic and Republican Conventions" (1995), "Who You Know vs. Who You Represent: Feminist Influence in the Democratic and Republican Parties" (1987); "NFRW: Fifty Years of Leadership, 1938–1988" (1987).

Republicans for Choice

Founded in 1989 by Republican activist Ann E. W. Stone, Republicans for Choice (RFC) seeks to build a prochoice movement within the Republican Party, remove the party's antichoice platform plank, and elect prochoice Republicans. RFC contends that historically the Republican Party has been prochoice, and that in the 1990s, more than 70 percent of the party membership is prochoice. RFC opposes a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortions, arguing that opposing governmental interference in private lives is a tenet of the Republican Party.

See also Abortion; Republican Party, Women in the

References www.rfc-pac.org.



Governor Ann Richards (D-TX) was sworn in as the governor of Texas, 1991 (Courtesy: Texas State Library and Archives Commission)

Richards, Ann Willis (b. 1933)

Democrat Ann W. Richards was governor of Texas from 1991 to 1995 and was treasurer of Texas from 1983 to 1991. She gave a keynote address to the 1988 Democratic National Convention, during which she said that Vice President George Bush was “born with a silver foot in his mouth.” The speech and its humor gained her national celebrity.

Richards became active in politics in the 1950s, working on local and statewide campaigns and for civil rights and economic justice issues. She worked in John F. Kennedy’s 1960 presidential campaign, and in 1962 she helped form the groups North Dallas Democratic Women and the Dallas Committee for Peaceful Integration. Richards responded to Sarah Weddington’s pleas for help in her 1972 campaign for a seat in the Texas House of Representatives and later managed Weddington’s legislative office for a session. She also helped other women win legislative races.

In 1976, Richards ran for and won a seat on the Travis County Commissioners Court, where she helped create the state’s first juvenile probation system. She explained that at the time, “Texas was not noticeably hospitable to the notion that a woman could handle that kind of responsibility.” She served until 1982.

In 1983, Richards became treasurer of Texas and was reelected to a second four-year term in 1986. As treasurer, Richards modernized the office’s procedures and initiated innovations in banking and investment that earned unprecedented returns for the state. She helped formulate plans to

provide water and sewers to impoverished areas of the state and guided the state through a fiscal crisis. Richards, who had gone through an alcoholism treatment program in 1980, obtained health insurance coverage for substance abuse treatment for state employees.

In 1989, Richards published her autobiography, *Straight from the Heart: My Life in Politics and Other Places*. She also entered Texas's race for governor that year. During her campaign for governor, Richards pledged that there would be no new taxes, called for a "new Texas," and asked voters to help her "take back the government."

Elected governor of Texas in 1990, Richards stressed education, public safety, economic development, and efficiency during her administration. As governor, Richards increased the amount of prison space, reduced the number of violent offenders released from prison, and introduced a new substance abuse program in the prisons. She also attracted new and expanded manufacturing facilities to the state. After losing her bid for reelection in 1994, she joined a law firm as a senior adviser.

Born in Lakeview, Texas, Richards earned her bachelor of arts degree from Baylor University in 1954 and attended the University of Texas at Austin, where she earned her teaching certificate. Richards taught social studies and history from 1955 to 1956.

See also Governors, Women

References Mullaney, *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States 1988–1994* (1994); *New York Times*, 18 July 1988; Richards, *Straight from the Heart: My Life in Politics and Other Places* (1989).

Riley, Corrine Boyd (1893–1979)

Democrat Corrine Riley of South Carolina served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 10 April 1962 to 3 January 1963. After her husband, Congressman John Jacob Riley, died in office, she won the special election to fill the vacancy. Congresswoman Riley introduced a bill to have the General Services Administration transfer surplus property to the South Carolina State Historical Society and another to require television to be equipped with both ultra high- and very high-frequency channels. She was not a candidate for another term.

Born in Piedmont, South Carolina, Corinne Riley graduated from Converse College in 1915. She taught high school from 1915 to 1937. A field representative for the South Carolina State Text Book Commission from 1938 to 1942, she worked for the Civilian Personnel Office at Shaw Air Force Base from 1942 to 1944.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Rivers, Lynn Nancy (b. 1956)

Democrat Lynn Rivers of Michigan entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1995. Rivers entered politics, she said, “as a mom who got mad at the system.” She served on the Ann Arbor school board from 1984 to 1992 and in the Michigan House of Representatives from 1993 to 1995. Rivers brought her experiences as a teen mother, the wife of an auto worker, an adult student, and a school board member to her work as a congresswoman. She has said, “I understand what families are struggling with. I know what it’s like to go without health insurance, not to be able to buy a home, and to have more bills than money.”

Rivers sees education as the key to improving the economy, advocates investing in vocational and school-to-work programs, and favors developing private-public ventures to create high-wage, high-skill jobs for workers. She sponsored legislation banning gifts to members of Congress and another measure to end congressional benefits such as pensions and automatic pay raises.

Born in Au Grey, Michigan, Rivers attended the Bay-Arenac Skills Center and trained in commercial food preparation. She earned her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Michigan in 1987 and her law degree from Wayne State University in 1992.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995); www.house.gov/rivers/bio.htm.

Rivlin, Alice Mitchell (b. 1931)

The first head of the Congressional Budget Office, Alice Rivlin became deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget in 1993 and director of it in 1994 and served as vice chair of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Board from 1996 to 1999. An economist, Rivlin began her public service career as consultant to the House Committee on Education and Labor from 1961 to 1962 and to the secretary of the treasury from 1964 to 1966, when she became deputy assistant secretary for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Two years later, President Lyndon Johnson appointed her assistant secretary for planning and evaluation in the department.

In 1974, Congress created the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), part of landmark federal budget reform legislation. The CBO, a nonpartisan agency, assists Congress in analyzing and forming policy on the federal budget. During her tenure, Rivlin insisted that the CBO had “taken no policy position, nor will we ever.” Appointed jointly by the speaker of the House of Representatives and the president pro tempore of the Senate,

Federal Reserve vice chair Alice Rivlin talked with Federal Reserve Board chair Alan Greenspan and World Bank president James Wolfensohn before the International Monetary Fund Interim Committee meetings in Washington, D.C., 1999 (Corbis/AFP)



Rivlin took office in 1975 and served two four-year terms. She left the CBO in 1983 when she became director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution. In 1993 Rivlin joined President Bill Clinton's administration as deputy budget director. Known for her strong support for reducing the federal deficit, Rivlin held an important role in developing the annual federal budget.

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Rivlin graduated from Bryn Mawr in 1952 and earned her master of arts degree in 1955 and her doctoral degree in 1958, both from Radcliffe College. Rivlin became a research fellow at the Brookings Institution in 1957 and by 1969 was a senior fellow. During those years, she wrote and coauthored several studies in economics and related areas.

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook*, 1982 (1982); *New York Times*, 28 June 1994; www.bog.frb.fed.us.

Roberts, Barbara Hughey (b. 1936)

Democrat Barbara Roberts was governor of Oregon from 1991 to 1995. The first woman governor of the state, Roberts reorganized elementary and secondary schools and provided state employees with unpaid family leave. She also worked to diversify the state's economy to reduce its reliance on the logging industry.

Roberts began her political career as an unpaid lobbyist seeking help for her autistic son. In the late 1960s, she succeeded in getting the Oregon legislature to pass the nation's first education rights law for emotionally handicapped children. Her legislation also created the State Advisory Committee for Emotionally Handicapped Children. Roberts applied for

and received an appointment on the committee. In 1980, she won a seat in the Oregon House of Representatives, served in the body from 1981 to 1985, and became the state's first woman majority leader in 1983. Elected secretary of state in 1984, she won reelection in 1988. As secretary of state, Roberts sponsored election reform legislation, policies to ensure polling places' accessibility to people with disabilities, and construction of a new state archives building.

Born in Corvallis, Oregon, Roberts attended Portland State University, Marylhurst College, and the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

See also Governors, Women; State Legislatures, Women in

References Mullaney, *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States 1988–1994* (1994); Roberts, "Coloring Outside the Lines" (1998).

Robertson, Alice Mary (1854–1931)

Republican Alice Robertson of Oklahoma served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 4 March 1921 to 3 March 1923. She campaigned with the slogan "Christianity, Americanism, Standpattism."

Even though she had opposed woman suffrage and had served as vice president of the state antisuffrage league, she ran for Congress in the first election following the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. Robertson pledged to help farmers, women, and soldiers during her 1920 campaign.

In Congress, she opposed the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921, a measure that funded maternity and infant care and was a key piece of legislation advocated by suffragists. Robertson attacked the measure, describing it as paternalistic, a threat to the American family, and Bolshevistic. She argued that it provided only instruction, which she interpreted as propaganda. Robertson supported limiting immigration, saying: "We are taking in foreign people so rapidly that we cannot Americanize them. Too many are here already who do not appreciate American liberties and are doing their best to tear the nation down." Despite a campaign promise to support veterans, Robertson opposed the veterans' bonus bill, saying the nation could not afford it. Her constituents protested her opposition to the bill by defeating her in the 1922 general elections.

After her defeat, Robertson said that politics was too rough and immoral for women, and she willingly retired. President Warren Harding appointed her a social worker at the Veterans Hospital in Muskogee, Oklahoma, in 1923. She left after a few months and became the Washington correspondent for the *Muskogee News* and then worked for the Oklahoma Historical Society.



Representative Alice Mary Robertson (R-OK) who opposed woman suffrage, ran for Congress the same year women got the vote, 1920 (UPI/Corbis)

The daughter of missionaries, Robertson was born at Tullahassee Mission, Creek Nation, Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). After attending Elmira College from 1871 to 1873, she was a clerk in the Office of Indian Affairs from 1873 to 1879, and she taught school at Tullahassee and then at Carlisle Indian School. From 1885 to 1899, Robertson was the administrator of the Oklahoma Indian Territory Girls' School, a Presbyterian boarding school for girls. It became the Henry Kendall College, a coeducational facility, in 1894. She supervised Creek Indian schools from 1900 to 1905 and then became a postmaster until 1913. She wrote *Alice Mary Robertson of Oklahoma* (1912).

See also Congress, Women in; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921; Suffrage

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Stanley, "Alice M. Robertson, Oklahoma's First Congresswoman" (1967).

Robinson, Ruby Doris Smith (1941–1967)

A founding member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Ruby Robinson served as its executive secretary from 1966 to 1967. She began her civil rights activism as a college sophomore, participating in a lunch-counter sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina, and in other demonstrations at restaurants to protest segregation. In April 1960, she attended the meeting at Shaw University that led to the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

In 1961, Robinson joined other SNCC members in Rock Hill, South Carolina, where she sat at a segregated lunch counter and was arrested with three of her companions. Sentenced to thirty days in jail, she refused bail in order to further focus attention on segregation and served her term. It was the first time that civil rights workers arrested for this violation chose to serve the full sentence rather than post bail. She was arrested in Jackson, Mississippi, for attempting to use a white restroom. Charged with breaching the peace, she was given a suspended sentence and fined \$200, but refused to pay the fine. She spent two weeks in a county jail with

as many as twenty-three others and then was sent to the maximum security area of the Parchman State Penitentiary for forty-five days.

During the summer of 1961, Robinson participated in a voter registration drive in McComb, Mississippi, and attended a training seminar at Fisk University. The next summer, she worked with the SNCC project in Cairo, Illinois, and in the fall joined SNCC as a full-time administrative assistant to the executive secretary. She organized student volunteers, assisted the field staff, and handled emergencies. By 1962, she had also become one of the organization's intellectual leaders and one of its most dedicated administrators. Elected executive secretary of SNCC in 1966, she had come to believe that the movement needed to alter its focus from civil rights legislation to fundamental socioeconomic change. Early in 1967, Robinson became terminally ill with a form of blood cancer. She died in October 1967.

Born in Atlanta, Georgia, Robinson enrolled in Spelman College in 1959 and received her bachelor of science degree from that institution in 1965.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993).

***Roe v. Wade* (1973)**

In *Roe v. Wade*, the U.S. Supreme Court declared invalid all state laws restricting abortion in the first three months of pregnancy, using the right of privacy as the basis for the decision. In this case, Jane Roe, later identified as Norma McCorvey, a single, pregnant woman living in Texas, wanted a legal abortion, but Texas law at the time permitted legal abortions only if the life of the mother was endangered by the pregnancy. Roe's pregnancy did not appear to endanger her life, so if she had obtained an abortion in Texas, it would have been a criminal act. Roe argued that the law was unconstitutionally vague and infringed on her right of privacy, a right that she asserted was protected by the First, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth, and Fourteenth Amendments.

The decision, written by Justice Harry Blackmun, reviewed English common law, early abortion legislation from the colonial period to the time of the decision, the American Medical Association's involvement in abortion, the American Bar Association's positions on abortion law, and other historical considerations. He noted three explanations for the criminalization of abortion: (1) the laws were an attempt by nineteenth-century Victorians to discourage illicit sexual conduct; (2) the laws attempted to protect women from the dangers of abortion that existed during the nineteenth century when most of the laws were enacted; and (3) the state

had an interest in protecting maternal and fetal life. On the first point, he accepted the argument that the Texas law was too broad and was not a proper state purpose. On the second point, he noted improved medical practices that reduced the dangers of infection but indicated that the state has a role to play in protecting women's health and safety. On the third point, he wrote that the state may have interests beyond the protection of the woman that include protecting fetal life after viability (sometime during the third trimester).

Blackmun pointed out that the U.S. Constitution does not explicitly mention a right of privacy but that the Court had recognized certain areas of privacy. He suggested that it might be found in the Fourteenth Amendment's statements on personal liberty and its restrictions on state action or in the Ninth Amendment's reservation of rights to the people. Regardless of its constitutional basis, Blackmun wrote that it "is broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy."

Limitations on the right existed, however. During the first trimester, abortions could be performed without state interference. After the first trimester, a state could regulate abortion to protect the woman. After fetal viability, the state had permission to regulate or prohibit abortion, except when the mother's health or life was endangered by her pregnancy. The decision invalidated the Texas abortion statutes as well as those in other states that limited women's access to the procedure.

In a companion case, *Doe v. Bolton*, the Court struck down portions of a Georgia law relating to the requirements that abortions must be performed in accredited hospitals, that abortions must be approved by medical committees, and that only residents of the state could obtain abortions. The Court did not address the question of when life begins but did note that the Fourteenth Amendment's use of the word *person* does not include the unborn.

See also Abortion; *Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*; *Beal v. Doe*; *Bellotti v. Baird*; *Bray v. Alexandria Clinic*; *Colautti v. Franklin*; *Doe v. Bolton*; *Harris v. McRae*; *Hodgson v. Minnesota*; *Ohio v. Akron Center*; *Planned Parenthood Association of Kansas City, Mo. v. Ashcroft*; *Planned Parenthood of Central Missouri v. Danforth*; *Poelker v. Doe*; *Rust v. Sullivan*; *Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology*; *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*; *Williams v. Zbaraz*

References Harrison and Gilbert, eds., *Abortion Decisions of the United States Supreme Court: The 1970s* (1993).

Rogers, Edith Frances Nurse (1881–1960)

Republican Edith Rogers of Massachusetts served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 30 June 1925 to 10 September 1960. Rogers began her



Representative Edith Nourse Rogers (R-MA) served for twenty-eight years in Congress, 1953 (UPI/Corbis)

public life through her husband John Rogers, who entered Congress in 1913. When he went to Britain and France on a congressional mission during World War I, Edith Rogers accompanied him. In England, Edith Rogers volunteered for the Young Men's Christian Association, and in Europe she went to battle zones as a member of a Red Cross party, visiting base and field hospitals. When she returned to the United States, she worked seven days a week at Walter Reed Hospital. In 1922, President Warren G. Harding appointed her a dollar-a-year veterans' hospital inspector, an appointment renewed by Presidents Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover.

In March 1925, John Rogers died in office following an operation. At the requests of veterans, family members, and Republican leaders, Edith

Rogers became a candidate to fill the vacancy. Congresswoman Rogers warned Americans about the threat that Hitler posed, argued for military preparedness, and supported U.S. entry into World War II. In 1942, she sponsored the legislation that created the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAACs), which eventually had 150,000 members, the legal limit. Later, the word *auxiliary* was dropped, and the acronym became WAC.

Throughout her political career, Rogers served on the Veterans Affairs Committee, chairing it in 1947. She once said that helping veterans was her "greatest interest in life." She cosponsored the GI Bill of Rights and sponsored the Korean Veterans Benefits bill, as well as passing measures to develop prosthetic appliances and appropriating funds for automobiles for amputees. She was affectionately called the "mother of veterans."

Rogers also supported legislation to protect her district's textile and shoe manufacturing and food processing industries. She advocated protective tariffs for cotton mill owners and benefits for laborers, again reflecting issues important to her district. Rogers died two days before the 1960 Massachusetts primary, in which she was a candidate for a nineteenth term.

Born in Saco, Maine, Edith Rogers attended a finishing school near Paris and traveled in Europe before marrying John Jacob Rogers in 1907.

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Rights Amendment

References Kaptur, *Women of Congress: A Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (1996).

Roosevelt, Eleanor (1884–1962)

First lady from 1933 to 1945, Eleanor Roosevelt established herself as a leader in her own right and became one of the most beloved women in the country. Shy and self-conscious as a child, she matured into a force on the national and international stages, respected by heads of state and blue-collar workers. Her tenure as first lady was unlike that of any first lady before or since.

Born in New York City, she was the daughter of socially prestigious families on both her mother's side and her father's side. After her mother died when Roosevelt was eight, her maternal grandmother raised her. Isolated and lonely, tutored at home until she was fifteen years old, she found companionship when she attended a private girls' school in England for three years. After returning to the United States, she taught at a settlement house. She married her fifth cousin Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1905 in a ceremony officiated by her uncle, President Theodore Roosevelt. Over the next eleven years, she bore six children, one of whom died in infancy, and managed her household.

Franklin Roosevelt's 1921 bout with poliomyelitis left him unable to walk and led Eleanor Roosevelt to her reluctant involvement in politics.



After a family friend told her that her husband needed politics to help him recuperate, she became the means for his return to political life. She became increasingly active in women's activities in the Democratic Party and at one time knew every Democratic Party county chairperson in New York. When Franklin Roosevelt ran for governor of New York in 1928, she played a pivotal role in gaining women's support for his candidacy. She also headed the women's organization for Democratic presidential nominee Al Smith's candidacy and recruited Molly Dewson to work on the campaigns. The two women worked together to reelect Franklin Roosevelt governor of New York in 1930 and to elect him president in 1932. In the 1930s and 1940s, Eleanor Roosevelt played significant roles in expanding women's opportunities and enhancing women's status in the Democratic Party.

After Franklin Roosevelt became president, Eleanor Roosevelt resigned herself to a life limited to social activities, but she soon had a more diverse schedule. Because of her husband's limited mobility, she traveled in his place and reported her observations to him. She called them "go-and-see journeys" and went to places and events that no one from the White House had ever visited. She went down into coal mines, visited the cardboard shacks of people living in Oklahoma, walked along the irrigation ditches in California, and traveled through the Dust Bowl. She visited wartime Great Britain and Guadalcanal. She also reported her experiences through her speeches and her writings, including a column entitled "My Day."

First Lady and Ambassador Eleanor Roosevelt dedicated her life to the human rights of all people and helped pass the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 (Courtesy: Corel Corporation)

Eleanor Roosevelt was the first president's wife to hold a press conference. Limited to women reporters, Roosevelt used the forum to introduce women in the administration to the public, to discuss the administration's programs, and to comment on the effect that the Depression and later World War II had on women.

Her stands on civil rights attracted publicity, criticism, and goodwill. When the Daughters of the American Revolution refused the use of Constitution Hall to African American singer Marian Anderson in 1939, Roosevelt resigned from the organization. The same year, she attended the Southern Conference on Human Welfare meeting in Birmingham, Alabama. Resisting the South's segregation policies, she placed her chair so that half of it was on each side of the color line. During World War II, Roosevelt was one of the few voices calling for the United States to assist Jewish refugees.

After her husband died in 1945, President Harry Truman appointed her to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, the only woman in the delegation. She chaired the preliminary Commission on Human Rights in 1946 and was elected chair of the commission after it became permanent in 1947. She shaped much of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that the UN General Assembly passed in 1948. When Truman left office in 1953, she left the United Nations at the same time. President John Kennedy reappointed her to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations in 1961.

President John F. Kennedy appointed her chair of the President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1961. She died before the commission completed its work.

See also Anderson, Marian; Democratic Party, Women in the; Dewson, Mary (Molly) Williams; President's Commission on the Status of Women

References Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt*, vol. 1: 1884–1933 (1992); Lash, *Eleanor: The Years Alone* (1972); Roosevelt and Hickok, *Ladies of Courage* (1954).

Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana (b. 1952)

Republican Ileana Ros-Lehtinen of Florida entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 29 August 1989. She is the first Hispanic woman and the first Cuban American elected to Congress. The first Hispanic elected to the Florida legislature, Ros-Lehtinen served in the Florida House of Representatives from 1982 to 1986 and the Florida Senate from 1986 to 1989. She played key roles in the passage of victim rights' legislation, drug-free workplace measures, and tuition assistance programs. She left the state Senate after winning the special election to fill the vacancy created by the death of incumbent Claude Pepper.

A conservative, Ros-Lehtinen opposes reproductive rights and supports a constitutional amendment banning flag desecration. She has, however, objected to her party's anti-immigrant stand and defended immigrants, saying they have "contributed greatly to all facets of life in the economic, cultural, and political fields." A former Cuban refugee, Ros-Lehtinen has called Fidel Castro an "inhuman tyrant" and has advocated policies to end his leadership in Cuba and replace it with a democracy. She has also taken strong stands in support of Israel.

Born in Havana, Cuba, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen fled with her parents to Miami in 1960, a year after Fidel Castro's revolution. She earned her associate of arts degree from Miami-Dade Community College in 1972. She completed her bachelor of arts degree in 1975 and master of science degree in 1986 from Florida International University. A schoolteacher, Ros-Lehtinen is the founder and former owner of a private elementary school.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/ros-lehtinen/bio.htm.



Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) spoke on the floor during the House debate on the four articles of impeachment against President Bill Clinton (Associated Press/APTN)

Ross, Nellie Tayloe (1876–1977)

Democrat Nellie Tayloe Ross was the first woman governor in the United States, serving from 1925 to 1927, and she was the first woman director of the U.S. Mint. After her husband, Wyoming governor William Bradford Ross, died in 1924 with two years left in his term, Nellie Tayloe Ross won the special election to complete the term. As governor, she changed law enforcement commissioners three times in attempts to place a person in office who would enforce Prohibition laws. Protecting water for irrigation was another priority, as was protecting bank deposits threatened by bank closures. Ross ran for reelection in 1926 but lost.

In 1928, she became vice chair of the Democratic National Committee. For the next four years, she directed women's activities within the party. She also became a friend and colleague of Eleanor Roosevelt. When Franklin D. Roosevelt ran for president, Ross directed women's efforts during his 1932 campaign.

Roosevelt named Ross director of the U.S. Mint in 1933. With the first signs of economic recovery in the mid-1930s, demand for coins increased steadily and with it the need for increased facilities, equipment, and staff. Three new mints were constructed, and the number of personnel more than trebled. In addition, the U.S. Bullion Depository at Fort Knox, Kentucky, the U.S. Bullion Depository at West Point, New York, the Mint building in San Francisco, and the Denver Mint were constructed during her tenure.

During World War II, metal shortages led to the use of substitute metals for coins, including the steel penny, which looked so much like dimes that Ross ended the use of them in 1943. She said: "That awful 'war penny' almost ruined our reputation, but nobody disliked it more than we did at the Mint." Ross oversaw the development of the Roosevelt dime and the replacement of the buffalo nickel with the Jefferson nickel.

Born in St. Joseph, Missouri, Ross obtained her education in private schools in Omaha, Nebraska.

See also Governors, Women

References Donaldson, "The First Woman Governor" (1926); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography: Who's News and Why, 1940* (1940); *New York Times*, 21 December 1977.

Roukema, Margaret Scafati (b. 1929)

Republican Margaret Roukema of New Jersey entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1981. She lost her first attempt to win a seat in Congress in 1978 and then won on her second attempt in 1980. Congresswoman Roukema was a stalwart supporter of the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993. Calling it a "bedrock family issue," she worked on it for eight years, despite President George Bush's veto of the bill on two occasions, in 1990 and 1992. Some of her commitment to the measure arose from personal experience. She had left her academic pursuits in 1976 to care for her seventeen-year-old son who was dying of leukemia. She posed the question: "What would I have done if not only did I have the tragedy of and trauma of caring for my child, but also had to worry about losing a job and the roof over my head?" The bill passed a third time in 1993, and President Bill Clinton signed it.

Roukema was a key leader in the development and passage of the Family Support Act of 1988 and the Child Support Enforcement Amendments of 1984. She served on the U.S. Commission on Interstate Child Support, incorporating legislation resulting from the commission's work into the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.



Representative Marge Roukema (R-NJ) greeted Federal Reserve Board chair Alan Greenspan during a House Banking Committee hearing on financial overhaul, 1999 (Associated Press AP)

She has proposed bills to permit banks to act as stockbrokers and to allow stockbrokers to offer banking services. Another measure would end the distinction between banks and savings and loans. Roukema supports a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution and reductions in spending. Her other policy priorities include reproductive rights, child support enforcement, education and student loans, pension reform, job training, and famine relief.

Born in West Orange, New Jersey, Roukema received her bachelor of arts degree from Montclair State College in 1951, did graduate work in secondary school guidance there, and also studied urban and regional planning at the graduate level at Rutgers University. She taught American history and government in secondary school.

Roukema served on the Ridgewood Board of Education from 1970 to 1973. In 1970, she cofounded the Ridgewood Senior Citizens Housing Corporation. She became active in the Ridgewood Republican Club in the 1970s, serving as its president in 1977.

See also Abortion; Child Support Enforcement; Congress, Women in; Family

and Medical Leave Act of 1993; Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), *Politics in America: The 100th Congress* (1987).

Roy, Vesta M. (b. 1925)

Republican Vesta M. Roy was acting governor of New Hampshire from December 1982 to January 1983. On 1 December 1982, Roy was elected Senate president in an organizational meeting of the legislature. Shortly thereafter, incumbent governor Hugh Gallen was hospitalized and became incapacitated. Under New Hampshire's constitution, the Senate president serves as acting governor when the governor is unable to carry out his or her duties. In January 1983, John Sununu, who had been elected governor in the November general elections, was inaugurated, and Roy returned to her seat in the state Senate.

Born in Detroit, Michigan, Vesta Roy graduated from Wayne State University. She served in the Royal Canadian Air Force during World War II and was named Leading Air Woman.

Roy was the first woman commissioner for Rockingham County, New Hampshire. She served in the state House of Representatives from 1973 to 1974 and in the state Senate from 1975 to 1984. She served as the assistant Senate whip and the assistant Senate majority leader. Her legislative priorities included reorganizing the executive department, balancing the state budget, and opposing off-track betting and the nuclear weapons freeze.

See also Governors, Women; State Legislatures, Women in

References Raimo, ed., *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States 1978–1983* (1985).

Roybal-Allard, Lucille (b. 1941)

Democrat Lucille Roybal-Allard of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1993. She is the first Mexican American woman elected to Congress. The daughter of Edward Roybal, who served in Congress for thirty years, Roybal-Allard began folding, stuffing, and stamping campaign materials when she was a child. Later, she helped with voter registration for her father's campaigns. When her father retired from Congress, Roybal-Allard won his seat. While in Congress, Roybal-Allard has worked to help low- and moderate-income families buy homes and to protect federal funds for bilingual education, a reflection of the large Spanish-speaking immigrant population in her district. Her priorities include economic and environmental issues, sexual assault, domestic violence, and protection for children and consumers. She believes that one of



Representative Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-CA) talked with Representatives Christopher Cox (R-CA) and Bobby Scott (D-VA) at a press conference about Chinese possession of classified U.S. nuclear information, 1999 (Associated Press AP)

the most critical issues facing Latinos is a fair and accurate census in the year 2000.

At first reluctant to enter politics, Roybal-Allard was drawn into her first candidacy by frustrations with the barriers created by policymakers. She served in the California Assembly from 1987 to 1992. During her years in the assembly, she worked to stop the construction of a prison in East Los Angeles and helped organize Mothers of East Los Angeles to help. She also fought the construction of a toxic waste incinerator and was again supported by Mothers of East Los Angeles.

Born in Los Angeles, Lucille Roybal-Allard received her bachelor of arts degree from California State University in 1965.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); www.house.gov/royball-allard/biography.htm.

RU-486 (Mifepristone)

RU-486 (mifepristone) is a nonsurgical abortion pharmaceutical developed by a French company in 1980. Used in Great Britain, France, and Sweden, it was banned for personal use in the United States in 1989 at the urging of prolife groups and prolife members of Congress. Studies of it proceeded in the United States, however, and researchers concluded that it was a safe and effective emergency contraceptive and also useful as a method for early abortions. Scientists also encouraged further research on RU-486 as a possible treatment for endometriosis, some types of breast cancer, uterine fibroids, and other medical conditions. In 1995, the

pharmaceutical company that developed RU-486 donated the U.S. patent rights for the drug to the Population Council, which began clinical trials. In 1996, the Food and Drug Administration gave limited approval for the use of RU-486, but in 1997 the drug manufacturer ended its relationship with the Population Council, and the search for a new manufacturer began.

See also Abortion

References www.naral.org.

Ruffin, Josephine St. Pierre (1842–1924)

Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin was active in women's clubs and the suffrage movement. In 1894, she founded the Woman's Era Club, the first black women's civic organization in Boston. She served as president of the group and edited its monthly periodical, *Woman's Era*, which was the first paper published by African American women. She organized the first national conference of Colored Women in 1895. At the meeting, the National Federation of Afro-American Women was formed, uniting twenty clubs in ten states. In 1896, the organization merged with the Colored Women's League and became the National Association of Colored Women.

Ruffin worked throughout her life to create bridges between black and white women, but her efforts were repeatedly rebuffed. The most notorious occurrence was in 1900, when the General Federation of Women's Clubs refused to permit her to represent the Woman's Era Club at its convention. Ruffin, who also represented white women's groups, was told that she could attend as a delegate for the white groups but not for the dominantly black Woman's Era Club. She refused, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs maintained its segregationist position for several more decades.

Born free in Boston, Massachusetts, African American Josephine Ruffin went to school in Salem because her parents did not want her in Boston's segregated school system. After Boston schools were integrated in 1855, she attended school there until 1858. She married George Lewis Ruffin when she was sixteen years old and moved to England with him in 1858. The couple returned to Boston during the Civil War. Josephine Ruffin became active in the black rights, woman suffrage, and other social movements. In 1879, Josephine Ruffin helped establish the Boston Kansas Relief Association to help southern African Americans settling in Kansas.

See also General Federation of Women's Clubs; National Association of Colored Women; Suffrage

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993).

***Rust v. Sullivan* (1991)**

In 1988, the secretary of health and human services issued regulations that prohibited federally funded (Title X) family planning centers from counseling clients about abortion, making abortion referrals, or advocating abortion as a family planning method. The regulation, known as the “gag rule” by its opponents, required that abortion services and family planning services have separate facilities, personnel, and accounting records. The regulations were challenged on the basis that they violated the First Amendment right of a woman to receive unimpeded information from her physician and her constitutional right to choose abortion.

In *Rust v. Sullivan*, the U.S. Supreme Court found the regulations permissible. The Court said that they did not violate First Amendment rights because the government can make value judgments, favor childbirth over abortion, and fund one procedure and not the other. In addition, the regulations did not prohibit counselors or providers from discussing abortion; instead the requirement stated that there had to be a separation between counseling provided through Title X funds and counseling that discussed abortion. The Court also said that a woman’s Fifth Amendment rights were not violated because the government does not have a constitutional duty to subsidize an activity simply because it is protected by the Constitution.

In 1993, President Bill Clinton issued an executive order that ended enforcement of the regulations.

See also Abortion

References *Rust v. Sullivan*, 500 U.S. 173 (1991).

Saiki, Patricia Fukuda (b. 1930)

Republican Patricia Saiki of Hawaii served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1987 to 3 January 1991. In Congress, Saiki cosponsored a bill to compensate Japanese Americans interned during World War II. She also helped add land to the Kilauea National Wildlife Refuge. Saiki unsuccessfully ran for the U.S. Senate in 1990. President George Bush appointed Saiki head of the U.S. Small Business Administration in 1991, where she served until late in 1992. She unsuccessfully ran for governor of Hawaii in 1994.

Born in Hilo, Hawaii, Saiki received her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Hawaii in 1952 and became a junior and senior high school teacher. A delegate to Hawaii's 1968 Constitutional Convention, she also won a seat in the Hawaii House of Representatives that year. In the House, Saiki helped establish Hawaii's community college system and its emergency medical services system. She served in the House until 1974, the year she entered the state Senate. An unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant governor in 1982, she chaired the Republican Party of Hawaii from 1983 to 1985.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); Zia and Gall, eds., *Notable Asian Americans* (1995).

St. George, Katharine Delano Price Collier (1894–1983)

Republican Katharine St. George of New York served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1947 to 3 January 1965. She entered

politics as a member of the Tuxedo Park, New York, town board from 1926 to 1949 and was a member of the Tuxedo Park Board of Education from 1926 to 1946. She held offices in the Orange County Republican Party from 1942 to 1948.

As a member of Congress, St. George sought to negotiate a compromise that would permit passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1950 but failed. In 1959, she proposed making the equal pay for comparable work bill, which had stalled over definitions of comparable work, into an equal pay for equal work measure. In 1963, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act. St. George also attempted to expand the provisions of the Veterans Administration law to include Women's Army Auxiliary Corps personnel. She lost her attempt for a tenth term in Congress.

Born in Bridgenorth, England, she moved to the United States with her parents when she was two years old. When she was eleven years old, she returned to Europe; received her education in England, France, and Germany; and moved back to the United States in 1914.

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendment; Military, Women in the

References Freeman, "From Protection to Equal Opportunity: The Revolution in Women's Legal Status" (1990); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Sanchez, Loretta (b. 1960)

Democrat Loretta Sanchez of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1997. After an unsuccessful campaign for the Anaheim City Council in 1994, Sanchez was not favored to win the primary election or the general election for Congress in 1996. When she defeated incumbent Republican Robert Dornan by only 984 votes in the general election, Dornan challenged the election results, charging that the election was rigged using votes by Hispanic noncitizens. The House of Representatives investigated the issue for thirteen months before concluding that 748 votes were illegally cast by noncitizens, but that was not enough to negate Sanchez's victory. When the House voted to end the investigation in February 1998, Democrats accused Republicans of trying to intimidate Hispanic voters. Sanchez added: "Racism is as real and persistent today as it was 100 years ago."

Sanchez opposes flat tax plans and reductions in the student loan program. She wants to improve public schools but rejects the use of private school vouchers to do so. She supports affirmative action programs, gay rights, reproductive rights, and gun control.

Born in Lynwood, California, Sanchez earned her bachelor of arts degree from Chapman University in 1982 and her master's degree in business



Representative Loretta Sanchez (D-CA), second from right, got support from other Democratic congresswomen (left to right): Representative Ellen Tauscher (D-CA), Representative Karen McCarthy (D-MO), Representative Carolyn Maloney (D-NY), Sanchez, and Representative Debbie Stabenow (D-MI), during her contested election, 1997 (Associated Press AP)

administration from American University in 1984. She was a financial adviser and strategic management consultant before entering Congress.

See also Abortion; Affirmative Action; Congress, Women in; Lesbian Rights; Reproductive Rights

References Congressional Quarterly, ed., *Politics in America 1998* (1997); "House Ends Investigation of Sanchez's Election" (1998).

Sanger, Margaret Louise Higgins (1879–1966)

Margaret Sanger was a leader in the effort to make the distribution of birth control information legal by removing it from the list of obscene materials prohibited by the Comstock law of 1873. Sanger told audiences that she began her crusade after nursing Sadie Sachs, a tenement mother who died after attempting a self-induced abortion. Although the story may be a myth that Sanger created, it encapsulated her frustration that knowledge of birth control methods existed but was denied to women.

Because so little birth control information was available in the United States, Sanger went to Scotland and France in 1913 to study the methods used in those countries. When she returned to the United States in 1914, Sanger started publishing *The Woman Rebel*, a magazine with the slogan "No gods; no masters." Although she did not publish information on contraceptive methods in *The Woman Rebel*, the U.S. government indicted her



Margaret Sanger, founder of the organization that became the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, talked with a crowd of supporters during her trial for distributing illegal birth control information through the U.S. mail, 1914 (Library of Congress)

in 1914 for sending birth control information through the mails. To test the Comstock law, she refused to plead guilty but then decided that she had not been given enough time to prepare her case and left the country the day before she was to go to trial. She went to Europe, visited Holland's birth control clinics, the first in the world, and returned to the United States in 1915. The indictment against her was dropped in 1916, and the case did not go to trial.

Before she left the country, Sanger had written and printed "Family Limitation," a pamphlet describing birth control methods, but she did not distribute it. In Sanger's absence, her husband William Sanger mistakenly gave a copy to Anthony Comstock, author of the Comstock law. William Sanger was arrested and convicted of distributing obscene material and was sentenced to a jail term.

In 1916, Sanger, one of her sisters, and a friend opened a birth control clinic in Brooklyn, New York. Nine days after it opened, authorities closed the clinic, and Sanger and her sister were given thirty-day prison terms. Upon appeal, the U.S. Court of Appeals decided in their favor in 1918, and the dissemination of birth control became legal in that jurisdiction. The women, however, had already served their time in prison.

While in prison, Sanger concluded that she needed a different strategy, one based on education, organization, and legislation. In 1921, Sanger founded the American Birth Control League, in her words, to “build up public opinion so that women should demand instruction from doctors, to assemble the findings of scientists, to remove hampering Federal statutes, to send out field workers into those states where laws did not prevent clinics, to cooperate with similar bodies in studying population problems, food supplies, and world peace.”

An international personality in the 1920s, Sanger organized the 1927 World Population Conference, held in Geneva, Switzerland, and in 1931, she organized the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control (NCFLBC) to lobby Congress for changes in birth control laws. NCFLBC developed regional, state, and local organizations with trained lobbyists, organizers, and fieldworkers. By working with and through local women’s clubs, religious denominations, and medical organizations, these groups intended to pressure Congress and the states to permit physicians to dispense birth control information and devices.

By 1936, Sanger concluded that the legislative route was not going to be successful and decided to seek the changes she wanted through a court decision. After fighting a series of court battles, NCFLBC initiated *United States v. One Package of Japanese Pessaries*. In the 1936 case, a federal court concluded that the Comstock law could not stop the importation of diaphragms for legitimate medical use and created a distinction between legal and illegal use of contraceptives. The next year, the American Medical Association resolved that contraception was a valid health practice and that it should be taught in medical schools. Government agencies began incorporating birth control services into their programs in 1938.

The Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau, which collected information on the reliability of contraceptives, and the American Birth Control League merged in 1939 to form the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

Sanger wrote *The Pivot of Civilization* (1922), *Woman and the New Race* (1923), *Happiness in a Marriage* (1926), and her autobiographies, *My Fight for Birth Control* (1931) and *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography* (1938).

Born in Corning, New York, Margaret Sanger attended Claverack College, a preparatory school. She completed her nursing training at White Plains Hospital in 1902.

See also Abortion; Dennett, Mary Coffin Ware; Planned Parenthood Federation of America; Reproductive Rights

References Kennedy, *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger* (1970).

Schakowsky, Janice D. (b. 1944)

Democrat Jan Schakowsky of Illinois entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1999. Schakowsky believes that Medicare is a “spectacular success” and wants to expand its coverage to all Americans. She thinks that Social Security is “one of the most successful government initiatives in our history” and wants to extend its benefits. Her congressional priorities include federal programs to rebuild public schools and full funding for Head Start, prenatal care, affordable housing, and environmental cleanup. Maintaining affirmative action programs, banning employment discrimination based on sexual orientation, and promoting alternative sentencing for nonviolent criminals are also among her priorities.

A member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1991 to 1998, she passed legislation that increased support for day care centers, libraries, and Meals on Wheels and that strengthened the Hate Crimes Act. She also worked for union rights, expanded family leave benefits, and changes in medical insurance laws that consumer groups sought.

Born in Chicago, Illinois, Schakowsky earned her bachelor of science degree from the University of Illinois in 1965. A consumer and senior citizens’ advocate, Schakowsky helped lead the successful campaign in the 1970s to require freshness dating on food products. She became executive director of the Illinois State Council of Senior Citizens in 1985, where she worked for lower-cost prescription drugs and property tax relief for seniors.

See also Affirmative Action; Child Day Care; Congress, Women in; Lesbian Rights

References “Jan Schakowsky” (1998); www.medill.nwu.edu/people/cook.

Schenk, Lynn (b. 1945)

Democrat Lynn Schenk of California served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1993 to 3 January 1995. Schenk’s policy interests included the environment, the line-item veto, and deficit reduction. She lost her attempt for a second term in 1994.

The daughter of Hungarian Holocaust survivors, Schenk was born in New York shortly after her parents’ immigration to the United States. She received her bachelor of arts degree from the University of California in 1967, completed her law degree from the University of San Diego in 1970, and attended the London School of Economics from 1970 to 1971. California secretary of business, transportation, and housing from 1980 to 1983, Schenk later served on the San Diego Port Commission from 1990 to 1993. In 1998, she unsuccessfully ran for attorney general of California.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993).



Phyllis Schlafly campaigned in Illinois against ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment; it failed to gain the necessary number of states needed to ratify by the deadline in 1982 (Corbis/Bettmann)

Schlafly, Phyllis Stewart (b. 1924)

Conservative leader Phyllis Schlafly founded Stop ERA and Eagle Forum and emerged as the primary opponent of and most powerful leader against state and federal Equal Rights Amendments. Schlafly became a national celebrity in 1964 with the publication of her best-selling book, *A Choice, Not an Echo*, in support of Republican Barry Goldwater's candidacy for his party's presidential nomination. In it, she argued that eastern liberal Republicans had conspired to keep the party from choosing conservative presidential nominees since 1936, even though the majority of Republicans had preferred more conservative candidates.

Schlafly entered politics in the 1950s through the Illinois Federation of Republican Women, ran for Congress in 1952, and served as the federation's

president from 1960 to 1964. She moved to the national level in 1965 when she became vice president of the National Federation of Republican Women (NFRW), serving from 1965 to 1967. She ran for the presidency of the NFRW in 1967 but lost in a divisive contest. After losing, she wrote to the 500,000 members of the NFRW and asked them to send part of the dues to a war chest to promote conservative candidates and issues. She established the Eagle Forum Trust Fund and began publishing *The Phyllis Schlafly Report* in 1967. In 1970, Schlafly again ran for Congress and lost.

After Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment in 1972, Schlafly began voicing her objections to it, although she had not objected to it during Congress's consideration of it. The next year, she formed Stop ERA and began presenting her arguments against the ERA across the nation. Schlafly's objections to the amendment included her belief that it would destroy families, force women into combat, and require unisex public toilet facilities. She began an odyssey of testifying before state legislatures, organizing state lobbying groups, and appearing on national television shows. Schlafly claimed credit for slowing the ratification and for the failure of more than twenty-six ratification attempts.

She founded and became president of Eagle Forum in 1975. She organized a profamily rally at the Houston Astro Arena to protest the National Women's Conference (NWC) in 1977 because she said that the NWC did not represent her constituency. Schlafly has written several books, including *Who Will Rock the Cradle* (1989) and *Meddlesome Mandate: Rethinking Family Leave* (1991).

Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Phyllis Schlafly earned her bachelor of arts degree at Washington University in 1944, her master of arts degree from Harvard University in 1945, her doctor of laws degree from Niagara University in 1976, and her juris doctor degree from Washington University in 1978.

See also Eagle Forum; Equal Rights Amendment; National Federation of Republican Women; National Women's Conference

References Felsenthal, *The Biography of Phyllis Schlafly* (1982); Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Nixon/Ford Years* (1979).

Schneider, Claudine Cmarada (b. 1947)

Republican Claudine Schneider of Rhode Island served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1981 to 3 January 1991. Schneider entered politics out of her concern for the environment. She founded the Rhode Island Committee on Energy in 1973, served as executive director of the Conservation Law Foundation in 1974, and was federal coordinator of the Rhode Island Coastal Management Program in 1978. She was also a television producer and talk show host.

Schneider ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. House in 1978 and then won her first term in 1980. As a member of Congress, Schneider was instrumental in stopping the construction of the Clinch River Nuclear Reactor, a project she called “a notorious white elephant,” and was a leader in the effort to ban dumping sludge and medical waste in the ocean. She helped pass the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988. Schneider left the House to run for the Senate in 1990 but lost.

Born in Clairton, Pennsylvania, Schneider attended the University of Barcelona and Rosemont College, receiving her bachelor of arts degree from Windham College in 1969. She also attended the University of Rhode Island School of Community Planning.

See also Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988; Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America: The 98th Congress* (1983); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Schroeder, Patricia Nell Scott (b. 1940)

Democrat Patricia Schroeder served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1973 to 3 January 1997. Throughout her congressional career, Schroeder fought for equity for women, sought to reduce military spending, and worked for policies that she believed would benefit families. In the summer of 1987, she explored the possibility of a presidential candidacy but decided against pursuing it.

Schroeder based her 1972 campaign for Congress on her opposition to the Vietnam War and her support for children and elderly people. Married and the mother of two children, Schroeder was asked after her election how she could be a mother and a congresswoman. She explained: “I have a brain and a uterus and they both work.”

When she entered Congress, Schroeder asked to be on the Armed Forces Committee because of her opposition to the Vietnam War, but committee chair F. Edward Hébert (D-LA) refused her request, saying that she had not been in combat. Learning that several committee members had not been in combat, she pursued the matter and received the committee assignment. In addition to Schroeder, Hébert had objected to Ronald Dellums (D-CA) serving on the committee. To demonstrate his displeasure with their appointments, Hébert provided only one chair for Schroeder and Dellums in the committee room. They sat on the same chair until the Congressional Black Caucus pressured the leadership to convince Hébert to provide a second chair.

Three broad themes characterize Schroeder’s congressional career—women’s rights, families, and the military—and her legislative proposals often included some aspect of all three. A leader in the passage of the



Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) led a pro-choice rally on the Capitol steps against the Hyde Amendment, which banned the use of federal funds for abortion, 1977 (Corbis/Bettmann)

Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978, she supported ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, advocated federal funding of abortions, and fought to grant military personnel the right to have abortions in military hospitals. In 1984, Schroeder began working on the Family and Medical Leave Act. She held hearings on it, modified it, and in 1993 finally saw it enacted. The law provides for unpaid leave to care for a newborn, newly adopted child, or seriously ill child or parent. After President George Bush vetoed it twice, President Bill Clinton signed it in 1993.

Schroeder advocated improved child support enforcement, enhanced services for child abuse victims, and, as cochair of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, helped develop the Economic Equity Act. In addition to supporting cuts in the defense budget, she opposed the MX missile system and led an effort to ban nuclear testing. She worked to improve family housing and facilities for military service members and persuaded the Armed Services Committee to permit women to fly combat missions. She helped expose cases of sexual harassment within the armed services and called on the military to end its discriminatory policies toward women and gays.

When Anita Hill accused U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexually harassing her, Schroeder and other congresswomen sought to have the charges heard before the Senate confirmed Thomas. In her remarks to the House of Representatives, Schroeder said: "Mr. Speaker, we are at a very critical time in which a woman has come forward

and made very serious allegations, and there is an attempt to brush them under the rug in the speed to have an adjournment for the Columbus Day recess. Columbus, I think, would even be appalled that we could be hurrying home to celebrate this great Nation, and also tainting this great Nation's reputation for justice." With six other Democratic congresswomen, her image was captured as they walked up the steps to the Senate to convince the Senate Judiciary Committee to investigate the charges before voting on Thomas's nomination.

Schroeder also called for an investigation of another incident of sexual harassment and assault. At the September 1991 national convention of the Tailhook Association, whose members are Marine and Navy aviators, more than twenty-five women, some of them naval officers, were sexually abused and assaulted. When the Navy attempted to minimize the incident, Schroeder pressed for further inquiries into it. She connected the Tailhook events with limits imposed upon women in the military and pressed for policies that would permit women to fly in combat. She noted: "If women can qualify . . . it would be silly to deny ourselves half the brain power of this country, just because they have the wrong chromosomes." Schroeder retired from Congress in 1997.

Born in Portland, Oregon, Schroeder learned to fly an airplane when she was fifteen years old and worked her way through college by running her own flying service. She received her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Minnesota in 1961 and her law degree from Harvard University in 1964. A field attorney for the National Labor Relations Board with responsibilities in Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming, she did pro bono work for Planned Parenthood in Colorado and taught law at the Community College of Denver and the University of Denver. Schroeder is the author of *Champion of the Great American Family* (1989) and *24 Years of House Work . . . and the Place Is Still a Mess: My Life in Politics* (1998).

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Rights Amendment; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; Hill, Anita Faye; Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978; Reproductive Rights; Sexual Harassment

References Boxer, *Strangers in the Senate* (1994); Doherty, "Surface Racial Harmony on Hill Hides Simmering Tensions" (1998); Kaptur, *Women of Congress: A Twentieth Century Odyssey* (1996); Schroeder, *Champion of the Great American Family* (1989), *24 Years of House Work . . . and the Place Is Still a Mess: My Life in Politics* (1998).

Seastrand, Andrea Ciszek (b. 1941)

Republican Andrea Seastrand of California served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1995 to 3 January 1997. Seastrand worked to lower taxes for working families, saying: "I oppose higher taxes, period.

Our national budget problems do not exist because we send too little money to Washington. The problem is that politicians and special interest groups never run out of ways to spend our money.” Opposed to reproductive rights and gay rights, she worked to stop illegal immigration and to prohibit welfare payments to minor mothers. She sought to create a national spaceport agency that would convert defunct military bases into facilities for commercial space projects.

Born in Chicago, Andrea Seastrand earned her bachelor of arts degree from DePaul University in 1963. A teacher, Seastrand entered politics when she managed her husband’s state legislative campaigns. After his death, she won the seat that he had held and served in the California Assembly from 1991 to 1995.

See also Abortion; Congress, Women in; Lesbian Rights; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1996 (1995).

Seneca Falls Convention

In July 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Coffin Mott, and three other women issued a call for the nation’s first women’s rights convention. Held in Seneca Falls, New York, on 19 and 20 July 1848 at Wesleyan Church, the convention attracted about 100 women and men, who discussed, amended, and adopted a *Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions*. Modeled after the American Declaration of Independence, the Seneca Falls declaration stated in part:

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.

Other grievances listed include divorce laws, property laws, tax laws,

employment and educational opportunities, and exclusion from the ministry. Of the resolutions that the convention considered, the most controversial was proposed by Stanton and called for woman suffrage, and it was the only resolution that did not pass unanimously. When the discussion ended, sixty-eight women and thirty-two men signed the declaration. Of the women who signed the declaration, only Charlotte Woodward lived long enough to vote after the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920.

Over the next decade, women's rights conventions were held in Albany and Rochester, New York; Salem and Worcester, Massachusetts; Cleveland, Ohio; and other communities. Conventions were not held during the Civil War, and afterward, they generally took place under the auspices of a suffrage organization.

References Flexner and Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, enlarged edition (1996); Ravitch, ed., *The American Reader* (1990).

Separate Spheres

"Separate spheres" was a nineteenth-century phrase that articulated the belief that men belonged in the public world and women in the private world. Based on the assumption that men had greater physical strength and intellectual and mental abilities than women, it was believed that men were better suited for war, politics, work, the professions, and art. Women, with their presumed greater morality, nurturing skills, and self-sacrificing natures, were believed to be created for motherhood, domestic duties, and marriage.

The concept of separate spheres did not extend to women in slavery. Fieldwork and heavy labor were more likely their plight than even domestic service. In addition, poor women, including those once married but widowed and those whose husbands did not support them, did not have the luxury of confining their lives to domestic activities.

See also Coverture

Sex Discrimination

Discriminating on the basis of sex was the policy in the United States until women began challenging it in the 1840s in the first wave of the women's rights movement and continued to challenge it in the second wave of the movement that began in the 1960s. The areas in which women were legally discriminated against included education, employment, pay, jury service, and credit. In addition, women could not vote, hold public office in many states, or serve in the military, and married women could not conduct business in their own names, sue, or be sued.

In the mid–nineteenth century, states began to pass married women’s property acts, but until passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, little action was taken to remove discriminatory laws against women. In the 1920s, some states eliminated prohibitions against women holding public office and serving on juries. Until passage of the Equal Pay Act in 1963, it was legal to pay different rates to women and men performing the same job, and until passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it was legal to refuse to hire a woman for a job based on her sex.

The emergence of the feminist movement in the 1960s brought demands for the elimination of other forms of sex discrimination. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 ended sex discrimination in education at institutions that received federal funds, and the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974 prohibited discrimination in financing on the basis of sex or marital status. Also in the 1970s, the U.S. Supreme Court began to decide that sex discrimination violated the Fourteenth Amendment. Feminists, however, found that the progress was inadequate and too slow and began a campaign for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Congress passed the amendment, but it failed in 1982 because only thirty-five out of the necessary thirty-eight states had ratified it.

See also Cable Acts; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Education Amendments of 1972, Title IX; Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendment; Married Women’s Property Acts; Nineteenth Amendment; Suffrage

Sexual Harassment

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) defines sexual harassment as follows: “Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature . . . when submission to or rejection of this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual’s employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual’s work performance or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment.”

Harassers can be women or men, and victims can be women or men. The harasser could be a supervisor, an agent of the employer, a coworker, or not an employee. The victim does not have to be the person harassed and could be anyone affected by the offensive conduct. In addition, the victim does not have to suffer economic injury or be discharged to have a complaint.

The EEOC has defined two kinds of sexual harassment, *quid pro quo* and hostile environment. *Quid pro quo* harassment is committed when a person submits to being harassed out of concern for her or his job, potential promotion, job assignment, or other conditions of work. Only a supervisor

or manager can commit quid pro quo harassment because a coworker or someone without supervisory authority cannot affect the victim's job. There only needs to be one event of this form of harassment for it to be illegal.

Hostile work environment harassment has been defined by the EEOC and accepted by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* (1986) as unwelcome conduct that “has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment.” Sexual slurs and comments, sexually offensive images, and unwanted touching of intimate body areas are all forms of hostile environment harassment. Unlike quid pro quo harassment, hostile environment harassment does not require that the person's job is threatened by the harasser. Frequency and severity are key to this form of harassment—the more often it occurs, the less severe it must be to constitute harassment.

In *Harris v. Forklift Systems* (1993), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that employees do not need to show that the offensive sexual behavior left them psychologically damaged or unable to perform their jobs. The Court wrote: “So long as the environment would reasonably be perceived, and is perceived, as hostile or abusive, there is no need for it also to be psychologically injurious.” Although *Meritor* expanded the definition of sexual harassment and *Harris* made a hostile environment easier to prove, women who initiate legal remedies for workplace sexual harassment often face public scorn and lengthy and expensive legal obstacles.

Sexual harassment gained national attention in 1991 when law professor Anita Hill alleged that U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas had sexually harassed her. In her testimony before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, Hill described the humiliation and embarrassment of being sexually harassed. The televised hearings prompted women who had suffered experiences of sexual harassment to file complaints and take other actions to stop the exploitation.

Two other sexual harassment cases also gained national attention in the 1990s. Sexual harassment of women in the military gained national attention following revelations in 1992 that women had been assaulted at the 1991 convention of the Tailhook Association, a private association of naval aviators. On one night, more than 100 association members were involved in assaults that included the men grabbing or removing the clothing of twenty-six women, half of them Navy officers, as they tried to pass through a hallway. In the course of the weekend convention, eighty-three women and seven men were assaulted. Navy lieutenant Paula Coughlin, an admiral's aide and helicopter pilot, feared that she would be gang-raped, but she escaped after biting one of the men. Coughlin filed a formal complaint, which resulted in two internal Navy investigations, but

only two suspects were identified. The Department of Defense inspector general conducted another investigation that resulted in several officers being disciplined and others facing court martial proceedings, but all of the cases were dismissed. No one involved was convicted of a crime.

The second sexual harassment case that gained national attention involved Republican senator Bob Packwood of Oregon. Packwood, who had long supported women's issues and abortion rights, was accused of making unwanted sexual advances toward women beginning in 1969. Twenty-six women accused him of sexual misconduct, which he originally denied. While the Senate Ethics Committee began investigating the allegations, Packwood attempted to defend himself through references to his personal diaries, leading the Senate to subpoena them. The revelations in his diaries led to his resignation in 1995.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Employment Discrimination; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; *Harris v. Forklift Systems*; Hill, Anita Faye; *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*

References Bingham, *Women on the Hill: Challenging the Culture of Congress* (1997); Fallon, "Sexual Harassment, Content, Neutrality, and the First Amendment Dog That Didn't Bark" (1995); Hoff, *Law, Gender, and Injustice* (1991); Levy and Paludi, *Workplace Sexual Harassment* (1997); www.eeoc.gov/facts/fs-sex.html.



Betty Shabazz, widow of slain civil rights leader Malcolm X, reconciled her differences with Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, 1995 (Corbis/Robert Maass)

Shabazz, Hajj Bahiyah (Betty) (1936–1997)

Widow of civil rights leader Malcolm X, Betty Shabazz also became a national figure in the civil rights movement. Born in Detroit, Michigan, Shabazz attended Tuskegee Institute, where she met Malcolm X during her junior year. They married and had four daughters. Shabazz was pregnant with twins when she witnessed Malcolm X's assassination on 21 February 1965 in New York City's Audubon Ballroom. Shabazz then focused her attention on raising their daughters and completing her own education.

She earned a registered nursing degree from Brooklyn State Hospital School of Nursing and her doctoral degree from the University of Massachusetts in 1975.

A professor of health administration at Medgar Evers College, she also served as the school's director of institutional advancement and public relations. Shabazz became a national figure through her public speaking on education and issues of race relations.

See also Civil Rights Movement; Evers-Williams, Myrlie Louise Beasley

References Smith, ed., *Powerful Black Women* (1996).

Shaheen, Jeanne (b. 1947)

Democrat Jeanne Shaheen became governor of New Hampshire in 1997. A member of the New Hampshire Senate from 1991 to 1996, Shaheen passed health care reform legislation providing guarantees for adequate hospital stays for women after childbirth, stabilizing health insurance rates, and ending discrimination against people with preexisting conditions. She helped open the electric utility industry to competition to help lower the state's electric rates and helped create the first state-sponsored industrial research center.

In her campaign for governor, Shaheen pledged to apply for federal grants for Goals 2000, a federal program that provides grants to states that meet certain educational goals. She proposed raising the state's cigarette tax and permitting video poker machines at the state's racetracks to help fund public kindergarten classes, which were not universally available in New Hampshire.

Born in St. Charles, Missouri, Jeanne Shaheen earned her bachelor's degree from Shippensburg University in 1969 and her master's degree from the University of Mississippi in 1973.

See also Governors, Women; State Legislatures, Women in

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 104th Congress, 2nd Session . . .* 1996 (1997); www.state.nh.us/governor/bio.html.

Shalala, Donna Edna (b. 1941)

Democrat Donna Shalala became secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services in 1993. She is the longest-serving secretary of health and human services in U.S. history. Shalala began her political career as treasurer and a director of New York City's Municipal Assistance Corporation, which worked to restore the city's financial stability in the mid-1970s. Assistant secretary for policy development and research at the Department of Housing and Urban Development from 1977 to 1980, she discovered that only 18 percent of the owner-occupied homes in the United States were owned by women and began a "Women and Mortgage Credit" program. The project held workshops that taught women the advantages and disadvantages of home ownership. She developed a women's policy and program staff, funded battered women's shelters, and commissioned studies of the housing needs of families headed by women. Shalala explained: "Sex discrimination existed in rental housing, against families with children, against elderly single women, against black and minority

women. We began to review all federal housing policies to assess their impact on women.”

As secretary of health and human services, Shalala participated in reforming welfare and implemented the changes, gained approval of the Children’s Health Insurance Program, and raised child immunization rates to the highest in history. She campaigned against tobacco use and sought to end the association between smokeless tobacco and professional baseball, a project that included her throwing the first pitch (the full 60 feet, 6 inches) for the Orioles 1998 season. In addition to developing national initiatives to fight breast cancer and violence against women, she worked for improved medications to treat acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) and tried to increase access to them.

Born in Cleveland, Ohio, Shalala earned her bachelor of arts degree from Western College for Women in 1962. She volunteered for the Peace Corps from 1962 to 1964, teaching at the University of Ahwaz in Iran. After returning to the United States, Shalala taught at Syracuse University while working on her doctoral degree, which she received in 1970 from Syracuse University. Shalala taught at Bernard M. Baruch College from 1970 to 1972, when she began teaching at Teachers College at Columbia University. She became president of Hunter College in 1980 and held the position until 1988, when she became chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Madison, the first woman to head a Big Ten university.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1991* (1991); *New York Times*, 15 January 1976; www.hhs.gov/about/bios/dhhssec.html.

Shaw, Anna Howard (1847–1919)

Anna Howard Shaw was president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1904 to 1915, a period considered the doldrums for the woman suffrage movement. The first woman ordained in the Methodist Protestant Church as well as a physician, Shaw began her political career as a lecturer for woman suffrage in 1883.

Born in Newcastle upon Tyne, England, Shaw moved to the United States in 1851 with her parents, settling in Lawrence, Massachusetts. An education was a priority for Shaw, but she was unable to attend high school until she was twenty-three years old. Her ability to preach soon came to the attention of a Methodist minister who invited her to join him in his circuit, and she began her career as an itinerant preacher.

In 1873, Shaw entered Albion College, and while she continued to preach, she also began lecturing on temperance. Three years later, she left Albion before graduating and moved to Boston to attend Boston Univer-



Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was both a Methodist preacher and a medical doctor, 1920 (Library of Congress)

sity Theological Seminary. After graduating in 1878, she received a call to a church on Cape Cod. She applied to the Methodist Episcopal Conference for ordination in 1880, but the bishop refused to ordain her because of her sex. Later that year, the Methodist Protestant Church ordained her.

Shaw decided that a medical degree would be useful in her ministries and entered Boston University School of Medicine in 1882, graduating in 1886. She resigned her pastorate and earned her living as a lecturer on suffrage, temperance, and social purity. In 1887, the American Woman Suffrage Association hired her as its national lecturer. Shaw met Susan B. Anthony when both women were lecturing in Kansas, leading Anthony to hire her as the National American Woman Suffrage Association's

(NAWSA) national lecturer in 1890. Two years later, Shaw became NAWSA's vice president-at-large.

When Anthony resigned the presidency of NAWSA in 1900, Carrie Chapman Catt became the group's president, serving until 1904. Following Catt's resignation, Shaw became NAWSA president. During her tenure from 1904 to 1915, Shaw increased the organization's membership from 17,000 to 183,000 and its annual budget from \$5,000 to almost \$50,000. In addition, the number of states with full woman suffrage grew from four to eleven. Shaw also moved NAWSA's headquarters from Warren, Ohio, the home of NAWSA treasurer Harriet Taylor Upton, to New York. Despite these improvements in the organization and the increase in the number of suffrage states, some suffrage leaders were dissatisfied with the progress being made. They felt that with a more active and energetic campaign, success would come more quickly.

Shaw's approach to the presidency may have contributed to the campaign's pace. She used a democratic approach, seeking the opinions of the board members before acting. She wrote long letters updating and consulting them on an almost weekly basis, but with board members located around the country, it was a slow process and an inefficient way to manage the association and conduct the campaign. NAWSA's structure impaired quick action because it limited the president's freedom to act by requiring board or convention approval in many situations. In addition, Shaw faced regional conflicts in the use of resources such as speakers and money, as well as in the underlying goal of suffrage. Southern women, in particular, wanted suffrage for whites only, resisting universal suffrage out of racism. Another limit arose from Shaw's personal situation: she could not devote all of her time to NAWSA because she had to support herself by lecturing around the country.

The overall strategy pursued by NAWSA at the time also created problems. By attempting to conduct state campaigns across the country, often supporting several efforts in one election year, NAWSA's resources were constantly drained. For those who believed passing a federal amendment provided the best opportunity, the sometimes futile state amendments appeared to be an unwise use of funds.

By 1912, dissatisfaction with the slow progress led to criticism of Shaw and NAWSA. That year, NAWSA executive secretary Mary Ware Dennett sought to change the association's constitution and to reorganize it, but her effort failed. Dennett then joined others in openly criticizing Shaw, eventually leaving the organization out of frustration. In 1915, Shaw resigned the presidency, at least in part as a result of the increased and persistent criticism she faced.

Shaw chaired the Woman's Committee of the Council of National

Defense from 1916 to 1918. Following the end of World War I, she lectured on peace. In 1915 she wrote her autobiography, *A Story of a Pioneer*.

See also American Woman Suffrage Association; Anthony, Susan Brownell; Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman; Dennett, Mary Coffin Ware; National American Woman Suffrage Association; Suffrage

References Linkugel and Solomon, *Anna Howard Shaw: Suffrage Orator and Social Reformer* (1991).

Shepherd, Karen (b. 1940)

Democrat Karen Shepherd of Utah served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 5 January 1993 to 3 January 1995. Shepherd entered electoral politics through the state legislature, serving in the Utah Senate from 1991 to 1993. During her congressional campaign, Shepherd proposed a ten-point plan for children, including fully funding Head Start and improving the collection of child support payments. After losing her bid for a second term to Enid Greene Waldholtz, Shepherd was a fellow at the Institute of Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. In 1996, President Bill Clinton appointed her to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Born in Silver City, New Mexico, Karen Shepherd earned her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Utah in 1962 and her master of arts degree from Brigham Young University in 1963. A former English teacher, Shepherd was assistant director for Salt Lake County social services from 1975 to 1976 and director from 1976 to 1978. Shepherd published and edited *Network* magazine for working women from 1978 to 1984.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in; Greene, Enid

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993).

Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921

The first goal of newly enfranchised women following the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act allocated federal money to states to reduce maternal and infant mortality. In a 1917 study conducted by the Children's Bureau, the United States ranked seventeenth among twenty nations in maternal mortality and eleventh in infant mortality.

In 1917, Julia Lathrop, head of the Children's Bureau, recommended federal aid to states to protect pregnant women and their infants. The next year, Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin (R-MT) introduced a bill to provide education for pregnant women through pre- and postnatal care as well as federal aid to states for hospital care, medical care, and visiting

nurses for new mothers and their infants. Rankin did not return to Congress in 1919, but that year Congressman Horace Mann Towner (R-IA) and Senator Morris Sheppard (D-TX) introduced a comparable measure. In 1921, the Women's Joint Congressional Committee developed grassroots support for a maternal and infant health bill by distributing pamphlets and by deluging members of Congress with letters and telegrams in support of the Sheppard-Towner Act. The lobbying campaign included *Good Housekeeping* magazine, which also encouraged women to lobby Congress. Criticized by conservatives as a Bolshevik plan, the Sheppard-Towner Act was opposed by the American Medical Association because its members wanted to maintain control over medical care delivery. The Women Patriots opposed the measure, also labeling it a Communist plan.

The U.S. Senate passed the Sheppard-Towner Act in 1921, but the chairman of the House committee handling the bill tried to kill it. Republican National Committee vice chair Harriet Taylor Upton, however, interceded on behalf of the bill, telling President Warren G. Harding that delaying it alienated women. Wanting to please the new women voters, Harding intervened on the bill's behalf on two occasions at Upton's request. Members of Congress supported the bill for the same reason: to please women voters, whose strength as a voting bloc was unknown. When the House passed the bill 279 to 39, the only woman in Congress, Alice Robertson, voted against it.

The Sheppard-Towner Act offered each state \$5,000, with another \$5,000 available to those states providing matching funds. Under the act, child care conferences trained public health and visiting nurses, as did the literature developed and distributed by the Children's Bureau, which administered the act's provisions. In addition, nurses provided instruction in hygiene to pregnant women and new mothers. By 1922, forty-one states participated in the program, and eventually only Connecticut, Illinois, and Massachusetts remained out of it. The program did make a difference in infant mortality: in 1921 the infant death rate was 75 per 1,000 births; after Sheppard-Towner, it was 64 per 1,000. The maternal death rate also dropped.

In 1926, Congress extended the appropriation but included a sunset clause for the program on 30 June 1929, and the program ended. Some states continued to provide the services after the federal appropriations ended. With the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, the programs were restored.

See also Abbott, Grace; Children's Bureau; Lathrop, Julia; Rankin, Jeannette Pickering; Robertson, Alice Mary; Upton, Harriet Taylor; Women's Joint Congressional Committee

References Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (1973); Lindenmeyer, "A Right to Childhood": *The U.S. Children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912–1946* (1997).

Shirtwaist Workers Strike

The Shirtwaist Workers Strike, also known as the Uprising of the 20,000, began on 24 November 1909, when 18,000 garment workers walked out of almost 500 shops in Manhattan and Brooklyn. Eventually, about 20,000 garment workers were on strike. The strikers, who made the blouses that female clerical workers wore at the time, primarily worked in dirty, poorly lit, unsafe factories for long hours at starvation wages. Required to purchase their sewing needles and thread from the employer, they were fined for making errors, arriving late at work, and other infringements of company rules. Generally young women ages sixteen to twenty-five, the waist makers were mostly Russian Jewish immigrants. The strikers wanted a 10 percent wage increase and recognition of their union in contract negotiations.

Local 25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union led the strike, and the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) provided support to the strikers. The WTUL, whose leaders included some of New York's wealthy socialites, offered its offices for a strike headquarters, stood in picket lines with the strikers, and generated publicity for the cause. The WTUL also helped raise money for food and for bail for the more than 700 strikers who were arrested. After strikers realized that New York garment makers were subcontracting work to Philadelphia factories, the strike spread to that city.

Several small manufacturers relented and signed agreements that included a fifty-two-hour workweek, limitations on overtime, and provision of needles, thread, and other equipment and supplies. In addition, union officials were given access to payroll records on a weekly basis. The agreements covered about 10,000 workers, who returned to work. Larger manufacturers, however, hired strikebreakers.

In late December, New York employers offered strikers a fifty-two-hour workweek, four paid holidays, and sewing supplies. They agreed to rehire strikers and pledged that they would not discriminate against union members. The strikers rejected the offer because the employers did not agree to recognize the union.

In early February 1910, the Philadelphia strike ended in an arbitrated agreement that did not include the union shop. Ten thousand garment workers, however, joined Local 15 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The New York socialites who had supported the strike began to lose interest in it, particularly after the strikers had rejected the December of-

fer. Without the WTUL's support, the strikers increasingly suffered. The union signed an agreement that included time-and-a-half pay for overtime hours and a fifty-two-hour workweek and did not include union recognition. Twenty thousand workers joined Local 25.

The largest strike of women workers at the time, the Shirtwaist Workers Strike demonstrated that women could be organized into unions and laid the foundation for the development of a strong union for women garment workers.

See also Women's Trade Union League

References Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement: From the First Trade Unions to the Present* (1982); Wertheimer, *We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America* (1977).

Simmons, Althea T. L. (1924–1990)

Chief lobbyist for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) from 1979 until her death in 1990, Althea Simmons began her career with the organization as volunteer executive secretary for the Texas State Conference of NAACP and joined the staff in 1961 as field secretary. Director of the NAACP's 1964 voter registration drive, she also served as the organization's director for training from 1964 until 1974. As NAACP national education director from 1974 to 1977, Simmons developed handbooks, pamphlets, and programs designed for black youth. When she served as associate director of branch and field services from 1977 to 1979, her responsibilities included the network of local and state branches, field staff, and other divisions.

NAACP's chief lobbyist during the Reagan administration, Simmons worked to prevent erosion of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and helped pass the extension of the Voting Rights Act in 1982, considered the most important civil rights legislation in nearly two decades. Simmons successfully lobbied for sanctions against South Africa to protest apartheid, and after President Ronald Reagan vetoed the measure, she successfully lobbied for Congress's override of the veto. She also worked for the bill making Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a national holiday.

Born in Shreveport, Louisiana, Althea Simmons earned her bachelor of science degree from Southern University in 1945, her master's degree from the University of Illinois in 1951, and her law degree from Howard University in 1956. She also studied at the University of California at Los Angeles and the New School for Social Work, among other schools.

See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the

References *New York Times*, 30 June 1987, 17 September 1990.

Simpson, Edna Oakes (1891–1984)

Republican Edna Simpson of Illinois served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1959 to 3 January 1961. Nine days after the death of her husband, Representative Sidney Simpson, Edna Simpson was elected to the seat he had held. She did not make any campaign appearances but easily won the contest. Simpson never spoke on the House floor. She announced in December 1959 that she would not be a candidate for reelection.

Edna Simpson was born in Carrollton, Illinois.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Slaughter, Louise McIntosh (b. 1929)

Democrat Louise Slaughter of New York entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1987. Slaughter held the leadership position of minority whip—at-large in the 106th Congress (1999–2001). Congresswoman Slaughter has passed legislation that created the first federal research and education program on DES, a drug that was erroneously thought to prevent miscarriage but that can cause birth defects and other problems in subsequent generations. She helped increase appropriations for breast cancer research and was responsible for the creation of a permanent Office of Women's Health at the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and for guaranteeing that women and minorities are included in all health trials at the NIH. An author of the Violence Against Women Act of 1994, she succeeded in including immigrant spouses in it. She passed a measure that gives states an incentive to make it easier for homeless children to attend school. Slaughter also passed legislation to establish a Women's Rights National Historic Trail.

Slaughter was one of the seven Democratic congresswomen who marched to the Senate to register their concerns about the sexual harassment charges against U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas. Their goal was to convince the Senate Judiciary Committee to investigate the charges before voting on his nomination.

Slaughter passed an amendment for a special tax break that allows small manufacturers and farmers to issue tax-exempt bonds through local governments and has worked for the development of a high-speed railroad. In other areas, Slaughter helped pass a measure to end the dumping of sewage sludge in the ocean and another to help older women attend college by expanding financial aid to part-time and other nontraditional students.



Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, led thousands of pro-choice activists in a march on Washington, D.C., 1986 (Corbis/Bettmann)

Born in Harlan County, Kentucky, Louise Slaughter received her bachelor of science degree in 1951 and her master of science degree in 1953, both from the University of Kentucky. Slaughter was a Monroe County legislator from 1975 to 1979 and served in the New York Assembly from 1983 to 1987.

See also Congress, Women in; Health Care, Women and; Hill, Anita Faye; Sexual Harassment; State Legislatures, Women in; Violence Against Women Act of 1994; Women's Health, Office of Research on

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991); www.house.gov/slaughter/bio.htm.

Smeal, Eleanor Cutri (b. 1939)

President of the National Organization for Women (NOW) from 1977 to 1982 and from 1985 to 1987, Eleanor Smeal was a cofounder and founding president of the Fund for the Feminist Majority in 1987. Smeal entered politics out of frustration. After completing her master's degree, she had intended to pursue a doctorate, but the lack of child care prevented her from continuing. Later, when she suffered a back ailment that required her to take a year of complete bed rest, she again found there were no child care services available. Through the experience, she also became aware of the need for disability insurance for wives and mothers. Smeal and her husband, who had performed many household tasks during that year, became confirmed feminists, opened a day care center, and in 1970, joined NOW.

From 1971 to 1973, Smeal convened and served as the first president of a NOW chapter in suburban Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and was elected president of Pennsylvania NOW in 1972. She made educational injustice her priority and worked for equal opportunity for girls in physical education and sports programs. Smeal joined NOW's national board of directors and its legal defense and education board of directors in 1973 and was elected national president four years later. Smeal led efforts to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), including a boycott of states that had not yet ratified the ERA. She was appointed to the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975, by President Jimmy Carter and was a visible leader at the National Women's Conference held in Houston, Texas, in 1977. When she became president, the organization had 55,000 members and a deficit of \$120,000. At the end of her first tenure as president in 1982, NOW had 225,000 members and a budget of more than \$9 million.

Born in Ashtabula, Ohio, Smeal earned her bachelor of arts degree from Duke University in 1961 and her master of arts degree from the University of Florida in 1963.

See also Equal Rights Amendment; The Feminist Majority; National Organization for Women; National Women's Conference

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1980* (1980).

Smith, Howard Worth (1883–1976)

Democrat Howard Worth Smith of Virginia served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1931 to 1967. Although he was opposed to civil rights legislation, he played a crucial role in expanding Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to include women. As the House debated Title VII, Smith introduced a one-word amendment, "sex," to the section related to employment discrimination. Some observers have attributed his motives for introducing the amendment to a desire to kill the entire bill. Others have suggested that he introduced it at the request of the National Woman's Party. Regardless of his motives, congresswomen and others who supported the amendment also supported Smith's introduction of it, correctly believing that other southern congressmen would follow Smith's lead and vote for it. When the amendment and the bill passed, employment discrimination on the basis of sex, race, color, and national origin became illegal.

Born in Broad Run, Virginia, Smith graduated from Bethel Military Academy in 1901 and earned his bachelor of laws degree from the University of Virginia in 1903. He entered private practice in Alexandria, Virginia, the next year. Smith served as commonwealth attorney of Alexandria from 1918 to 1922, judge in Alexandria's Corporation Court from

Representative Linda Smith (R-WA) ran unsuccessfully against Senator Patty Murray for the U.S. Senate in 1998 (Associated Press AP)



1922 to 1928, and judge in the 16th Judicial Circuit of Virginia from 1928 to 1932.

See also Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; National Woman's Party

References Freeman, "How 'Sex' Got into Title VII: Persistent Opportunism as a Maker of Public Policy" (1991); *New York Times*, 4 October 1976.

Smith, Linda A. (b. 1950)

Republican Linda Smith of Washington served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1995 to 3 January 1999. Her strong antiabortion beliefs and anger over a state tax increase motivated Smith to enter politics. She served in the Washington House of Representatives from 1983 to 1987 and in the state Senate from 1987 to 1995. She authored two state initiatives, one for campaign and ethics reform and one to limit state expenditures and taxes, both approved by voters. Smith won her place on the 1994 general election ballot through a write-in petition drive for the Republican primary, the first person in Washington state history to qualify through that route. The work she had done on the ballot initiatives and her strong support among Christian activists gave her the grassroots base she needed. The all-volunteer Smith organization called 40,000 households and mailed write-in instructions to 150,000 households.

Congresswoman Smith concentrated on campaign finance reform, and worked to ban political action committees (PACs), create voluntary campaign spending limits, and ban certain kinds of political contributions. Smith explained her motives: "You're elected as an idealist and thrown into the sewer. People believe [Congress] is a sewer, and they elected a bunch of cleaners to go in and clean it up." Smith's other priori-

ties include a balanced budget, elimination of corporate welfare, Social Security reform, tax reform, breast cancer research, and natural resources management. She was an unsuccessful candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1998, having lost to the Democratic incumbent, Patty Murray.

Born in La Junta, Colorado, Smith managed tax consulting centers and was a tax consultant.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993), *Politics in America 1996* (1995), *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/linda-smith/bio.htm.

Smith, Margaret Madeline Chase (1897–1995)

Republican Margaret Chase Smith of Maine served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 June 1940 to 3 January 1949 and served in the U.S. Senate from 3 January 1949 to 3 January 1973. She is the first woman to win election to both houses of Congress and the first woman nominated for the presidency at a major national party convention. In 1930, she married Clyde Smith and through him entered politics. When Clyde Smith won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1936, his wife joined his staff. When he died in 1940, she won the race to fill the vacancy.

Congresswoman Smith did not view herself as a feminist or an advocate for women, saying: “I definitely resent being called a feminist.” Women assumed that she would be sympathetic to them, however, and Smith responded to several gender-based difficulties, including ending barriers to women’s employment, securing maternity and infant care for military dependents at base hospitals, and developing support for public nurseries and day care centers. She also introduced and passed a measure that granted permanent regular status for women who served in auxiliary units of the military and worked for passage of the 1948 Women’s Armed Services Integration Act.

When Maine’s senior senator announced in 1948 that he would not run for reelection, Smith entered a three-way primary, running on the slogan “Don’t trade a record for a promise.” National security was the issue she considered most important, also noting that the housing shortage the nation faced was a disgrace. She won both the primary and the general elections.

On 1 June 1950, Senator Smith and six other Republican senators wrote a speech titled “A Declaration of Conscience,” which Smith delivered. Aiming at Senator Joseph McCarthy’s anti-Communist excesses without saying his name, she accused her colleagues of permitting individual senators to abuse their power by making unproven charges that defamed innocent Americans. She told the Senate: “I do not like the way the

Margaret Chase Smith (R-ME), the first woman to serve in both the House and the Senate, fought for child care and integration of women into the military, 1950 (Corbis/Bettmann)



Senate has been made a rendezvous for vilification, for selfish political gain at the sacrifice of individual reputations and national unity. . . . I do not want to see a party ride to political victory on the Four Horsemen of Calumny—fear, ignorance, bigotry, and smear.” After she had read the statement, five of the six male cosponsors withdrew their names, fearing retribution from McCarthy. McCarthy punished Smith for criticizing him by having her removed from an important subcommittee and from the Republican Policy Committee. In 1954, he recruited a primary opponent to run against Smith, but she won the primary and general elections. A strong anti-Communist herself, Smith voted to censure McCarthy in 1954.

In 1964, Smith announced her candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination but received only a few votes at the Republican National Convention later that year. Smith lost her attempt for a fifth Senate term in 1972. In retirement, she was a college lecturer.

Born in Skohegan, Maine, she was a primary schoolteacher following graduation from high school. She was also a telephone operator and commercial manager of a telephone company, circulation manager of a weekly newspaper, office manager of a woolen mill, and treasurer of a waste process company.

See also Congress, Women in

References Boxer, *Strangers in the Senate* (1994); Wallace, *Politics of Conscience: A Biography of Margaret Chase Smith* (1995).

Smith, Mary Louise (1914–1997)

Elected chairperson of the Republican National Committee (RNC) on 16 September 1974, she was the first and only woman to hold the position. Smith began her political career in Eagle Grove, Iowa, in the late 1940s. Like many women of the time, she entered the political arena at the precinct level, knocking on doors during campaigns, and recruiting and organizing women for the Republican Party. Although she held a number of local and county offices in the party, she devoted most of her attention to the National Federation of Republican Women, holding local and state offices in it. She once explained that in those early days, “If someone told me that I would be party chairman, I don’t know if I would have known what they were talking about.”

In the early 1960s, having worked for the party for almost two decades, she concluded that she wanted to be among those making the party’s policy decisions. When the incumbent Republican national committeewoman for Iowa retired, Smith saw an opportunity and took it. Elected Republican national committeewoman for Iowa in 1964, she won reelection four more times, retiring in 1984. She served on the RNC Committee on Convention Reforms in 1966; was a member of the U.S. delegation to the Fifteenth Session of the Population Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in 1969; and was a member of the U.S. Delegation to the Third Extraordinary Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization in Paris in 1973.

In February 1974, George Bush, then RNC chairman, appointed Smith cochair of the RNC. At the time, the party’s image was being badly damaged by President Richard Nixon’s involvement in the Watergate scandal. Smith’s grassroots organizational skills, her notable speaking skills, and her extensive knowledge of party organization were viewed as important assets in sustaining party members’ loyalty and commitment as the scandal continued to unfold. In a clearly hopeless quest, Smith traveled the country that summer, attempting to motivate Republicans to rally around their party and support candidates in the fall elections.

After Nixon resigned in August 1974, President Gerald Ford granted George Bush's request to leave the RNC and become U.S. envoy to China. At the same time, Bush recommended that Smith become chair of the RNC. Her election to the office by the Republican National Committee, based upon Ford's recommendation, was received with mixed reactions. Feminists lauded it as an important step forward for women, whereas conservatives questioned whether she was tough enough and objected to her feminist beliefs. Political observers and party conservatives speculated that she would hold the office for only a short time before being replaced, probably after the fall elections.

Despite Smith's efforts, the fall elections were a disaster for the party. Republican candidates at every level of government lost their races as voters expressed their outrage over Watergate. Following the elections, Smith believed that her primary objective was to rebuild the party. Her efforts included an ambitious, innovative, and controversial public relations, advertising, and fund-raising program. She also began planning the 1976 Republican Convention. When she gaveled the convention to order, she became the first woman of either major party to organize and convene a presidential nominating convention. Gerald Ford, the party's presidential nominee, lost that November, and Smith resigned the chairmanship in January 1977.

Throughout those years, Smith's identity as a feminist had evolved, and she had become a strong advocate of the Iowa and the federal Equal Rights Amendments, civil rights, and reproductive rights. President Ronald Reagan appointed Smith to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in March 1982. She served as its vice chair until November 1983, when it was reorganized. Despite agreements that Smith would be appointed to the new commission, her outspoken advocacy for strengthening civil rights enforcement did not coincide with the Reagan administration's views, and she was not appointed to the new commission. The public's protests over the decision to leave her off the commission provided Smith with a forum to discuss the history, significance, and imperatives of civil rights enforcement in this country. As the Republican Party became increasingly more conservative in the 1980s and 1990s, she publicly criticized it for abandoning its support for reproductive rights and the Equal Rights Amendment.

She was a founder of the Iowa Peace Institute and a member of its board from 1986 to 1990, the year she resigned to accept an appointment to the board of the U.S. Institute of Peace, where she served until her death in 1997.

Born in Eddyville, Iowa, on 6 October 1914, she received a bachelor's degree in social work administration from the University of Iowa in 1935. She met and married Elmer Smith while studying there.

See also National Federation of Republican Women; Republican Party, Women in the

Smith, Virginia Dodd (b. 1911)

Republican Virginia Smith of Nebraska served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1975 to 3 January 1991. Smith and her husband farmed in Nebraska, where she became involved in educational and agricultural associations. She entered public life as a member of the state's school board association in 1949 and served until 1960. National president of the American Country Life Association from 1951 to 1954 and national chair of American Farm Bureau Women from 1954 to 1974, she also served on the National Cattle and Livestock Board from 1955 to 1958. Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson appointed her to the Home Economics Research Advisory Committee in 1955. She was also a Republican county chair and a delegate to national party conventions. In 1971 and 1972, Smith chaired the Presidential Task Force on Rural Development, and from 1972 to 1974 she served on an advisory board for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Smith's success in her 1974 candidacy for the U.S. House of Representatives was notable because it was the first public office she sought, but more notably it was the year in which President Richard Nixon resigned in the wake of the Watergate scandal, and few Republicans won their races. Smith's interests in Congress reflected her agricultural and rural background and that of her district. She worked on water development programs that were important to wheat growers in her area. She fought for one program for more than a decade but lost to environmentalists and spending cuts during the Reagan administration. She obtained funding for agricultural research centers in Nebraska and kept rural post offices and rural weather stations open in Nebraska when comparable facilities were closed around the country. In addition, she defended and preserved appropriations for the Rural Electrification Administration, an important source of inexpensive electricity for rural residents. She also worked to protect the interests of cattle and wheat producers and supported farm exports.

Born near Randolph, Iowa, Virginia Smith attended Missouri State Teachers College for two years before transferring to the University of Nebraska at Lincoln in 1929. Unable to afford to complete her undergraduate studies at the time, she completed her bachelor's degree in education at the University of Nebraska in 1936.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1984 (1983); Süllwold, "Nebraska's Virginia" (1993).

Senator Olympia Snowe (R-ME) spoke to reporters outside the Senate chambers during the impeachment trial of President Bill Clinton, 1998 (Corbis/AFP)



Snowe, Olympia Jean Bouchles (b. 1947)

The first Greek American woman elected to Congress, Republican Olympia Snowe of Maine served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1979 to 3 January 1995, and she entered the U.S. Senate on 4 January 1995. She held the leadership position of vice chair of the Senate Republican Conference in the 105th and 106th Congresses (1997–2001).

Snowe entered politics while still in college, working as a summer intern for a Democratic governor. After changing her party registration in the late 1960s, she joined the district staff of a Republican member of Congress in 1972. Following the death of her first husband, a state representative, she won the election to fill the vacancy in 1973. She served in the Maine House of Representatives until 1977 and then served in the Maine Senate from 1977 to 1979. While in the state Senate, she became known for her work on health care legislation.

In the U.S. House of Representatives, Snowe worked to change the federal funding formula to give less populous states, like Maine, a larger portion of federal grants. Particularly concerned with energy assistance to low-income families and energy conservation, she successfully fought for the restoration of some of these funds in 1981 and 1982. She also succeeded in pushing for duty-free transportation of steam energy across the Canadian border, supporting it as a form of alternative energy.

Cochair of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, Snowe helped develop the Economic Equity Act and helped pass portions of it. She supports federal funding for family planning and reproductive rights and has worked for employer tax credits for child care. She has sought funding for a local Job Corps center and attempted to keep the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard in Maine open.

Born in Augusta, Maine, Olympia Snowe was the daughter of Greek immigrants. When she was eight years old, her mother died, and then her father died the next year. An aunt and uncle raised her. Snowe earned her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Maine in 1969.

See also Abortion; Child Day Care; Congress, Women in; Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues; Economic Equity Act; State Legislatures, Women in

References www.senate.gov/~snowe/bio.htm.

Social Security

Enacted in 1935, the Social Security Act created a federal old-age assistance program for retired workers and a federal and state program of unemployment insurance, among other programs. Since its creation, Social Security has been amended several times, with some programs moved to other agencies and other programs added to it. These amendments created the Medicare and Medicaid programs and established assistance programs for disabled people and children of disabled or deceased people. The creation of Medicare in 1965, providing for the medical needs of persons ages sixty-five and older, was one of the more important additions to the program. Social Security is financed by employees who pay 7.65 percent of their earnings to the fund, an amount that employers match, and by self-employed people who pay the full 15.3 percent.

For about two-thirds of the nation's elderly population, Social Security provides 50 percent or more of their retirement income. Of the 44 million people receiving Social Security, almost 60 percent are women; the program provides about 90 percent of elderly women's income. This assistance is especially important to women because only 38 percent of women receive pension benefits provided by their employers, whereas 57 percent of men receive them. Between 1965 and 1996, Social Security reduced the percentage of elderly people living below the poverty level from 35.2 percent to 10.8 percent.

Social Security programs also benefit younger Americans. The Social Security Supplemental Income (SSI) program contributes to the support of 3 million children and their sole-caretaker parents. Four million disabled workers under the age of sixty-five and their 1.6 million dependents receive benefits.

References www.ssa.gov; www.now.org.

Socialism

In the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century, socialism appealed to people living with the harshness of factory labor, poverty, and hunger. Women activists like Ella Reeve

Bloor, Dorothy Day, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Emma Goldman, and Kate Richards O'Hare believed that capitalism had enslaved the American laborer and that a Socialist economic system would end the inequities inherent in capitalism. Each of these women as well as others sought to unify laborers through unions or other organizations and use the resulting power to end the abuses of capitalism.

The contemporary meaning of socialism is based upon the writings of Karl Marx, who theorized that history is determined by economic systems. The economic systems dictate society's political, social, and intellectual life. Marx argued that the exploitation of the working class in capitalist society would result in revolution and predicted that a classless society based on communism would replace capitalism. Regarding history through the perspective of class struggle, socialism rejects the primacy of private property and advocates making it into public property and distributing the wealth throughout the population.

In the United States, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), formed in 1905, sought to organize industrial employees into one all-encompassing union that would lead a mass strike and end capitalism. The IWW participated in numerous strikes across the country, provided leadership during the strikes, and organized workers. In the 1910s, Socialist Party candidates won over 1,000 local elections, including dozens of mayors. When Eugene V. Debs ran on the Socialist ticket for president in 1912, he received 6 percent of the vote, the greatest strength the party had demonstrated.

When the United States entered World War I, Socialists became the target of government harassment and attacks, including beatings, arrests, and deportations. Socialist movements gained marginal public support during the Depression years in the 1930s and again during the unrest of the 1960s.

See also Bloor, Ella Reeve Ware Cohen Omholt; Communist Party, USA; Day, Dorothy; Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley; Goldman, Emma; O'Hare, Kathleen Richards

Spellman, Gladys Blossom Noon (1918–1988)

Democrat Gladys Spellman of Maryland served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1975 to 24 February 1981. Spellman began her political career as a member of the Prince George's County Board of County Commissioners from 1961 to 1975. The first woman member elected to the commission, she was also the first woman elected president of the National Association of Counties. As a member of Congress, Spellman worked to protect the interests of federal employees and supported cost-of-living increases for military retirees. She proposed a measure to provide support for pregnant teens through life support centers.

Spellman suffered a heart attack on 31 October 1980 while she was campaigning for another term in the House of Representatives. She won the election but was in a semiconscious state. On 24 February 1981, the House declared her seat vacant because she was unable to discharge the duties of her office. Her husband entered the race to fill the vacancy but did not win the election.

Born in New York, New York, Spellman attended George Washington University and the graduate school of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. She was a public schoolteacher.

See also Congress, Women in; Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues

References Lamson, *In the Vanguard: Six American Women in Public Life* (1979); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Spider Web

An attempt to discredit feminists, the spider web chart was assembled in 1923 by a secretary working in the War Department to demonstrate that women activists had created a network to disarm the United States and promote a Bolshevik takeover of the country. The alleged network included members of the boards of directors of the Women's Trade Union League, the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and other reform organizations. The spider web showed that some women served on more than one board and alleged that their service on multiple boards constituted an interlocking directorate.

Accusations that activist women had unpatriotic goals had emerged before World War I, when suffragists were accused of being Socialists. During the war, suffrage opponents argued that the suffrage effort was a German plot, and after Bolsheviks took over Russia, opponents labeled suffrage a Bolshevik strategy. The Woman Patriots, formerly the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, linked the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921 to Bolshevism and argued in a 1922 pamphlet that the Women's Bureau and its allies were trying to Bolshevize the United States by destroying the family.

After the spider web chart appeared in 1923, the Women's Joint Congressional Committee responded to the allegations, the charts were destroyed, and an apology was given. In 1924, however, an expanded version of the chart appeared in a Dearborn, Michigan, newspaper and was accompanied by articles that were reprinted as pamphlets. The conspiracy theory that developed then argued that the proposed Child Labor Amendment was inspired by Communists, an accusation that became an important factor in the amendment's defeat. In addition, the spider web created

dissent within the accused organizations, weakened them, and significantly contributed to the dissolution of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee.

See also American Association of University Women; Child Labor Amendment; League of Women Voters; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921; Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Women's Joint Congressional Committee

References Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (1973).

Stabenow, Deborah Ann (b. 1950)

Democrat Debbie Stabenow of Michigan entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1997. A leadership training consultant, Stabenow was an Ingham County commissioner from 1975 to 1978 and the commission's chair from 1977 to 1978. She served in the Michigan House of Representatives from 1979 to 1991 and the state Senate from 1991 to 1995. In the legislature, Stabenow worked on child abuse prevention, mental health care, and domestic violence. Her work on state school financing reduced property taxes for Michigan's residents and gained her statewide recognition. She sought the Democratic Party's nomination for governor in 1994 and was the party's unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant governor that year.

Congresswoman Stabenow cosponsored the Computer Donation Incentive Act that provides enhanced tax deductions to businesses that donate computer equipment to schools or tax-exempt charitable organizations. The measure passed as part of a 1997 tax bill. Her priorities include connecting schools to the Internet, training teachers to use computers, tax relief for older citizens, and health insurance for children of low-income families.

Born in Clare, Michigan, Debbie Stabenow received her bachelor of arts degree in 1972 and her master of social work degree in 1975 from Michigan State University.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997); www.house.gov/stabenow/about.

Stalking

The first federal law making it a crime to cross state lines to stalk, that is, to follow a person with the intention of harming or harassing that person, was passed in 1994. Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison amended the law in 1996 to address situations in which the victim and the stalker are not related and to make restraining orders issued in any state valid in all states.

Hutchison explained: “For years, women have been threatened and harassed by stalkers who could not be stopped because there was no prosecutable crime. Most states have stalking laws, but until now, stalkers could not be charged if they went to another state.”

See also Hutchison, Kathryn (Kay) Ann Bailey; Violence Against Women Act of 1994

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 104th Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1996* (1997).

Stanley, Winifred Claire (1909–1996)

Republican Winifred Stanley of New York served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1943 to 3 January 1945. When Stanley accepted the Republican nomination for Congress, she did it with the understanding that it would be for only one term. New York Republican Party leaders wanted to eliminate the party’s two at-large seats and sought candidates willing to retire after one term. Stanley campaigned for Congress on a twelve-point program for winning World War II. She believed that Washington dignitaries should make the same sacrifices for the war as the rest of the nation, and she pledged to seek further protection against sabotage. Congresswoman Stanley proposed a measure for equal pay for equal work and an Equal Rights Amendment.

Following her term in Congress, Stanley served as chief counsel of the New York State Employees’ Retirement System from 1945 to 1955. She was assistant attorney general with the New York State Law Department from 1955 to 1979, when she went into private law practice. She retired in 1986.

Born in the Bronx, New York, Winifred Stanley received her bachelor of arts degree in 1930 and her law degree in 1933, both from the University of Buffalo. She worked for a private law firm until 1938, when she became an assistant district attorney in Erie County, New York, serving there until 1943.

See also Congress, Women in

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography: Who’s News and Why, 1943* (1943); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815–1902)

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was one of the primary organizers of the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, an early proponent of woman suffrage, and among the foremost leaders of the nineteenth-century women’s rights movement. With her friend Susan B. Anthony, Stanton launched the



Elizabeth Cady Stanton (center) with the International Council of Women Executive Committee, 1888 (Library of Congress)

National Woman Suffrage Association in 1869 and through it campaigned across the nation for various state ballot measures for woman suffrage.

Born in Johnston, New York, Stanton graduated from the community's academy in 1830 and wanted to attend college, but no college in the nation admitted women. In 1831, she entered Troy Female Seminary, a school that sought to provide a classical and scientific curriculum to women. After graduating two years later, Stanton returned to her family's home in Johnston.

Stanton married abolitionist agent Henry Stanton 1840, and twelve days after their wedding the couple left for the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. Henry Stanton was a delegate to the convention, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton attended as an observer. Two American female antislavery societies also sent delegates, among them Lucretia Mott. When the convention opened, some male delegates protested seating the female delegates, leading to an extended debate and the convention's refusal to seat the women on the convention floor. Instead, they were relegated to a balcony with other women, among them Elizabeth Stanton.

After spending hours together, Stanton and Mott, a Quaker minister, abolitionist, and feminist, became friends. They discussed women's status and resolved to hold a women's convention as soon as they returned to the United States. Eight years later, the Stantons lived in Seneca Falls, New York, and when Lucretia Mott visited a nearby town, the two women renewed their friendship and finally planned a women's rights convention for the following week. Stanton and Mott drafted the *Declaration of Rights and Sentiments*, based upon the Declaration of Independence, to present

to the attendees. As the convention date approached, Stanton questioned whether anyone would attend a meeting on women's civil, social, and religious status, but on the day of the convention, the sight of women and men making their way to the meeting place reassured her. Because it was considered unseemly for women even to speak in public, Lucretia Mott's husband, James Mott, presided over the convention, held on 19 and 20 July 1848. The declaration created only minimal controversy until the point on woman suffrage was presented. After some debate, it was also accepted. Sixty-eight women and thirty-two men signed the declaration.

The convention placed Stanton in the vanguard of the women's rights movement, even though she essentially remained a housewife in a small town. She did not attend another women's rights convention until 1860. She did, however, begin writing for Amelia Bloomer's *The Lily*, a reform publication; and in 1851, she began wearing the shorter skirt over pants that Bloomer advocated, although she later abandoned it because of the controversy it created.

A partnership that lasted more than fifty years began in 1851, when Susan B. Anthony attended an antislavery meeting in Seneca Falls and met Stanton. A single woman who never married, Anthony had the freedom to travel that Stanton, with her growing family and household, did not have. As their partnership in the women's rights movement developed, Stanton provided ideas, rhetoric, and strategies, and Anthony delivered the speeches, circulated petitions, and organized women's rights groups.

Of the reforms Stanton advocated, one of the most controversial appeared in the 1850s and was a continuing theme: the need to make divorce an option to married women. She believed married women needed to be able to protect themselves by divorcing their husbands because husbands legally owned their wives, their children, and even their wives' clothing. In February 1854, Stanton addressed the New York legislature on the subject. She concluded by saying:

Now, do you candidly think these wives do not wish to control the wages they earn—to own the land they buy—the houses they build? to have at their disposal their own children, without being subject to the constant interference and tyranny of an idle, worthless, profligate? Do you suppose that any woman is such a pattern of devotion and submission that she willingly stitches all day for the small sum of fifty cents, that she may enjoy the unspeakable privilege, in obedience to your laws, of paying for her husband's tobacco and rum? Think you the wife of the confirmed, beastly drunkard would consent to share with him her home and bed, if law and public sentiment would release her from such gross companionship? Verily, no!

During the Civil War, work on women's rights became secondary to efforts supporting emancipation and the war effort. Stanton believed that if women supported the Civil War, they would be granted equal citizenship and equal suffrage as rewards for their patriotism. Stanton spoke and wrote for emancipation and with Anthony formed the Woman's National Loyal League, which collected 400,000 signatures on petitions supporting the Thirteenth Amendment. In 1865, when the Fourteenth Amendment was drafted using the word *male* to define citizens and legal voters, Stanton was outraged and felt betrayed by the abolitionists with whom she had worked and who supported the amendment. She demanded that women as well as former male slaves gain voting rights, but reformers insisted it was "the Negro's hour" and rejected her pleas.

Feeling abandoned by the Republicans who had supported woman suffrage along with emancipation of the slaves, Stanton accepted the help of two people who brought controversy and scorn to her. George Train, a racist Democrat who opposed suffrage for African Americans, was the first. Stanton met him while campaigning for woman suffrage in Kansas in 1867 and accepted his offer to finance a woman's rights publication that they named *The Revolution*. Stanton edited and wrote it, and Anthony managed it. After the first issue, Train left for London and provided no further financial assistance. The other person was Victoria Woodhull, whose presidential candidacy and free love advocacy, arguing that women should have unqualified control over their own reproductive and sexual lives, also created controversies that haunted the women's rights movement for several years.

In 1869, Stanton and Anthony formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), with Stanton as president and Anthony as vice president. Their decision formalized the break between them and many abolitionists and women's rights supporters. NWSA supported a woman suffrage amendment, opposed the Fifteenth Amendment unless woman suffrage was included, and did not permit male members. NWSA's agenda included a broad range of women's rights issues, including divorce. The same year, Lucy Stone organized the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), a group that advocated a state-by-state approach to gain woman suffrage and did not endorse any other issue. The two groups battled for members and for financial support for more than twenty years.

With her children older and less dependent upon her, Stanton expanded her work to include speaking on the lyceum tour from 1871 to 1880. She wrote the first volumes of *The History of Woman Suffrage* with Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage; the first volume was published in 1881 and the second the next year. When the NWSA and AWSA merged in 1890, Stanton was elected president of the newly formed National Amer-

ican Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). She served one term and refused to serve a second.

Stanton created the greatest controversy of her career in 1895, when *The Woman's Bible* was published. In it, Stanton attacked the use of Scripture to justify maintaining women's secondary status and questioned the Bible's authority, which some considered a heretical stance. When NAWSA met in 1896, the convention censured Stanton and distanced itself from her.

Stanton continued to write and publish about woman suffrage, religion, divorce, and related topics the rest of her life. She died before passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

See also American Woman Suffrage Association; Anthony, Susan Brownell; Coverture; Fourteenth Amendment; Gage, Matilda Joslyn; Mott, Lucretia Coffin; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman Suffrage Association; Nineteenth Amendment; Seneca Falls Convention; Stone, Lucy; Suffrage; Woodhull, Victoria Claflin

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State Legislatures, Women in

More than 6,000 women have served in American territorial and state legislatures. Colorado was the first state to elect women to a state legislature in the United States. In 1893, Colorado passed a referendum granting women voting rights, and the next year, the Democratic, Republican, and Prohibitionist Parties each nominated three women for the legislature in an effort to gain the favor of the newly enfranchised women. Three Republican women, Carrie Clyde Holling, Frances S. Klock, and Clara Clesingham, won their races to serve in the Colorado House of Representatives. When Holling gained passage of a bill to raise the age of consent for girls from sixteen to eighteen, she became the first woman in American history to pass a bill in an American legislative body. None of the women ran for a second term, but other women followed them. The first woman to serve in a state Senate was Martha Hughes Cannon, a Democrat, of Salt Lake City, Utah, who served from 1897 to 1901.

The first eleven states that elected women to their legislatures were all west of the Mississippi River. In 1919, New York became the first state east of it to have women in its legislature. The year after women gained suffrage rights through the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, women began serving in nine additional state legislatures, among them New Hampshire. The attorney general of New Hampshire had stated that under common law, women could not hold public office, but the two

women elected to the New Hampshire legislature that year were permitted to take their seats.

Louisiana was the last state of the forty-eight states that were in the Union in 1920 to have women in its legislature. Democrat Doris Lindsey Holland succeeded her deceased husband in 1936 and then won a full term.

Women began serving in the territorial legislatures of Hawaii and Alaska in 1925 and 1937, respectively. In 1959, when Alaska and Hawaii became states, both had women in their legislative bodies. For other U.S. territories the dates are as follows: Puerto Rico, 1933; Guam, 1947; American Samoa, 1953; Virgin Islands, 1953; and the Northern Mariana Islands, 1979.

In 1991, for the first time in American history, women served in every state legislature in the nation. In 1993, every state except Nebraska, which is unicameral, had at least one woman in the House and at least one woman in the Senate.

The first African American woman to serve in a state legislature was Republican Minnie Buckingham Harper, who was appointed to the West Virginia legislature in 1929. She succeeded her deceased husband. The first African American woman elected to a state legislature was Crystal Dreda Bird Fauset, who entered the Pennsylvania legislature in 1938. The first Asian American woman to serve was Democrat Patsy Takemoto Mink, who served in Hawaii's Territorial House of Representatives in 1957, Territorial Senate in 1959, and the Hawaii state Senate from 1963 to 1964. The first Hispanic American women, Republican Fedelina Lucero Gallegos and Democrat Porfirria Hidalgo Saiz, entered the New Mexico House of Representatives in 1931. The first Native American woman to serve in a state legislature, Republican Cora Belle Reynolds Anderson, a La Pointe Band Chippewa, was a member of the Michigan House of Representatives from 1925 to 1926.

From the time women entered legislative service, they have served in leadership positions, some of which are listed below:

- Caucus secretary: Republican Clara Clessingham, Colorado, 1895
- Caucus chair: Populist Mary A. Wright, Idaho, 1899
- Majority leader: Democrat Reva Beck Bosone, Utah, 1935
- Majority whip: Democrat Concha De Ortiz y Pino, New Mexico, 1941
- Speaker: Non Partisan League member Minnie D. Craig, North Dakota, 1933

- Senate president pro tempore: Democrat Louise Holland Coe, New Mexico, 1931
- Senate president: Republican Consuelo Northrop Bailey, Vermont, 1955

Between 1895 and 1921, the number of women serving in state legislatures was uneven, declining to no women in 1905 and 1907, until 1923, when small increases became a weak pattern. In the years from 1923 to 1971, growth was steady but again slow. It was not until 1971 that women made up 4.5 percent of all legislatures. Significant growth in the number of women in state legislatures appeared in the mid-1970s, suggesting that the modern feminist movement influenced the number of women running for and winning seats.

Even with the growth, however, only 22.3 percent of all state legislators (1,652 female state legislators out of 7,424 total state legislators) were women in 1999, more than seventy-five years after women gained suffrage rights. In 1999, the state of Washington had the highest percentage of women (40.8 percent) in its legislature, followed by Nevada with 36.5 percent and Arizona with 35.6 percent. Alabama had the lowest percentage of women, with 7.9 percent; Oklahoma had the next lowest percentage, with 10.1 percent; and Kentucky had 11.6 percent. In 1999, Arkansas's state Senate was the only legislative body that had no women serving in it. Of the women serving in state legislatures in 1999, African American women held 166 seats, Asian American/Pacific Islander women held seventeen seats, Latinas held forty-eight, and Native American women held eleven.

The significance of women serving in state legislatures rests in the additional perspectives that women bring to decisionmaking and the differences in priorities between women and men, regardless of party affiliation. For example, women's top-priority bills more frequently deal with health and welfare issues than men's top-priority bills. Women tend to develop expertise in the areas of health and welfare, whereas men tend to develop expertise in fiscal matters. In addition, the higher the proportion of women legislators, the more likely that women's priority bills will deal with women, children, and families and the more likely that they will win passage. Women legislators have worked for and won changes in rape legislation and social welfare, child care, family violence, divorce, and education policies. Women have also offered and advocated changes in other areas, including tax policy, the environment, economic development, transportation, and agriculture. By adding to the pool of ideas and knowledge, women alter the legislative agenda and expand the options for solving identified problems and for initiating legislative action.

In addition, state legislatures often provide the base from which both

female and male candidates for higher office begin their political careers. For example, of the fifty-six women serving in the 106th Congress (1999–2001), twenty-nine had first served in state legislatures.

See also Bosone, Reva Zilpha Beck; Fauset, Crystal Dreda Bird; Mink, Patsy Matsu Takemoto

References Center for the American Woman and Politics, National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University; Cox, *Women State and Territorial Legislators, 1895–1995* (1996); Thomas, *How Women Legislate* (1994).

Steinem, Gloria Marie (b. 1934)

Feminist, journalist, author, and founder of *Ms.* magazine Gloria Steinem's involvement in feminist activities began in the early 1960s. A dynamic speaker, Steinem quickly emerged as a media celebrity and a leading publicist for feminism. She has argued that sexism and racism are related caste systems and that heterosexism is a form of patriarchy, and she has sought unity with African Americans and lesbians.

One of the ironies of Steinem's ascendancy as a feminist leader involves her physical attractiveness. At a time when women were demanding to be judged on their abilities, intelligence, and skills and not on their physical appearance, Steinem's physical appeal provided reassurance to some women that feminists can be attractive and enjoy the company of men, in addition to having power. This combination of power and sexuality threatened some men while giving her access to other male decision-makers. A late arrival to the feminist movement, Steinem became an instant celebrity within it and in the media.

Born in Toledo, Ohio, Gloria Steinem graduated from Smith College in 1956 after spending her junior year in Geneva, Switzerland, and a summer at Oxford University in England. She went to India on a fellowship for almost two years beginning in 1957. While there, she traveled throughout the country, wrote travel pamphlets and other material, and studied Mahatma Gandhi's strategies of nonviolence. Gandhi's teachings influenced the rest of Steinem's life, including her later involvement with Dolores Huerta's, Cesar Chavez's, and the United Farm Workers' organizational campaigns. She returned to the United States in 1958 and began looking for work in New York but was unsuccessful.

Steinem moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1959 to direct a nonprofit educational foundation that encouraged American youth to attend International Communist Youth Festivals in an attempt to counter Communist influence. Steinem did not know that the foundation was partially funded by the Central Intelligence Agency, but in the 1970s the connection was the basis for an attack on Steinem by radical feminists.

In the early 1960s, Steinem was a freelance journalist, writing for *Esquire*, *Glamour*, *Vogue*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *New York Times Magazine*, and other publications. In 1963, she went underground and applied for a job as a Playboy bunny. She held the job long enough to write an article about the experience. Published in *Show* magazine, the article made her an instant celebrity. In it she exposed the poor working conditions and low wages paid women at the Playboy Club. In 1968, she was a founding editor of *New York* magazine and became one of the country's first female political commentators. During the late 1960s, Steinem also began her career as a political activist when she became involved with Democratic Party politics and worked with Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez for United Farm Workers and their table grape boycott.



While covering a 1969 abortion hearing organized by Redstockings leader Kathie Sarachild in New York, Steinem became aware of her feminist beliefs, describing the event as “the great blinding light bulb” that led to her identifying herself as a feminist. Speaking on behalf of feminism became her next goal, but she was terrified of public speaking and recruited a partner. In 1970, Steinem and African American activist Dorothy Pittman Hughes began addressing groups on the topics of women’s rights and civil rights. Later, one of the people with whom Steinem spoke and traveled was Florynce Kennedy. During a cab ride, the two women were discussing abortion, when the driver said: “Honey, if men could get pregnant, abortion would be a sacrament,” a quote that Steinem and Kennedy often used and one that became part of the movement’s most effective consciousness-raising tools.

In 1971, Steinem joined several veteran feminists to found the National Women’s Political Caucus (NWPC), one of her earlier cooperative efforts with some of the established leaders of the feminist movement. Steinem’s response to Congresswoman Bella Abzug, another NWPC founding member, provides an indication of Steinem’s development as a feminist at the time. She found Abzug’s style too loud and too brash, until Steinem came to realize that she was using a patriarchal definition of appropriate behavior for women. As Steinem’s feminism matured, she admired Abzug for her courage and strength and worked on her subsequent campaigns.

Gloria Steinem, founder of Ms. magazine, whose name became synonymous with the “second wave” of feminism (Courtesy: Ms. magazine)

In 1971, Steinem and Brenda Feigen founded the Women's Action Alliance to help women overcome the barriers they encountered at the local level, including marital abuse and desertion, sexist textbooks, and lack of job opportunities. Enthusiasm for the alliance led to the idea of a newsletter, which Feigen argued should be in a magazine format. *Ms.* magazine evolved from these discussions.

A sample issue of *Ms.* appeared in the 1971 year-end edition of *New York* magazine, and a preview issue was published in the spring of 1972, selling out in eight days despite the skepticism of publishing industry experts. The first regular issue appeared in mid-1972. Steinem brought together a talented staff, including publisher Pat Carbine. Carbine and Steinem attempted to avoid creating a hierarchy in the magazine's organization, but Steinem was and remained the publication's dominant figure, even though she was regularly absent lecturing and raising money to keep it going. Steinem planned to shepherd *Ms.* for a few years and then move to other projects, but its ongoing financial instability kept Steinem at its head for fifteen years.

With high hopes for the magazine's success, Steinem created the Ms. Foundation for Women in 1972 to be the beneficiary of its profits. Steinem believed the foundation would fill a philanthropic gap because at the time there were no foundations that gave money to women as a group or a category. The magazine did not enjoy the financial success that Steinem had hoped for, but the foundation developed its own resources and by the late 1990s had an annual budget of \$6.2 million and an endowment fund of \$10 million.

After the Equal Rights Amendment passed Congress in 1972 and went to the states for ratification, Steinem joined other feminists in traveling the country to develop support for it. Also that year, at the Democratic National Convention, the NWPC chose Steinem for its spokeswoman. Steinem gained further attention at the convention when she and Fannie Lou Hamer nominated Frances "Sissy" Farenthold for vice president of the United States, but Farenthold did not succeed.

Through her work and *Ms.* magazine, Steinem developed a loyal constituency of feminists, but others criticized her. Feminist author Betty Friedan, who had helped launch the modern feminist movement with the publication of *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963, viewed Steinem as a competitor for the leadership of the movement and worked to undermine and discredit her. The two women disagreed on the issues, particularly the movement's responsibility to lesbians. Friedan regarded lesbians as a menace, but Steinem believed that lesbians were an important part of the feminist movement. In 1975, the Redstockings, a radical feminist group, accused Steinem of having a ten-year-long association with the Central

Intelligence Agency, referring to her foundation work in the late 1950s. The Redstockings questioned her loyalty to feminism and implied that she might be an informant. The group also questioned the motives of the Women's Action Alliance and asserted that *Ms.* magazine hurt the feminist movement because it was inadequately radical. The allegations did not have merit, but they did reveal some of the fragmentation within the feminist movement.

In 1977, President Jimmy Carter appointed Steinem to the National Commission on the Observation of the International Women's Year, 1975. The next year, she was a Woodrow Wilson Fellow at the Smithsonian Institution. In 1979, Steinem was a founder of Voters for Choice, an independent political committee organized to support prochoice congressional candidates.

Steinem continued her work with *Ms.* magazine, writing for it and raising money to keep it in business. The readership was stable, but costs had escalated, and the advertising revenue had been a constant disappointment. After she discovered that she had breast cancer in 1986, Steinem felt the need to have fewer responsibilities and wanted the freedom to write. When the opportunity to sell *Ms.* appeared in 1987, she took it and sold the magazine to an Australian communications conglomerate. Steinem remained as a consultant for five years.

Steinem has written *Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions* (1983); *Marilyn*, a biography of Marilyn Monroe (1986); *Revolution from Within: A Book of Self-Esteem* (1992); and *Moving beyond Words* (1994).

See also Abzug, Bella Savitzky; Equal Rights Amendment; *The Feminine Mystique*; Feminist Movement; Friedan, Betty Naomi Goldstein; Huerta, Dolores; Kennedy, Florynce Rae; Ms. Foundation for Women; *Ms. Magazine*; National Women's Political Caucus; Redstockings

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Stewart, Maria W. (1803–1879)

The first woman in the United States to stand on a lecture platform and raise a political issue before an audience of women and men, African American Maria Stewart spoke against a plan to repatriate black Americans to Africa during her lecture on 21 September 1832 in Boston, Massachusetts. An abolitionist and women's rights champion, Stewart urged blacks to demand their human rights from their oppressors and called on women to develop their intellects and participate in the community. According to Stewart, a religious conversion experience had made her a "warrior" obedient to God's will, leading her to protest tyranny, victimization, injustice, and political and economic injustice. In four years, from

1831 to 1835, she wrote the first political manifesto by a black woman, wrote a collection of religious meditations, delivered four public lectures, and compiled her work into a volume of collected works.

Born in Hartford, Connecticut, Stewart was a household servant during her young adolescence and a domestic servant from the time she was fifteen until she married in 1826. Widowed in 1829, she underwent a religious experience that led to her brief public life. She moved to New York in 1834 and taught school there as well as in Baltimore and the District of Columbia. After the Civil War, Stewart was matron of the Freedmen's Hospital.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the; Public Speaking

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Stone, Lucy (1818–1893)

Abolitionist lecturer and suffrage leader Lucy Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell founded the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) in 1869. Stone gained notoriety for retaining her family name after her marriage, and other women who did the same became known as Lucy Stoners.

Born near Brookfield, Massachusetts, Stone yearned for a formal education, for which her father refused her financial assistance. She began teaching when she was sixteen years old, saving her earnings to attend academies and seminaries that would prepare her for a college education. When she entered Oberlin College in 1843, Stone believed that women should vote and run for office, study the professions, and become public speakers for reform causes, philosophies that Oberlin College did not share. Chosen to prepare a graduation essay during her senior year, Stone objected to the college's traditions that permitted male students to read their essays in public but prohibited women from reading theirs, instead having professors present the women's essays. Stone refused to have a professor read her work, and it was not presented. She received her bachelor of arts degree from Oberlin College in 1847, the same year she made her first public speech on women's rights.

After graduating, Stone became an agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society and an independent women's rights lecturer. An accomplished orator, she attracted audiences as large as 3,000 people. Her public speeches also created controversy because it was considered scandalous for a woman to speak before audiences of men and women. The hostility she evoked appeared when people tore down posters announcing her speeches, burned pepper in the audience while she spoke, and threw

prayer books and other items at her. At other times, angry mobs prevented her from speaking.

In 1850, Stone and other suffragists called a national convention on women's rights in Worcester, Massachusetts, which more than 1,000 people attended. In her speeches on women's rights, Stone discarded the notion of "separate spheres" and called for women to define their spheres of work and influence. With equal educational opportunities, she argued, women would find their appropriate sphere. Stone criticized the church, which she believed was committed to the continued subjugation of women, and her outspokenness contributed to her being expelled from the Congregational Church.

Stone also attacked the concept of women losing their personhood in marriage under the laws of coverture. In her lectures, she condemned marriage as little better than chattel slavery for women, but she reserved her greatest criticism for the economic relationship between a woman and a man that marriage laws defined. With other activists of the time, she worked for revisions in married women's property laws that would give women power over their property and earnings. Stone also believed that women should be able to control the number and spacing of their children through male restraint and that women should be able to refuse sex with their husbands. In cases of drunkenness or loveless marriages, she believed that divorce needed to be an option.

Despite her strong views against marriage, Stone married Henry Blackwell in 1855, after years of persistence on Blackwell's part. An abolitionist and feminist, Blackwell shared Stone's views, including her refusal to take his name. During their wedding ceremony, they publicly declared their distaste for the unjust marriage laws of the period, including their objections to laws giving a husband control of his wife's person, of their children, and of her property and earnings and the loss of the wife's legal existence.

Stone continued to lecture until the birth of their daughter in 1857, when she found it difficult to maintain her career and raise a child. After the Civil War, she returned to suffrage work, especially focusing on efforts to remove the word *male* from the proposed Fourteenth Amendment, but she was unsuccessful. In 1867, Stone and Blackwell went to



Lucy Stone, well-known abolitionist and suffragist, founded the American Woman Suffrage Association in 1869 (Library of Congress)

Kansas to campaign for the state's proposed amendments to grant African Americans and women suffrage rights. Upon her return to New York, she learned that Susan B. Anthony, who was also campaigning in Kansas, had used Stone's name in connection with lectures that Anthony and George Train were giving. Stone and many other abolitionists viewed Train, a racist Democrat, with disdain and saw him as a threat to their work because although he supported woman suffrage, he opposed suffrage for African Americans. When both amendments failed, Stone held Train accountable for the losses. She also publicly distanced herself from Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had also aligned herself with Train.

The schism in the woman suffrage movement was formalized in 1869 when Anthony and Stanton formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), and in response Stone organized the AWSA. The next year, Stone and Blackwell began publishing *The Woman's Journal*, which existed for forty-seven years. In the mid-1870s, with the suffrage movement needing new energy, Stone organized local suffrage clubs, which supported both federal and state constitutional amendments.

In 1887, Stone presented a resolution to the AWSA convention to negotiate a merger with the NWSA, and in 1890, the first National American Woman Suffrage Association meeting was held. Stone, too ill to attend, was elected chair of the executive committee. She died three years later.

See also American Woman Suffrage Association; Anthony, Susan Brownell; Coverture; Fourteenth Amendment; Married Women's Property Acts; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman Suffrage Association; Separate Spheres; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage

References Kerr, *Lucy Stone: Speaking Out for Equality* (1992); Matthews, *Women's Struggle for Equality* (1997); Ravitch, ed., *The American Reader* (1990); Spender, *Feminist Theorists* (1983).

Stop ERA

Founded by Phyllis Schlafly in 1972, Stop ERA worked to defeat state and federal Equal Rights Amendments. During the campaign for ratification of the federal Equal Rights Amendment, members effectively lobbied state legislators to vote against ratification. Through its strong grassroots network, members used the media in innovative ways; for example, they gave legislators loaves of bread with notes saying: "I was bred to be a lady and like it that way." Following defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1982, Stop ERA disbanded.

See also Eagle Forum; Equal Rights Amendment; Schlafly, Phyllis Stewart

Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811–1896)

Considered a profoundly political writer, Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote the 1852 novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which deepened antislavery sentiment in the North. Serialized in a magazine beginning in June 1851 and continuing through March 1852, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* exposed tens of thousands of Americans to the human horror of slavery. The characters Stowe created resonated with readers who appreciated a story and who did not read the political tracts and other antislavery material of the time.

Passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act prompted Beecher to write a series of sketches about slavery, and they evolved into *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. By writing a political and dramatic piece, Beecher moved beyond the kind of novel women generally wrote in the mid-nineteenth century. When she met President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War, he reportedly said, "So this is the woman who started the big war."

Born in Litchfield, Connecticut, Stowe was the daughter of Presbyterian minister Lyman Beecher and the sister of Congregational clergyman Henry Ward Beecher and educator Catharine Beecher. She attended Connecticut Female Seminary in 1824.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the

References Scott, *Woman against Slavery: The Story of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (1978).



Harriet Beecher Stowe garnered sympathy for the abolitionist cause with her novel Uncle Tom's Cabin, which was far more political than women's literature of the day
(Library of Congress)

Suffrage

U.S. women gained the vote in 1920 with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The woman suffrage movement had its origins at the 1848 Seneca Falls, New York, convention for women's rights. For the next seventy-two years, women organized, petitioned, marched, and passed state referenda measures in their efforts to become fully enfranchised voters.

For a brief time, New Jersey did not have restrictions against women voting after 1776. If a person owned at least 50 pounds worth of property, had been a resident for at least one year, and was over twenty-one years of



Suffrage parades like this one in New York City advanced the progress of the vote for women, 1913 (Library of Congress)

age, the person was qualified to vote, whether male or female. Because the U.S. Constitution stipulated that anyone who could vote for the most numerous branch of state government could also vote in federal elections, it meant that women could also vote for members of Congress and the president. In 1806, New Jersey changed its constitution, and no woman in the United States could vote because New Jersey women had been the only female voters in the country. The New Jersey experience was an anomaly and did not precipitate the suffrage movement.

The suffrage movement emerged from the abolitionist movement, in which women found their actions limited and their efforts constrained. Frustrated with the social and political restraints placed upon them, some women leaders in the abolitionist movement came to believe that unless they had full citizenship rights, their ability to effectively work for the end of slavery would remain marginal.

The 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London highlighted the limits of women's effectiveness for two women in particular. Lucretia Mott, a U.S. delegate to the convention, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had recently married and had accompanied her husband to the convention, found themselves and other women banished from the meeting floor and relegated to a balcony. While in their forced seclusion, Mott and Stanton resolved to hold a convention on women's rights, but it took eight years for them to act on their decision. The meeting finally took place in

Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 and concluded with acceptance of the *Declaration of Rights and Sentiments*, which included a controversial demand for woman suffrage. The idea of women voting was so radical that some of those who had voted for it during the convention soon reconsidered and asked that their names be removed as signers of the declaration. At a time when married women had virtually no civil, legal, or political rights, the demand for woman suffrage became the basis for ridicule that was intolerable for women less courageous than Stanton.

Stanton, however, persevered, even though her freedom to lecture on women's rights was limited by her responsibilities to her husband and her family, which was young and growing. Although her family responsibilities did not lessen, her effectiveness was greatly enhanced when Susan B. Anthony joined her crusade. A single woman, Anthony had become involved in the temperance movement and the abolitionist movement, lecturing and organizing on behalf of the two reforms. When the two women combined their skills, Stanton developing strategies and writing speeches and articles and Anthony organizing and occasionally delivering the speeches, they made a formidable team for woman suffrage. Of the suffrage leaders in the nineteenth century, Stanton and Anthony became the most notable.

During the years of the Civil War, the women's rights movement moved into the background as the emancipation of slaves and the abolition of slavery moved to the forefront. When Congress considered the proposed Fourteenth Amendment after the war, however, Anthony and Stanton renewed their organizational efforts and began working to change the proposal. The amendment included the word *male* in its definition of citizens, which Anthony and Stanton protested, arguing that abolitionists and suffragists had pledged to support citizenship for women and freed slaves. After Congress approved the amendment with the word *male* in it, Anthony and Stanton opposed its ratification. The two women were further outraged when Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteeing suffrage for freed slaves and did not include women.

Republican leaders insisted that including women in either amendment would have jeopardized its passage, probably because Republicans, the party in power, knew that they could rely on the freed slaves to support them at the polls out of gratitude for ending slavery. Adding women to the voting lists, however, would have increased the numbers of Democrats as well as Republicans. Abolitionist leader Wendell Phillips and others argued that African Americans needed the protections offered by the amendments more than did women. Describing the time as "the Negro's hour," they argued that women needed to be patient and wait.

Instead, Stanton and Anthony formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1869 to work for women's rights, including

woman suffrage. Suffragist Lucy Stone, who did not agree with Anthony and Stanton, responded by organizing the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) the same year. The AWSA accepted the argument that African American men faced a greater and more urgent need for the guarantees of citizenship and enfranchisement. It supported state constitutional amendments for woman suffrage.

The woman suffrage amendment was first introduced in the U.S. Senate in 1868, in both chambers in 1869, and a dozen more times between 1875 and 1888. In 1887, the Senate voted on it but defeated it. Also on the federal level, in 1875 the U.S. Supreme Court decided that the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply to state laws preventing women from voting in *Minor v. Happersett*.

Women first gained voting rights in the West. In 1869, the Wyoming territorial legislature debated a bill introduced by a member who believed in women's right to vote as a part of citizenship. Without a suffrage campaign, the legislature approved the measure as well as others permitting women to serve on juries and hold public offices. Anthony responded to women's enfranchisement by encouraging women to move to the territory. When Wyoming applied for statehood, Congress considered rejecting it because members feared it would encourage woman suffrage elsewhere. The territorial legislature responded with a telegram telling Congress that it would stay out of the Union for 100 years before it would join without woman suffrage. Wyoming entered the Union as a suffrage state.

Utah's territorial legislature enfranchised women in 1870 in the hope that doing so would help preserve and protect Mormon traditions. Legislators also hoped that it would counter some of the bad publicity the territory had received about polygamy, which the Mormon church officially rejected in 1890. When Utah became a state in 1896, its constitution included voting rights for women.

In Colorado, male voters considered woman suffrage in 1877 in the first general election after statehood. Susan B. Anthony and others campaigned in mining towns, saloons, and hotel dining rooms, anyplace they could find an audience. The opposition, however, insisted that if women could vote, married women would argue with their husbands, and single women would never marry. The measure was defeated. Colorado women gained voting rights in 1893.

By 1890, the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association had merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), with Elizabeth Cady Stanton serving as its first president. Despite the successes in the West, the suffrage movement entered a period of stagnation between 1896 and 1910—no

new states granted women suffrage, and the federal amendment was dormant in Congress.

Opposition to the amendment, however, was developing. Opponents argued that the concept of women voting threatened the sanctity of home, marriage, and family; could alter the structure of society; and defied nature. Contending that women's role was to mold children and that men's role was to protect women and children, they asserted that women had a different but equal status in the family with men. The arguments against suffrage also included racism, with antisuffragists stating that black suffrage posed dangers to society and that adding African American women as voters increased the threat. Some proposed limiting suffrage to exceptional citizens, basing the definition on race and class. Another approach expressed concern that if women were voters, they would be less involved in charitable work.

Suffrage leaders worked to invigorate the movement by experimenting with new techniques, organizing at the precinct level, and developing the support of society women with the expectation they would bring increased acceptability to it. In addition, the movement gained an organizational ally when Frances Willard became president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU).

In 1912, Alice Paul, who had been active in the British suffrage movement, joined NAWSA and chaired its Congressional Committee. Paul brought a more militant approach to the U.S. suffrage movement, attracted publicity to it, and raised large sums of money for it. She organized a suffrage parade in Washington, D.C., timed to coincide with President-elect Woodrow Wilson's arrival for his inauguration on 3 March 1913. Instead of greeting Wilson at the train station, the crowds that had been anticipated watched the spectacle of thousands of women marching through the capital. Later that year, Paul separated from NAWSA and formed the Congressional Union, which in 1917 became the National Woman's Party. In 1914, Paul used another strategy from her British experience: vote against the party in power to punish them for not passing the amendment. She told women living in states where they had voting rights to vote against Democrats, regardless of whether the individual candidate supported woman suffrage or not. Fewer Democrats than had been expected won that year. However, in 1916, when she used the same strategy and called upon women to vote against Democratic president Woodrow Wilson, he won in ten of the twelve suffrage states.

When Carrie Chapman Catt, who had been president of NAWSA from 1900 to 1904, accepted the presidency for a second time in 1915, she reorganized the association, introduced the "Winning Plan," and reinvigorated the suffrage movement at the national level. Catt changed the focus

of NAWSA from educating the public to convincing state and federal politicians that suffrage was inevitable. She formed a national press bureau and a publicity council, recruited campaign directors, and established a professional congressional lobby. In two years, NAWSA grew from 100,000 members to 2 million members. In part, the ambitious program Catt developed was possible because a wealthy benefactor had willed \$900,000 to Catt to use for suffrage.

U.S. entry into World War I in 1917, however, created new challenges for suffrage leaders, most of whom were pacifists. Despite their opposition to war in general, Catt and other suffrage leaders pledged their support for the U.S. effort in World War I and served on federal war-related agency boards. NAWSA financially supported several hospitals in Europe, and its members worked for the Red Cross, took nontraditional jobs to free men for fighting, and sold war bonds. The lobbyists suspended their congressional work and toured the states, lecturing on suffrage.

The Woman's Party began picketing the White House in 1917, carrying signs with messages such as "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?" On one day, a riot erupted in which bystanders attacked the pickets and tore their banner, and two of the pickets were arrested for blocking the sidewalk. Catt opposed the attempts to embarrass President Wilson into supporting woman suffrage, but the pickets indirectly helped her by casting her and NAWSA as moderate and giving her increased access to the president.

In January 1918, the House of Representatives voted 274 to 136 in favor of the suffrage amendment, but when the Senate voted on it in October, it failed to pass by two votes. In response to the defeat, NAWSA initiated a campaign to defeat four senators who had voted against it. That November, two of the senators NAWSA had targeted lost their reelection bids as women voters demonstrated their political clout.

In early 1919, the Senate again defeated the suffrage amendment, but in the spring the House again passed it, and less than a month later the Senate passed it and sent the amendment to the states for ratification. By September 1919, seventeen states had ratified the amendment, but thirty-six states were needed before the amendment could be added to the Constitution. NAWSA conducted ratification campaigns in several states, and by August 1920, thirty-five states had ratified. They needed only one more state.

Tennessee seemed an unlikely choice to target for ratification but appeared to be the best option of the states that had not ratified the amendment. The governor called the Tennessee legislature into a special session beginning 9 August 1920. The Tennessee state Senate quickly passed the amendment, but the Tennessee House of Representatives was divided and became the focus of intense lobbying. After two weeks of debate, the voting

in the House began with every indication that the amendment would be defeated with a tie vote. Earlier in the day, the youngest member of the House, Harry Burn, had voted for a motion to table the amendment, which would have killed it. Burn had told his mother, a suffragist, that if ratification needed only one vote, he would vote yes. When the speaker of the Tennessee House of Representatives called his name, Harry Burn voted yes. By that one vote on 18 August 1920, seventy-two years of campaigning came to an end. On 26 August, the secretary of state signed the proclamation certifying final adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment, and 26 million U.S. women gained suffrage rights.

For African American women in the South, however, ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment meant far less than it did for women of European descent. Racism had haunted the suffrage movement since the late 1860s, when the controversies over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments had erupted. NAWSA shunned African American women who supported the amendment, fearing that association with them would make it more difficult to gain congressional passage and ratification of it, even though black women and men supported woman suffrage more than white women and men. In addition, NAWSA leaders believed that if black women were admitted to the organization, white women in every region of the country would object, hurting NAWSA fund-raising efforts and public image and causing dissension among members.

In 1916, both the Democratic and the Republican platforms called for state action on suffrage, in deference to southern racists. Several southern states had passed laws that denied African Americans their right to vote, and they wanted to continue that exclusion. They feared a federal amendment would involve federal enforcement and result in both African American women and men gaining full suffrage rights. Northern suffrage leaders, including Carrie Chapman Catt, used racist rhetoric in their speeches, especially to southern audiences. She claimed that white women needed the vote to overcome the votes of African American and immigrant men.

For example, in 1919, an affiliate of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) attempted to join NAWSA and through its membership demand suffrage protection for African American women. They sought protection by adding congressional enforcement of the suffrage amendment in an effort to subvert southern states' intentions to disenfranchise black women. NAWSA refused to admit NACW, fearing that the enforcement provisions it wanted would hamper ratification of the suffrage amendment. The suffrage amendment passed without the protections NACW had sought. Between 1920 and 1940, southern states disenfranchised black women, comprising 75 percent of all African American women. Southern black women did not gain full suffrage rights until the

civil rights movement of the 1960s and the passage of the Voting Rights Act and other measures in that decade.

For African American women living in the South, passage of the Nineteenth Amendment accomplished far less than for white women. African American women and men continued to be disenfranchised by state laws, including literacy tests, that acted as barriers to voter registration. As early as 1921, black women appealed to the League of Women Voters and the National Woman's Party for assistance in eliminating these barriers. Those groups responded by insisting that the problems were race issues and not women's issues and did nothing to help remedy the problems.

African American women continued to work for voting rights, attempting to register themselves and their families, neighbors, and friends. Although often threatened with violence and frequently the targets of violence and despite their persistence and dedication, African American women were generally overshadowed by the greater visibility given to African American men.

See also American Woman Suffrage Association; Anthony, Susan Brownell; Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman; Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; *Minor v. Happersett*; National American Woman Suffrage Association; National Association of Colored Women; National Woman Suffrage Association; National Woman's Party; Nineteenth Amendment; Paul, Alice; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Stone, Lucy

References Berry, *Why ERA Failed* (1986); Flexner and Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (1996); Graham, *Woman Suffrage and the New Democracy* (1996).

Sullivan, Leonor Kretzer (1902–1988)

Democrat Leonor Sullivan of Missouri served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1953 to 3 January 1977. Married to Representative John Sullivan, Leonor Sullivan was active in the Democratic Party, served on his staff, and was his campaign manager. When he died in office, Leonor Sullivan wanted to run for his seat, but Democratic Party leaders would not support her candidacy and gave the nomination to a man who lost the election. In 1952, Sullivan won the seat.

Sullivan believed that women were deeply concerned about consumer issues. She successfully initiated and passed the Poultry Products Inspection Act of 1957. She was responsible for passing legislation that banned cancer-inducing agents in food, that required testing of all chemical additives to food, and that tightened controls on the manufacture and distribution of several prescription drugs. She introduced and guided the passage of the Consumer Credit Protection Act of 1968 (known as the

truth in lending act) and the Fair Credit Reporting Act. She wrote the first Food Stamp Law in 1959 and the expanded version of it in 1964.

The only woman in Congress to vote against the Equal Rights Amendment, she argued that it would outlaw protective legislation for women and make women subject to the military draft. She explained: “ERA says you are my equal. . . . I think I’m a whole lot better.” She held the leadership position of secretary of the Democratic Caucus in the 86th to 93rd Congresses (1959 through 1975). Sullivan retired from Congress in 1977.

Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Sullivan worked at a telephone company and attended night school at Washington University. She taught at a local business school until her marriage to John Sullivan in 1941.

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Pay Act of 1963; Equal Rights Amendment

References Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); Kaptur, *Women of Congress: A Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (1996); Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Nixon/Ford Years* (1979).

Sumner, Jessie (1898–1994)

Republican Jessie Sumner of Illinois served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1939 to 3 January 1947. Sumner entered politics after her uncle, a county judge, died, and she ran to fill the vacancy. Her opposition to the New Deal and her disapproval of President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s other programs led her to run for Congress in 1938. As a member of Congress, Sumner opposed the draft and any U.S. involvement in World War II, arguing that it could be avoided. However, she supported child day care to help mothers working for the war effort. Her isolationist views continued after the war, when she opposed U.S. participation in the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. She also opposed price controls, housing subsidies for veterans, and congressional pensions. Sumner declined to run in 1946 and returned to the family business, becoming president of Sumner National Bank.

Born in Milford, Illinois, Jessie Sumner studied economics at Smith College, taking classes from Chase Going Woodhouse, who would later be a congressional colleague. Sumner graduated from Smith College in 1920 and studied law at the University of Chicago, Oxford University in England, Columbia Law School, and New York University School of Commerce. She was admitted to the Illinois bar in 1923. After working for the Chase National Bank of New York, she returned to Milford in 1932 to practice private law.

See also Congress, Women in; Woodhouse, Chase Going

References Gaer, "A Study of the Activities of Women in Congress with Special References to the Careers of Margaret Chase Smith, Mary T. Norton, and Edith Nourse Rogers" (1952); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography: Who's News and Why, 1945* (1945).



Talbert, Mary Morris Burnett (1866–1923)

An organizer for and leader in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Mary Talbert helped organize NAACP branches in Texas and Louisiana, served on the NAACP board, and was NAACP vice president from 1918 to 1923. When lynchings increased after World War I, Talbert organized and was national director of the NAACP's antilynching campaign. The campaign sought to unite 1 million women against lynching, to raise \$1 million to support federal legislation against lynching, and to petition the government to pass the measure. Talbert formed a group of women that publicized the effort and obtained endorsements from white women's groups for it. They also asked women to hold meetings with local ministers to convince them to preach antilynching sermons.

Talbert's activism began with her membership in women's clubs and continued with her leadership in the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). She was NACW's parliamentarian from 1910 to 1912, chaired the executive board from 1912 to 1924, was vice president—at-large from 1914 to 1916, and was president from 1916 to 1920. During her presidency, NACW paid the mortgage on Frederick Douglass's home and in 1920 became its owner.

Born in Oberlin, Ohio, Talbert earned her S.P. degree in 1886 from Oberlin College. Recipients of the degree later received a bachelor of arts degree; Talbert received hers in 1896. She taught at Bethel University in Little Rock, Arkansas, and became its assistant principal in 1887. Later in

the year, she became principal of Union High School in Little Rock. Following her marriage in 1891, Talbert's teaching career ended because school rules prohibited married women from teaching.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; National Association of Colored Women

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993).

Tauscher, Ellen (b. 1951)

Democrat Ellen Tauscher of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1997. Congresswoman Tauscher has introduced measures to reform the nation's child care system and to rebuild schools. She obtained more than \$2 billion for the San Francisco Bay Area transportation system and \$33 million for highway projects in her congressional district. Her other priorities include passing a constitutional amendment for a balanced budget and balancing the federal budget. She supports environmental protection, the assault weapons ban, the Brady gun law, and the death penalty. In her first term, Tauscher was vice chair of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and was one of only two women in the House Democratic leadership.

Born in East Newark, New Jersey, Tauscher received her bachelor of science degree in early childhood education from Seton Hall University in 1974. She began her career working for a financial securities firm on Wall Street. From 1976 to 1989, she held a seat on the New York Stock Exchange, leaving to move to California.

Tauscher founded ChildCare Registry, a national research service to help parents verify the background of child care workers, in 1992 and published *The ChildCare Sourcebook* in 1996. She also became an advocate for children of working families and directed the Tauscher Foundation, which provided funds for computer equipment in elementary schools. She cochaired Dianne Feinstein's campaigns for the 1992 special election to the U.S. Senate from California and for the full term in 1994.

See also Brady, Sarah Jane Kemp; Congress, Women in; Feinstein, Dianne Goldman

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1998* (1997); Sample, "California's Newest 'New Democrat'" (1997); www.house.gov/tauscher.biograph.htm.

Taylor v. Louisiana (1975)

In *Taylor v. Louisiana*, the U.S. Supreme Court found that Louisiana's functional exclusion of women from juries violated the Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments. Fourteen years earlier, the Court had ruled in *Hoyt*

v. Florida (1961) that gender discrimination in jury selection did not violate constitutional rights and that women had responsibilities in the home that held precedence over jury duty. In *Taylor*, the Court pointed to women's labor force participation as evidence that women's lives and responsibilities were not limited to the home.

At that time in Louisiana, a woman could not be selected for jury duty unless she had filed a written declaration of her desire to be a juror. In this case, Billy Taylor had been indicted for kidnapping, but because there were no women on the jury, he claimed that he would be deprived of "a fair trial by a jury of a representative segment of the community."

Although Louisiana's system did not disqualify women, the Court wrote: "Louisiana's special exemption for women operates to exclude them from petit juries, which in our view is contrary to the commands of the Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments." The decision ended the gender discrimination in jury selection that women had fought since the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 and more consistently attempted to end since the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women suffrage rights in 1920.

See also Fourteenth Amendment; *Hoyt v. Florida*; Juries, Women on; Nineteenth Amendment; Seneca Falls Convention

References Ginsburg, "Gender in the Supreme Court: The 1973 and 1974 Terms" (1976); *Taylor v. Louisiana*, 419 U.S. 522 (1975).

Temperance Movement, Women in the

Women's involvement in the temperance movement began in the 1840s, a time when married women's legal dependence upon their husbands made them financially vulnerable. An alcoholic husband could consume not only his income and financial resources but his wife's as well, leaving her and her children destitute. Several temperance organizers also became women's rights advocates after concluding that without political power they had little hope of accomplishing their goals. The temperance movement prompted the founding of the first newspaper edited and published by a woman in the United States, *The Lily: A Ladies Journal Devoted to Temperance and Literature*. Founded in 1849 by Amelia Bloomer in Seneca Falls, New York, *The Lily* added women's rights to the issues it advocated. Other early temperance leaders who became women's rights leaders include Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

In the 1870s, the temperance movement entered a new phase with the formation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Under the leadership of Frances Willard, WCTU president from 1879 to 1898, the WCTU expanded its agenda to include advocacy for woman

suffrage. Women in the WCTU and other organizations significantly contributed to the passage in 1917 and the ratification in 1919 of the Eighteenth Amendment prohibiting alcohol in the United States.

In 1929, Pauline Sabin of New York called together two dozen women and formed the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform (WONPR), dedicated to the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. WONPR advocated temperance and argued that Prohibition had increased alcohol use, crime, and political corruption in addition to contributing to the general disregard for the law. By the 1932 elections, the organization had more than 1 million members, who through grassroots networks and state and national organizations pressured political candidates to support repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. WONPR endorsed candidates, generally Democrats, and campaigned for them. After Congress passed the Twenty-first Amendment repealing the Eighteenth Amendment, WONPR members helped organize state ratification conventions. The process was completed in less than a year.

See also Anthony, Susan Brownell; Bloomer, Amelia Jenks; Coverture; Mott, Lucretia Coffin; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Stone, Lucy

References Flexner and Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, enlarged edition (1996); Kyvig, "Women against Prohibition" (1976).

Terrell, Mary Eliza Church (1863–1954)

Lecturer, political activist, and educator Mary Church Terrell committed herself to improving the lives of African American women. She served as the first president of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) and led the new organization's development of its programs. In 1909, she helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the 1940s, she provided leadership in a successful effort to desegregate restaurants in Washington, D.C.

Born in Memphis, Tennessee, Mary Church Terrell was born the same year that President Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing African Americans from slavery, including Terrell's parents. Wanting a good education for their daughter, her parents sent her from Memphis, Tennessee, with its segregated schools, to an elementary school associated with Antioch College in Ohio. She attended Oberlin Academy during her high school years and earned her bachelor of arts degree in 1884 and her master of arts degree in 1888, both from Oberlin College. She also taught from 1885 to 1888. Traveling in Europe with her father in the late 1880s, Terrell studied languages, learning French and German.

She married Robert H. Terrell in 1891 and became a homemaker because married women could not teach in public schools, although she did

teach in the Colored Women's League's night school. In 1895, Terrell received an appointment to the District of Columbia Board of Education, making her one of the first African American women on a U.S. school board. She later served again on the board from 1906 to 1911.

Terrell began her long association with women's clubs in 1891, joining the Colored Women's League of Washington, D.C. (CWL), which sought to improve black women's lives. In 1896, the CWL and the National Federation of Afro-American Women, an association of local black women's clubs, merged into the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) and elected Terrell president. NACW was the first national network of communication among black women, providing them with information about events across the country.

African American women had begun forming women's clubs at about the same time as white women, but African American women had to form their own associations because of the racial prejudice of white women who did not permit them to participate in their clubs. The extent of the prejudice is apparent from an event in 1900. When the General Federation of Women's Clubs held its convention, Terrell was denied the opportunity to offer them greetings on behalf of NACW because of the objections of southern white women.

As president of NACW, Terrell established the organization's monthly newsletter, *National Notes*, organized biennial conventions with art and literature exhibits, and trained women in leadership. She encouraged local clubs to create kindergartens and day nurseries, and she raised the money to hire a kindergarten adviser to motivate and help clubs open them. More than a dozen facilities had opened by 1901. She also led the formation of Mother's Clubs, which taught housekeeping and child-rearing skills. Several clubs also opened homes for girls. Terrell stepped down in 1901 because the NACW constitution prohibited anyone from serving more than two consecutive terms.

By the mid-1890s, Terrell had become a professional lecturer, speaking at Chautauquas, forums, and universities across the nation. In the course of her travels she encountered the South's segregation laws and the



Mary Church Terrell, first president of the National Association of Colored Women, fought against segregation and lynching, ca. 1890 (Library of Congress)

inhumanity of them. Those experiences led to her commitment to interracial understanding and her conviction about the importance of communication between the races. She wrote articles about the accomplishments of African Americans, criticized the white press for its stereotypical articles about blacks, and attempted to educate whites about blacks and their lives. She decried lynching and exposed the lies behind the myth that black men were lynched in retaliation for raping white women, and she described the inhumanity of the convict lease system.

During World War I, Terrell helped support the war effort by working at the War Risk Insurance Bureau but was dismissed because of her race. She then went to work at the Census Bureau, but the humiliation of the federal government's segregation policies led her to resign the position.

Terrell was also active in other political movements. She had met suffrage leader Susan B. Anthony in 1898, and the two women had become friends. Even though she was aware of the racism within the suffrage movement, she lectured on the topic and worked for passage of the woman suffrage amendment. After ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, she worked for the National Republican Committee as the director of black women in the eastern division. From 1929 to 1930, Terrell organized black women for Ruth Hanna McCormick's campaign for the U.S. Senate.

After World War II, Terrell changed the emphasis of her work from racial understanding to a more militant approach. In 1946, she applied to the District of Columbia chapter of the American Association of University Women (AAUW), was rejected on the basis of race, and appealed to the organization's national board, which decided in Terrell's favor. In 1948, AAUW approved a new national bylaw that prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, religion, or politics. Terrell and two other African American women joined the District of Columbia chapter in 1949.

She began another desegregation campaign in 1949. The district had passed laws in the 1870s requiring service in public accommodations regardless of color, but when the district's legal code was written in the 1890s, the laws were disregarded and segregation became the norm. Research showed that the laws had not been repealed, and Terrell formed a committee to enforce the district's antidiscrimination laws. As chair of the Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of District of Columbia Anti-Discrimination Laws in 1949, she recruited the support of labor, religious, women's, and civic organizations. In 1950, an interracial party of four requested service at Thompson's Restaurant, but the three black people in the group were not permitted to purchase food. They filed a complaint that the municipal court dismissed. The next year, Terrell led a sit-in at Kresge's lunch counter, and after six weeks, the management changed its policy and began serving African Americans. The same year,

Terrell led a boycott and a picket line at Hecht Company, a department store that had segregated lunch counters. After four months, the management capitulated. Terrell was ninety years old when she led these and other demonstrations in the District of Columbia. In 1953, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in *District of Columbia v. John Thompson*, the owner of the first restaurant that had refused Terrell and her party service, that the laws from the 1870s were in force, and the district began to be desegregated.

Terrell wrote *The Progress of Colored Women: An Address Delivered before the National American Woman Suffrage Association* (1898), *Harriet Beecher Stowe: An Appreciation* (1911), *Colored Women and World Peace* (1932), and *A Colored Woman in a White World* (1940).

See also American Association of University Women; Anthony, Susan Brownell; Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; National Association of Colored Women; Suffrage

References Jones, *Quest for Equality: The Life and Writings of Mary Eliza Church Terrell, 1863–1954* (1990).

Thomas, Lera Millard (1900–1993)

Democrat Lera Thomas of Texas served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 26 March 1966 to 3 January 1967. When her husband died in office, Lera Thomas won the special election to fill the vacancy. During her brief tenure in Congress, Thomas sought appropriations for a laboratory in Houston and for the Houston Ship Channel, both projects that her husband had advocated. She did not run for another term.

Born in Nacogdoches, Texas, Lera Thomas attended Brenau College and the University of Alabama. In 1968, Thomas was special liaison for the *Houston Chronicle* to members of the armed forces in Vietnam.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Thompson, Ruth (1887–1970)

Republican Ruth Thompson of Michigan served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1951 to 3 January 1957. Congresswoman Thompson worked for public library services in rural areas, programs to stimulate the growth of low-cost electric power from a variety of sources, and the establishment of a Department of Peace. Her other interests included flood control and drainage projects. Thompson was defeated in the 1956 primary election.

Born in Whitehall, Michigan, Ruth Thompson graduated from

Muskegon Business College in 1905. From 1918 to 1924, she worked in a law office and studied law at night.

Elected probate judge in Muskegon County, she served from 1925 to 1937. After serving in the Michigan House of Representatives from 1939 to 1941, she worked in the civilian personnel section of the adjutant general's office from 1942 to 1945 and served in the adjutant general's bureau at Headquarters Command in Frankfurt, Germany, and Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1945 and 1946. She returned to private law practice in 1946.

See also Congress, Women in; State Legislatures, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology (1986)

In *Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected four provisions of the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act of 1982 on the basis that they subordinated a woman's privacy interests and concerns in an effort to dissuade her from having an abortion. The invalidated provisions called for a physician to tell a woman seeking an abortion that the father had a financial responsibility for the support of a child and that medical assistance could be available if she chose to continue the pregnancy. The physician was also required to inform the woman of any physical, medical, or psychological risks involved in the abortion. Another rejected provision required the physician to report the identity of the physicians involved in the procedure and information that would permit the ready identification of the woman who had the abortion. The last provision required, in postviability abortions, that two physicians be in attendance; in addition, the physicians had to use the abortion technique most likely to preserve the life of the fetus, even if it placed the woman at risk, and there was no exception for emergency abortions, which also placed the woman's life at risk.

The Court overturned part of *Thornburgh* when it decided *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* (1992) and permitted states to require informed consent.

See also Abortion; *Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*; *Bellotti v. Baird*; *Bray v. Alexandria Clinic*; *Colautti v. Franklin*; *Doe v. Bolton*; *Harris v. McRae*; *Hodgson v. Minnesota*; *Ohio v. Akron Center*; *Planned Parenthood Association of Kansas City, Mo. v. Ashcroft*; *Planned Parenthood of Central Missouri v. Danforth*; *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*; *Poelker v. Doe*

References *Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, 476 U.S. 747 (1986).

Thurman, Karen L. (b. 1951)

Democrat Karen Thurman of Florida entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1993. Congresswoman Thurman has worked to apply the concepts of risk assessment and cost benefit analysis to government decisions and to lift the burden of unfunded federal mandates from state and local governments. She has advocated changes in the Medicaid funding formula to better reflect a state's needs and has sought to reimburse Florida for the costs associated with its immigrant population.

Thurman supports reproductive rights and reduction of the budget deficit by cutting outmoded military projects and increasing taxes on foreign corporations. She opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) because the citrus and peanut crops grown in her area compete with Mexican products, and thus NAFTA created an economic threat to farmers in her district.

Thurman served on the Dunnellson City Council from 1975 to 1983 and was mayor from 1979 to 1981. She served in the Florida Senate from 1983 to 1993, where she worked on environmental issues. She called for greater use of solar energy and worked to clean up leaky underground petroleum tanks, and she sought to protect Florida's drinking water and preserve wetlands. She also worked on consumer protection and education.

Born in Rapid City, South Dakota, Thurman earned her associate's degree from Santa Fe Community College in 1971 and her bachelor of arts degree from the University of Florida in 1973.

See also Congress, Women in; Reproductive Rights; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); www.house.gov/thurman/about.htm.

Triangle Shirtwaist Company Fire

On 25 March 1911, the muffled sound from an explosion in New York City's Asch Building was the first indication of the fire in which 145 women employees of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company died. After the explosion, smoke billowed from windows on the eighth floor, and flames soon followed. People on the street watched in horror as the only fire escape collapsed with women climbing down it. The fire moved so quickly that some women died at their sewing machines, and other women died trying to escape through an exit door that was locked. Still other women died from jumping out of the building.

The building owners and the owners of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company had been alerted to the many fire hazards that existed at their property. Flammable materials were scattered on the floor, doors opened inward, the stairwells were narrow and drafty, and the building had no

sprinklers. The company owners were tried for manslaughter and were found not guilty.

One of those who witnessed the fire was Frances Perkins, who served as a chief investigator for the Factory Investigation Commission that was formed after the fire. The commission's recommendations included passing a fifty-four-hour workweek and a new industrial code, both of which New York enacted.

See also Perkins, Frances (Fanny) Corlie

References Wertheimer, *We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America* (1977).

Truth, Sojourner (ca. 1797–1883)

African American Sojourner Truth made herself a force in nineteenth-century reform movements, denouncing slavery and slavers and advocating freedom, women's rights, woman suffrage, and temperance. An illiterate itinerant preacher, she helped propel the reform movements on which she centered her life.

Sojourner Truth's names reveal much about her. Born a slave in Hurley, New York, and given the name Isabella, she took the name of the Van Wagener family who bought her freedom when she was an adult, as well as her youngest child's freedom. The last shackles of slavery ended when New York abolished it on 4 July 1827. Religious experiences beginning in 1827 endowed her with the power of the Holy Spirit and transformed her into a powerful and moving preacher. In 1843, on the day of Pentecost, she changed her name to Sojourner Truth, which means "itinerant preacher."

While living at a religious commune in Massachusetts, Sojourner Truth met Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, and other reform leaders and became part of a network of antislavery activists. She made her first antislavery speech in 1844 and appeared at her first large women's rights meeting in 1850. She helped support herself by selling copies of her autobiography, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth: A Northern Slave Emancipated from Bodily Servitude by the State of New York, in 1828*.

Sojourner Truth's speech at the 1851 Ohio Women's Rights Convention, commonly known as her "Ain't I a Woman" speech, contributed to her growing national celebrity and her stature as a symbol of strength and leadership. Some circumstances on the day of the speech and her words may have been enhanced by the desire to make her an even more dramatic figure than she was in reality. The traditionally accepted version of the speech and its circumstances was written twelve years after the event. It places her in a hostile crowd, has her speaking in dialect, and includes the refrain "and ain't I a woman?" But she may not have used the phrase. An article published in the *Salem Anti-Slavery Bugle* on 21 June 1851 offered

Sojourner Truth, preacher and abolitionist, participated in many suffragist conventions and became famous for her "Ain't I a Woman" speech, ca. 1850s (Library of Congress)



a different account, which was written by the convention secretary and is the one that Sojourner Truth's most recent biographer regards as the more accurate. Although she may have spoken in dialect, the story does not reflect that. In addition, the audience was not hostile, and the article does not include any references to "and ain't I a woman?" In part, the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* report reads:

I have as much muscle as any man, and can so as much works as any man. I have plowed and reaped and husked and chopped and mowed, and can any man do more than that? I have heard much about the sexes being equal; I can carry as much as any man, and can eat as much too, if I can get it. I am as strong as man that is now. As for intellect, all I can say, is a woman have a pint and man a quart—why cant she have her little pint full? You need not be afraid to give us our rights for fear we will take too much,—for we cant take more than our pint'll hold. The poor men seem to be all in confusion, and don't know what to do. Why children, if you have woman's rights give it to her and you will feel better.

The reporter concluded with “The power and wit of this remarkable woman convulsed the audience with laughter.”

After the Civil War, a rancorous debate developed over the wording of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It included the word *male*, which white feminists wanted removed. The debate continued when the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteeing suffrage to former slaves was introduced and did not extend the right to women. Most male and black abolitionists, saying it was the “Negro’s hour,” did not want to imperil black men’s suffrage by adding references to woman suffrage. Truth joined white feminists, arguing that if black men could vote, but black women could not, “colored men will be masters over the women, and it will be just as bad as it was before.” When the women’s rights movement split into two camps, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) and the National Woman Suffrage Association, however, Truth aligned herself with the more conservative AWSA, which supported the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Until her death, Sojourner Truth remained active in public affairs, primarily serving as an advocate for new arrivals in Washington, D.C., who had been slaves. She worked with the Freedmen’s Bureau and with private relief agencies. She also developed a plan to help freed people move to Kansas but was unable to convince Congress to support it. In 1879, however, the state became the destination for many African Americans from the Deep South.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the; Fifteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment

References Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, a Symbol* (1996).

Tubman, Harriet (ca. 1820–1913)

Harriet Tubman escaped slavery and made at least nineteen trips from the North into the southern slave states to conduct more than 300 slaves into

freedom. She was called “Moses” for her work freeing slaves. Of her work, Tubman said: “I never ran my train off the track and I never lost a passenger.”

Born in Dorchester County near Cambridge, Maryland, Harriet Tubman was named Araminta Ross but adopted her mother’s name. Her parents were probably Ashantis, a West African warrior people. From the time Harriet Tubman was about five years old, she was rented to neighboring families to do housekeeping, split fence rails, load timber, nurse children, and perform other tasks. When she was about thirteen years old, Tubman suffered a serious head injury when she attempted to protect another slave and was hit with a two-pound weight. During her long convalescence, she thought about slavery from a philosophical perspective. She prayed for her master to free her and her family but learned that he planned to send them to a chain gang in the Deep South.

Through her philosophy and prayer, she developed self-reliance, courage, and strength of purpose. Two events helped shape her future: she married a free black man, and she learned that her mother should have been freed upon the death of her former owner. Tubman escaped to freedom in Pennsylvania in 1849 and worked as a cook and domestic.

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 significantly increased the risks for African Americans who had found freedom in the North because they had legally become fugitive slaves. After passage of the law, Tubman became involved with the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, a group that assisted fugitive slaves. Through this group, Tubman organized her first return to the South and learned that the slaves she was to accompany included her sister and her children. In the spring of 1851, she made the trip and took them to freedom in Canada. By 1857, she had freed her entire family, including her parents.

Tubman’s excursions to the South involved constant danger. The threat to her safety was made greater because she could neither read nor write, but she was creative and could quickly develop alternative strategies. For example, while in a small southern town accompanying some slaves to freedom, she purchased railway tickets to a destination further south. She hoped that observers would dismiss them, believing that slaves would not go south to escape. The ruse worked. A reward of \$12,000 was offered for her capture at one point, and in 1858 it reached \$40,000.

During the Civil War, Tubman went to South Carolina and Florida to nurse sick and wounded soldiers and to teach newly freed blacks the skills to take care of themselves. She organized African American men to scout the inland waterway of South Carolina for Union raids and assisted in a raid in the Combahee area.

After the war, she went to her home in Auburn, New York, the place

that had been her base for several years. She helped the poor and disabled and worked with the black churches that had supported her career on the Underground Railroad. She purchased land for the Harriet Tubman Home for Aged and Indigent Colored People in 1896 and opened it in 1908.

During World War II, a liberty ship was christened the *Harriet Tubman*.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the; Anthony, Susan Brownell

References Mabunda, ed., *Contemporary Black Biography*, vol. 9 (1995); Smith, ed., *Epic Lives* (1993).



National Economic Advisor Laura D'Andrea Tyson talked to the press about the budget impasse, 1996 (Associated Press AP)

Tyson, Laura D'Andrea (b. 1947)

Laura D'Andrea Tyson served as chair of the Council of Economic Advisers from 1993 to 1995 and chair of the National Economic Council from 1995 to 1997. Tyson began her professional life as a staff economist at the World Bank and then taught at Princeton University. In 1978, she began teaching at the University of California at Berkeley, where she became known for her ability to explain complex economic concepts in interesting and comprehensible ways. She became a full professor in 1988. While at Berkeley, she also served as research director of the Berkeley Roundtable on International Economics.

Tyson met then Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton in August 1992. Clinton had gathered a group of economists to explore ways to slow the

decline in U.S. manufacturing. Tyson offered ideas for providing seed money to companies with promising technologies and other approaches that appealed to Clinton. After his election, Clinton invited Tyson to serve as chair on the three-member Council of Economic Advisers.

Tyson described her view of the government's role in the market: "The market does many things very well, but there is a rationale for the government doing things that the market doesn't do very well. The role of the Council of Economic Advisers is to help evaluate when there is a defensible role for a government policy and whether government policy in pursuit of that objective is efficient."

As a council member, Tyson and others convinced President Bill Clinton to limit his plans for reducing the federal deficit in order to protect the nation's economic recovery. She also advocated a \$16 billion economic stimulus package, but the U.S. Senate killed it. An expert in foreign trade, Tyson was instrumental in articulating the administration's "demand that our trading partners open their market to their exports as ours are open to them."

In 1995, Clinton appointed Tyson chair of the National Economic Council, a group that includes the president, vice president, and members of the cabinet. As chair, Tyson was responsible for managing economic policymaking throughout the executive branch. She also sat on the National Security Council and the Domestic Policy Council.

Born in Bayonne, New Jersey, Tyson earned her bachelor of arts degree from Smith College in 1969 and her doctoral degree from Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1974.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1996* (1996); *New York Times*, 15 March 1993.

U

UAW v. Johnson Controls (1991)

In *UAW v. Johnson Controls*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that Johnson Controls's policy of refusing to hire women for certain jobs in order to protect them from workplace hazards violated the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978. A battery manufacturer, Johnson Controls prohibited pregnant women and women capable of bearing children from holding jobs that involved exposure to lead, one of the materials used in batteries and one that poses risks to fetuses. The policy offered fertile men but not fertile women the option of working in the restricted areas and required only women to produce proof that they could not bear children.

The Court noted that unless pregnant employees differ from others “in their ability or inability” to work, “they must be treated the same” as other employees under the Pregnancy Discrimination Act. In its decision, the Court wrote: “It is no more appropriate for the courts than it is for individual employers to decide whether a woman's reproductive role is more important to herself and her family than her economic role. Congress has left this choice to the woman as hers to make.”

See also Employment Discrimination; Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978

References *UAW v. Johnson Controls*, 499 U.S. 187 (1991).

United States v. Virginia (1996)

In *United States v. Virginia*, the Commonwealth of Virginia defended the single-sex policy at Virginia Military Institute (VMI), an all-male college, on the basis that its mission was to produce citizen-soldiers, that is, men

who were trained to be leaders in civilian life and military service. The U.S. Supreme Court restated its earlier opinion in *Mississippi University v. Hogan* that gender-based government actions must have an “exceedingly persuasive justification” and decided that Virginia had not met the standard and that it had violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In addition, the Court did not accept Virginia’s establishment of a parallel program for women at another institution as an alternative to admitting women to VMI.

The case began when a female high school student seeking admission to VMI filed a complaint with the attorney general, resulting in the United States suing the Commonwealth. As the case progressed through the courts, Virginia developed a plan that left VMI an all-male institution and created a parallel program, the Virginia Women’s Institute for Leadership (VWIL). Although a lower court approved the VWIL alternative, the U.S. Supreme Court did not, noting substantive differences between the course offerings, faculty, endowments, policies, and opportunities for military training and scientific specialization at VMI and VWIL.

Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg wrote the decision, noting in it: “Neither the goal of producing citizen-soldiers nor VMI’s implementing methodology is inherently unsuitable to women. And the school’s impressive record in producing leaders had made admission desirable to some women.” Ginsburg concluded: “There is no reason to believe that the admission of women capable of all the activities required of VMI cadets would destroy the Institute rather than enhance its capacity to serve the ‘more perfect Union.’”

See also Education, Women and; Fourteenth Amendment; Ginsburg, Ruth Joan Bader

References *United States v. Virginia*, 518 U.S. 515 (1996).

Unsoeld, Jolene Bishoprick (b. 1931)

Democrat Jolene Unsoeld of Washington served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1989 to 3 January 1995. Congresswoman Unsoeld passed bills to impose sanctions against drift-net fishing and to ban oil and gas drilling within the Olympic Coast National Marine Sanctuary. She was one of the seven female House members who marched to the Senate in October 1991 to urge a full hearing of Anita Hill’s sexual harassment charges against U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas. Unsoeld was defeated in an attempt for a fourth term.

Born in Corvallis, Oregon, Unsoeld attended Oregon State University from 1950 to 1951. From 1962 to 1967, she lived with her husband, an educator, in Kathmandu, Nepal, where she was director of the English Language Institute for two years. She entered politics as a citizen-lobbyist

working on campaign reform in Washington state in the 1970s. A mountain climber, she added environmental concerns to her lobbying agenda. Democratic national committeewoman for Washington from 1983 to 1988, she also served in the Washington House of Representatives from 1985 to 1989. Her environmental efforts there included more stringent requirements for cleaning toxic waste sites.

See also Congress, Women in; Hill, Anita Faye; Sexual Harassment; State Legislatures, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Upton, Harriet Taylor (1853–1945)

Republican Harriet Taylor Upton worked for woman suffrage from 1899 to 1920, when the Nineteenth Amendment became part of the U.S. Constitution. She then turned her attention to helping women find their place in the Republican Party.

Until the late 1880s, Upton opposed woman suffrage, even though her father, a member of Congress, had been president of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association. She had met Susan B. Anthony in the 1870s and again in 1888, when she had also met Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone, but none had been able to convince her to support their cause. It was while she was researching material for an antisuffrage article that Upton became convinced of the importance of woman suffrage and turned into an active supporter of it.

In 1890, Upton joined the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and in 1893 served as acting chair of its Congressional Committee. She served as NAWSA treasurer from 1898 to 1910 and president of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association from 1898 to 1908. Working out of the national headquarters in Warren, Ohio, she administered the daily work of NAWSA, distributing literature, making speeches, and testifying before Congress. Following congressional approval of the woman suffrage amendment to the U.S. Constitution, Upton successfully worked in Ohio and Tennessee for its ratification by those states.

After the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920, Upton served as vice chair of the Republican National Committee's executive committee and as head of women's activities. She commented that "women today are not on the same political basis as men; they still come in the role of the pleader" and compared women to "hired girls" who must "cook whatever political menu their men order them to prepare." Upton also accurately forecast that women would not vote as a bloc for a candidate based upon gender.

Using the political contacts she had developed over the years, Upton worked to obtain appointments to government agencies and departments for women. Through her efforts, women gained admittance to the diplomatic service and appointment to the Conference for Limitation of Arms. She testified before Congress on women in the civil service, issues related to maternity and child health, and the Child Labor Amendment.

Upton unsuccessfully ran in the 1924 Republican primary for her father's former congressional seat. From 1928 to 1931, she was the assistant state campaign manager for the Ohio Republican Party and served as the governor's liaison to the Ohio Department of Public Welfare. She retired from public life and moved to California in 1931.

Born in Ravenna, Ohio, Upton completed her education in public schools. She did not attend college because her father objected; instead she joined him on his circuit as a judge.

See also National American Woman Suffrage Association; Suffrage

References Hardy, *American Women Civil Rights Activists* (1993); Upton, "The Machine and the Woman" (1922).

V

Velázquez, Nydia Margarita (b. 1953)

Democrat Nydia Velázquez of New York entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1993. She is the first Puerto Rican woman to serve in Congress. Velázquez was special assistant to a member of Congress in 1983. Appointed to serve on the New York City Council in 1984, she ran for reelection to the city council but lost. From 1986 until 1992, she served as the director of the Department of Puerto Rican Community Affairs in the United States, a cabinet-level position in the Puerto Rican government.



Representative Nydia Velázquez (D-NY) celebrated her election to Congress in New York, 1992 (Associated Press AP)

Velázquez has been an advocate for immigrants, Hispanics, women, and poor people. She has fought legislation that would require employers to ascertain that their employees were in the country legally and legislation that would make English the official language.

Born in Yabucoa, Puerto Rico, Velázquez was the first person in her family to earn a high school diploma. She earned her bachelor of arts degree in political science from the University of Puerto Rico in 1974 and her master of arts degree in political science from New York University in 1976. On the faculty of the University of Puerto Rico from 1976 to 1981, she joined the faculty of Hunter College at the City University of New York in 1981 as an adjunct professor of Puerto Rican studies.

See also Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995); www.house.gov/velazquez/bio.htm.

Veterans Preference

Veterans preference gives military veterans seeking state or federal employment advantages in hiring. Most states and the federal government offer some form of veterans preference: some offer absolute preference to veterans who qualify for a position, and some award points to veterans' scores. The federal government gave preference to disabled Civil War veterans, several states enacted veterans preference laws in the nineteenth century, and the federal Veterans Preference Act was enacted in 1944. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII, protects veterans preference statutes, and the U.S. Supreme Court has found that the policies do not violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Women have objected to veterans preference policies because such policies have excluded many women from civil service jobs and advancement. They have argued that the policies perpetuate discrimination against women because the military had quotas limiting the number of women who could serve until the 1970s. The impact of veterans preference laws can be seen from a few statistics. Women constitute 41 percent of those who pass the entry-level professional and administrative exam but only 27 percent of those who are hired. Male veterans compose 20 percent of those who pass the exams and 34 percent of those hired. Women make up 41 percent of the civilian labor force but only 30 percent of civil service employees. Veterans constitute 25 percent of the labor force and hold 48 percent of all federal civil service jobs.

See also *Personnel Administrator of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. Feeney*

References Freeman, "Women and Public Policy: An Overview" (1982); *Personnel Administrator of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. Feeney*, 442 U.S. 256 (1979).

Violence Against Women Act of 1994

Passed by Congress and signed by President Bill Clinton as part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) takes a comprehensive approach to domestic violence and sexual assault. The law provides penalties for stalking, allows rape victims to demand that their assailant be tested for human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), and enables victims to file a civil suit for violent crimes motivated by gender. It allows immigrant spouses or children who are victims of domestic violence to petition for legal residency and obtain work permits, changing the policy that required immigrants to stay with the abuser or risk deportation. The measure created the Violence Against Women Office, established a toll-free national hotline, and provided funds to encourage states to implement mandatory arrest policies for domestic abuse or violation of a restraining order.

The National Domestic Violence Hotline provides local referral information to victims. The callers, 89 percent women and 11 percent men, include victims of domestic violence, family and friends of victims, batterers, professional service providers, and members of the press and public.

See also Domestic Violence; Rape; Violence Against Women Office

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 103rd Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1994* (1995); www.usdoj.gov/vawo/vawafct.htm.

Violence Against Women Office

Opened in March 1995, the Violence Against Women Office (VAWO) is part of the Department of Justice. As the primary contact for members of Congress, other federal agencies, state and local governments, and other organizations, VAWO works to reduce domestic violence and other crimes against women.

The first VAWO director, former Iowa attorney general Bonnie Campbell, was appointed in March 1995. Campbell coordinates efforts between the Department of Justice and other agencies and programs, including law enforcement officers, to reduce violence against women. She has also worked to attract attention to the problem through meetings with advocacy groups and others and through public appearances and media interviews.

See also Campbell, Bonnie Jean Pierce; Domestic Violence; Violence Against Women Act of 1994

References www.usdoj.gov/vawo/vawofct.htm.

Voting Rights Act of 1965

Debated and passed as the civil rights movement stormed across the country, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was the most comprehensive voting rights legislation enacted in ninety-five years. Submitted by President Lyndon Johnson, the act sought to overcome racist laws designed to prevent African Americans from registering to vote and from voting. It suspended literacy tests and comparable voter qualifications; authorized the appointment of federal voting examiners; and introduced federal registration officials into six southern states, specified counties in three other states, and Alaska.

Signed on 6 August 1965, the measure had visible results by the end of the year. The Department of Justice reported that 160,000 African Americans had registered in less than five months, and federal examiners registered almost 80,000 additional African Americans, increasing the number of African American voters by about 40 percent in some areas of the South.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Delta Sigma Theta Sorority; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; Suffrage

References *Congressional Quarterly, Almanac 89th Congress, 1st Session . . . 1965* (1966).

Vucanovich, Barbara Farrell (b. 1921)

Republican Barbara Vucanovich of Nevada served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1983 to 3 January 1997. While in Congress, Vucanovich focused her attention on issues associated with the proposed low-level nuclear waste site in Nevada. She fought several battles over federal land policies, which are important in Nevada because the federal government owns 85 percent of the land in the state. Another battle involved proposed changes in the 1872 Mining Law, also important in a state that produces 60 percent of the nation's gold.

Opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment, comparable worth, reproductive rights, and family and medical leave, Vucanovich has introduced measures to improve child support enforcement, provide tax credits for adoption and elder care, and impose stiffer sentences for crimes against children. She held the leadership position of secretary of the House Republican Caucus in the 104th Congress (1995–1997). Vucanovich did not run for reelection in 1996.

Born in Camp Dix, New Jersey, Barbara Vucanovich attended Manhattanville College from 1938 to 1939. After moving to Nevada in 1949, she owned a travel agency. She became active in the Republican Party in



Representative Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV) talked with master of ceremonies Tom Lorentzen at a luncheon in her honor at the state Republican Convention in Reno, 1996 (Associated Press AP)

the 1950s by working for presidential candidates and also was active in Republican women's groups, including serving as president of the Nevada Federation of Republican Women. She was a grassroots organizer for a member of Congress from 1962 to 1982.

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Rights Amendment; Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; Pay Equity; Reproductive Rights

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1996* (1995), *Politics in America: The 100th Congress* (1987).

W

Wald, Lillian D. (1867–1940)

Nurse and social reformer Lillian Wald founded the Henry Street Settlement in New York City and the visiting nurse service of New York in 1893. In 1896, the settlement had eleven residents, nine of them nurses; by 1929, it had 250 nurses. In 1902, Wald led the effort to create the world's first public school nursing system when she coordinated the efforts of Henry Street nurses and the New York City Board of Health to develop and implement the program. Wald provided the ideas and leadership for several health delivery innovations, including Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's nursing service for industrial policyholders (1909) and the American Red Cross's rural public health nursing service (1912).

Wald's interests extended beyond nursing. With Florence Kelley, she cofounded the National Child Labor Committee to limit child labor in 1904, and the two women planned and worked for a federal agency for children. As a result of Kelley and Wald's work, Congress created the Children's Bureau in 1912. Along with Jane Addams, Wald and Kelley also founded the American Union Against Militarism because of their opposition to World War I. Despite her opposition to war, Wald served on the Committee on Nursing of the General Medical Board of the Council of National Defense, the Committee for Vassar (nurse) Training Camp, and other committees supporting the war effort during World War I.

Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Wald graduated from New York City's Hospital Training School for Nurses in 1891, enrolled in the Women's Medical College of New York Infirmary in 1892, but left medical school in



Lillian Wald, health care and child labor activist, 1920
(Library of Congress)

1893 and worked as a community health nurse. She wrote *Boarded-Out Babies* (1907), *The House on Henry Street* (1915), and *Windows on Henry Street* (1934).

See also Addams, Jane, Child Labor Amendment; Children's Bureau; Kelley, Florence

References James, ed., *Notable American Women, 1607–1950* (1971); Lindenmeyer, "A Right to Childhood": *The U.S. Children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912–1946* (1997).

Waldholtz, Enid Greene

See Greene, Enid

Wallace, Lurleen Burns (1926–1968)

Democrat Lurleen Wallace was governor of Alabama from 1967 to 1968, serving as her husband's surrogate because state law prohibited him from succeeding himself.

Following World War II, George Wallace began his career as a politician, and Lurleen Wallace began hers as a homemaker. In 1963, George Wallace began his first term as governor of Alabama, gaining national attention when he attempted to stop the integration efforts of the civil rights movement. Even though George Wallace was popular in the state, Alabama's constitution prohibited anyone from serving more than two consecutive terms as governor. After failed attempts to change the policy, he announced that his wife Lurleen Wallace would run for governor in 1966 and continue his policies. During the campaign, Lurleen Wallace told an audience: "My election would enable my husband to carry on his programs for the people of Alabama."

When Lurleen Wallace became governor, George Wallace served as her special adviser and worked out of an office across the hall from her office. Although in many ways her husband's surrogate, Lurleen Wallace obtained passage of measures for a \$15 million bond and for a two-cent-per-pack tax on cigarettes, both to finance regional mental hospitals. She also worked for funding for health programs. Her tenure was shortened by her death from cancer.

Born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Lurleen Wallace completed her education at Tuscaloosa Business College. When she was sixteen, she worked at a variety store, where she met George Wallace. They married in 1943.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Governors, Women



References Yelverton, *They Also Served: Twenty-Five Remarkable Alabama Women* (1993).

Waters, Maxine Moore (b. 1938)

Democrat Maxine Waters of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives on 3 January 1991. Waters explained that it is important to have strong African American women in power: “We have surfaced issues that never got heard or thought about if it weren’t here [in the California legislature]. Sometimes we forget that there are still people who have never interacted with blacks.”

Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Waters entered the workforce at thirteen years old, busing tables in a segregated restaurant. She married after graduating from high school, and within a short time, the couple had two children and few job prospects. They moved to California, but jobs were scarce there as well: Waters worked in a garment factory, and her husband worked in a printing plant.

In 1966 Waters went to work for Head Start, first as an assistant teacher and then as a supervisor. During that period, she attended college, earning her bachelor of arts degree in sociology from California State University in 1972. She also divorced her husband that year.

After working for a member of the Los Angeles City Council from 1973 to 1976, Waters developed her political skills and ran for the California

Maxine Waters (D-CA) spoke at a press conference following an appearance on Face the Nation regarding the impeachment hearings of President Clinton, 1998 (Associated Press AP)

Assembly in 1976, serving from 1977 to 1991. While in the assembly, she passed a bill to limit the situations in which law enforcement officers can strip-search (search the body cavities of) the people they arrest and another requiring insurance companies to pay for prosthetic devices after mastectomies. In an effort to combat South Africa's apartheid policy, she passed a bill requiring the State of California to divest itself of investments in companies that conducted business in that country. She was the first woman elected chair of the Democratic Caucus and held the fourth position on the California Assembly leadership team.

Congresswoman Waters has been an advocate for veterans' affairs, improvements in housing in inner cities, and better enforcement of the federal antiredlining law. Waters gained national attention in April 1992, when south-central Los Angeles erupted in violence. Five days of rioting consumed Los Angeles after the acquittal of four white police officers charged with beating Rodney King, a black man. Her district office was among the buildings that burned in the riots. Waters flew to the site of it, attempting to explain to the nation that the riots emerged not only because of the verdict in the trial but out of desperate hopelessness. In the process, she emerged as a spokesperson for the nation's disadvantaged.

See also Congress, Women in; National Political Congress of Black Women

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America 1994* (1993); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1992* (1992); Mills, "Maxine Waters: The Sassy Legislator Who Knows There's More Than One Way to Make a Political Statement" (1988).

Watson, Barbara Mae (1918–1983)

Barbara M. Watson was the first African American and first woman to be assistant secretary of state. Appointed in 1968 by President Lyndon Johnson to be deputy administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, which had the rank of assistant secretary, she oversaw 3,000 federal employees. She supervised the issuance of passports and visas to U.S. citizens and the nation's 250 consuls throughout the world. She has been credited with increasing the efficiency of the bureau through the reduction of duplication of effort. During her administration, Watson negotiated the return of 20,000 American tourists caught during an Arab-Israeli conflict. She also mediated shipping problems encountered in foreign waters and focused on the rights of U.S. citizens arrested in other nations. A private attorney from 1975 to 1976, she returned to public service as assistant secretary of state from 1977 to 1980. In 1980–1981, Watson served as U.S. ambassador to Malaysia.

Born in New York City, Barbara Watson earned her bachelor of arts degree from Barnard College in 1943 and her bachelor of law degree from

New York Law School in 1962. In 1946, Watson founded Barbara Watson Models and Barbara Watson Charm and Modeling Schools. She explained the significance of the modeling agency: “It opened up the whole field for Negro women and men for the benefit of advertisers. Before, Negroes in advertising meant Aunt Jemima and porters carrying luggage.” She closed the agency in 1956 and entered law school.

After receiving her law degree in 1962, Watson worked for several New York City agencies as counsel. In 1964, she became executive director of the New York City Commission to the United Nations. She went to Washington, D.C., in 1966 to become special assistant to the deputy undersecretary for administration in the State Department.

References *New York Times*, 7 May 1971, 18 February 1983.

Wattleton, Alyce Faye (b. 1943)

President of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA) from 1978 to 1992, Faye Wattleton became one of the most influential leaders in the area of reproductive rights and health care. The first woman, first African American, and youngest person to hold the position in the latter part of the century, Wattleton became the most visible and most persuasive spokeswoman for reproductive rights in the nation. She assumed the post in a difficult time. The strength of anti-abortion groups had become apparent with the passage of the Hyde Amendment in 1977, which limited the use of federal funding for abortions for low-income women. Violence had also become a significant problem. Planned Parenthood clinics in Minnesota, Virginia, Nebraska, Vermont, and Ohio had been burned or bombed. Wattleton explained: “This is not a debate about abortion. This is the defense of the fundamental right to make choices about our sexuality—without the encroachment of the president, the Supreme Court and certainly without the encroachment of politicians!”

President Ronald Reagan advocated policies that limited reproductive choice. His proposals included cutting funding for family planning services to low-income women, requiring parental consent before minors could receive diaphragms, intrauterine devices, or birth control pills in federally funded clinics. Another proposal would prevent clinics that received federal funds from offering abortion counseling. To counter these problems, Wattleton sought to publicize PPFA’s role as the largest provider of reproductive health services and to create public support to preserve every person’s right to sexual and reproductive choice. Wattleton lobbied Congress to stop conservative measures to restrict abortion, arguing that abortion is a personal decision.

Wattleton first encountered the medical and emotional complications



Faye Wattleton, the first African American president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, with Kate Michelman, executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League, testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee, 1990 (Corbis/ Bettmann)

that women faced with illegal abortions as a nursing instructor. As a graduate student in midwifery, she had watched her patients suffer from unwanted pregnancies and die from illegal abortions and wanted to protect future generations from similar fates. In 1967, she returned to Dayton, Ohio, where she assumed the position of assistant director of Public Health Nursing Services in the city's Department of Health. Invited to join the local Planned Parenthood board, she became its director in 1970. Wattleton moved to the national arena in 1975, when she became chair of the National Executive Directors Council of Planned Parenthood of America.

Born in St. Louis, Missouri, Faye Wattleton earned her nursing degree from Ohio State University in 1964 and her master of science degree in maternal and infant health care and certification as a nurse-midwife at Columbia University in 1967. Wattleton's memoirs, *Life on the Line*, were published in 1996.

See also Abortion; Planned Parenthood Federation of America

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook*, 1990 (1990).

Webster v. Reproductive Health Services (1989)

In *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, the U.S. Supreme Court accepted a Missouri abortion law that had several provisions. The law's preamble said that human life begins at conception and that unborn children have rights that must be protected, a statement that the Court permitted. The Court said that until Missouri's courts interpreted it, the federal courts had no reason to address the issue. The Court also accepted the require-

ment that tests and examinations for fetal viability had to be performed before a physician could perform an abortion on a woman the physician believed to be twenty weeks or more pregnant. The prohibition against using public employees and facilities in abortions was accepted because the Court said it did not violate the due process clause.

See also Abortion; *Roe v. Wade*

References *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, 492 U.S. 490 (1989).

Weddington, Sarah Ragle (b. 1945)

As a young Texas lawyer, Sarah Weddington argued *Roe v. Wade* before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1973 and won abortion rights for U.S. women. The case developed when Weddington and an informal network of abortion rights activists, who were providing abortion referral services, decided to try to legalize abortions in Texas by bringing a suit against the state's 1854 law prohibiting the procedure. In 1970, they identified a pregnant woman who wanted an abortion and was willing to participate in a legal challenge to the state's abortion laws. To protect her identity, Weddington gave her the pseudonym "Jane Roe," a name representing all women to Weddington.

Weddington argued that the laws were vague and unconstitutionally broad and infringed on the plaintiff's right to safe and adequate medical advice and on her fundamental right to choose whether to bear children. Arguing the case before a three-judge panel in federal court, Weddington won when the court declared the Texas abortion laws unconstitutional. The state appealed the case. Weddington argued the case before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1971.

While the Supreme Court considered *Roe v. Wade*, Weddington and others worked to change Texas's abortion laws but failed, prompting Weddington to run for the Texas legislature in 1972. Her campaign issues included rape law reform, increased access to credit for women, pregnancy leave, and employment equity. Weddington did not believe that she could win the race, but it gave her a platform to bring attention to women's political status. She sought the help of Democratic Party veteran campaigner Ann Richards, pleading with her over a lunch meeting for assistance. Richards agreed to manage the campaign.



*Attorney Sarah Weddington won the *Roe v. Wade* case, which guaranteed women's right to privacy in their reproductive choices, before the U.S. Supreme Court when she was only twenty-six years old (Archive Photos)*

Weddington's legislative race encountered an obstacle when she learned that she would have to argue *Roe v. Wade* before the U.S. Supreme Court a second time the month before election day. Even though Weddington had to leave the state to argue the case, in November 1972 she won the legislative race. During her three terms in the Texas House of Representatives, she worked with Kay Bailey Hutchison to pass a bill that reformed Texas rape laws, passed an equal credit bill for women, worked with Eddie Bernice Johnson to pass a pregnancy leave bill for teachers, and prevented passage of antiabortion legislation. In January 1973, Weddington won the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case *Roe v. Wade*. Abortion became a legal option for women wanting to end their pregnancies.

Appointed general counsel of the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1977, she served as assistant to President Jimmy Carter from 1978 to 1981, identifying women for the federal judiciary and other high-level appointments. Weddington lobbied the U.S. Senate for an extension to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment and received a great deal of credit for the success of the effort. Following the passage of the extension, she helped develop a strategy for ratification of the amendment, but it failed in 1982.

Weddington also helped implement programs to grant women equal treatment in the military, in their attempts to secure loans, and in the delivery of social programs. She was cochair of the U.S. delegation to the 1980 United Nations Mid-Decade Conference on Women in Copenhagen, Denmark.

Born in Abilene, Texas, Weddington earned her bachelor of science degree from McMurry College in 1965 and her law degree from the University of Texas in 1967. She then worked on the American Bar Association's Special Committee on the Reevaluation of Ethical Standards. She is the author of *A Question of Choice* (1992).

See also Abortion; Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974; Equal Rights Amendment; Hutchison, Kathryn (Kay) Ann Bailey; Johnson, Eddie Bernice; Richards, Ann Willis; *Roe v. Wade*; State Legislatures, Women in

References *New York Times*, 6 November 1978; Weddington, *A Question of Choice* (1992).

Weeks v. Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company (1969)

In *Weeks v. Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company*, the first sex discrimination case to reach an appellate court, Lorena Weeks challenged Southern Bell's contention that sex was a bona fide occupational qualification for the job of switchman. Southern Bell argued that the job was strenuous, that a switchman was occasionally required to work alone during late-night hours, and that the State of Georgia's protective legislation prevented women from holding jobs that required them to lift more than

thirty pounds. Weeks argued that the state's protective policy and Southern Bell's hiring policy violated Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by discriminating against her on the basis of sex.

The Fifth Circuit of the U.S. Court of Appeals noted that Georgia had replaced the limit on the amount that women could lift with a broader policy. The appeals court agreed with Weeks, saying: "Labeling a job 'strenuous' does not meet the burden of proving that the job falls within the bona fide occupational qualification exception." It further noted that the company's concerns about women working late at night conflicted with the reality that other women employees were called in to work during emergencies. The court wrote: "Title VII rejects just this type of romantic paternalism as unduly Victorian and instead invests individual women with the power to decide whether or not to take on unromantic tasks." The court found that Southern Bell's refusal to hire women for the job of switchman violated Title VII.

See also Bona Fide Occupational Qualification; Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII; Employment Discrimination

References *Weeks v. Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company*, 408 F.2d 228 (1969).

***Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld* (1975)**

In *Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that a Social Security benefit plan that provided benefits to the widow and children of a deceased male wage earner but that did not provide the same benefits to the widower and children of a deceased female wage earner was unconstitutional.

In the case, Paula Wiesenfeld had died giving birth to her son Jason, who was eligible for Social Security benefits, but her widowed husband Stephen Wiesenfeld was denied benefits that would have been available to a widow. Stephen Wiesenfeld claimed that the policy was a form of illegal discrimination.

The Court agreed with Wiesenfeld's argument as presented by Ruth Bader Ginsburg, writing in response: "Given the purpose of enabling the surviving parent to remain at home to care for a child, the gender-based distinction . . . is entirely irrational. The classification discriminates among surviving children solely on the basis of the sex of the surviving parent." The Court found that the policy violated the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment.

See also Ginsburg, Ruth Joan Bader

References *Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld*, 420 U.S. 636 (1975).

Weis, Jessica McCullough (1901–1963)

Republican Jessica Weis of New York served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1959 to 3 January 1963. Weis entered politics in 1936, holding local party offices, and in 1938 she was appointed vice president of the National Federation of Republican Women and was president from 1941 to 1942. She was Republican national committeewoman for New York from 1944 to 1963.

An associate campaign manager in Thomas E. Dewey's 1948 presidential campaign, she worked to gain women's support for him. Appointed to the National Defense Advisory Council in 1953 and reappointed in 1956 and 1960, she was an advisor to the U.S. delegate to the Inter-American Commission on Women in 1954.

A fiscal conservative, Congresswoman Weis opposed federal spending for veterans' housing, airport and power plant construction, and water pollution control. She supported an equal rights amendment and urged an end to wage discrimination against women. Her health prevented her from seeking a third term.

Born in Chicago, Jessica Weis attended Madame Rieffel's French School in New York City from 1916 to 1917.

See also Congress, Women in; Equal Rights Amendment

References H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1959* (1959); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Welfare

Welfare, or assistance to people in need, emerged as a significant federal program during the Depression in the 1930s. One aspect of a wide array of policies intended to help the U.S. economy recover from the Depression, welfare programs included employment opportunities, assistance to blind persons, maternal and child health grants, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Over the next six decades, some of the programs were discarded or replaced, and new programs were added.

AFDC, perhaps the most widely recognized welfare program, began as a small program to provide cash assistance to mothers of young children whose fathers had died. Intended to be only a temporary program, AFDC developed into one of the largest of the nation's welfare programs and served approximately 14 million people in 1994. Its purposes were to encourage keeping children in their homes (instead of placing them in orphanages, other facilities, or foster care), to strengthen family life, and to promote self-supporting families. Other federal welfare programs include child support enforcement, child care, food stamps, Medicaid, and Supplemental Security Income.

Critics of welfare programs, especially of AFDC, charged that their financial burden was detrimental to the economy and that they promoted dependency and discouraged employment. Supporters argued that the costs associated with employment, including child care, transportation, and the potential loss of government-supported health insurance, created disincentives to employment and that changes in AFDC would need to include education, employment assistance, and other services. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 instituted the greatest changes in welfare policy in the United States since the 1960s and addressed many of the issues raised by critics and supporters.

See also Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996

References “Current Programs” (1995); “Welfare Overview” (1995).

Wells-Barnett, Ida Bell (1862–1931)

Ida Wells-Barnett crusaded against lynching, worked in the black women’s club movement, and helped found the Alpha Suffrage Club, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the National Association of Colored Women. Born a slave in Holly Springs, Mississippi, Wells-Barnett taught school to help support her five brothers and sisters following the deaths of her parents in the 1878 yellow fever epidemic. In 1883 and 1884, she attended Fisk University and the Lemoyne Institute.

Wells-Barnett’s protests against segregation began on a train trip from Memphis to Woodstock in 1884, when a railroad conductor ordered her to move to the smoking car. Having purchased a first-class ticket, she refused and was forcibly removed. She sued the railroad and won, but the Tennessee Supreme Court reversed the decision in 1887 and ruled against her.

From 1884 to 1891, she taught school in Memphis, Tennessee. Wells-Barnett became a reporter for and part-owner of the *Memphis Free Speech and Headlight* in 1889 and gained a wide reputation for her militant opinions. She lost her teaching job in 1891 for writing articles critical of the education offered to African American children.

Following the lynching of three African American friends in 1892, Wells-Barnett began an editorial campaign against lynching. In one article she wrote: “Nobody in this section of the country believes the old thread bare lie that Negro men rape white women.” After writing the article, Wells-Barnett left for Philadelphia. When the article appeared, a mob broke into the newspaper’s building and destroyed the presses. Wells-Barnett was warned not to return to Memphis.



Journalist Ida Wells-Barnett carried out a one-woman crusade in the editorial pages against the lynching practices of the Deep South (Courtesy: University of Chicago)

She moved to New York City and became a staff writer for *New York Age*, where she wrote and lectured about lynching. Wells-Barnett published two pamphlets on lynching, *Southern Horrors* in 1892 and *A Red Record* in 1895, a statistical account of lynchings from 1892 to 1894. She reported that African American men were accused of rape in less than one-third of the cases, and even fewer of the men were found guilty. She revealed that in some situations white women initiated consensual sex with African American men and that white men had raped African American women with apparent impunity. Wells-Barnett found that when African Americans resisted mobs by fighting back, the violence diminished. She wrote: “A Winchester rifle

should have a place of honor in every black home. When the white man knows he runs as great a risk biting the dust every time his Afro-American victim does, he will have greater respect for Afro-American life.”

Secretary of the National Afro-American Council from 1898 to 1902, Wells-Barnett helped organize a conference on African Americans, helped establish the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909, and served on its executive committee. She founded in 1910 and was president of the Negro Fellowship League, a settlement house and community center for southern black migrants to Chicago. In 1913 she started the Alpha Suffrage Club, the first African American woman suffrage group, and led the club in the 1916 Chicago suffrage parade to the Republican National Convention. In 1930, she unsuccessfully ran on the Republican ticket for the Illinois Senate.

Wells-Barnett wrote *Mob Rule in New Orleans* (1900), *The Arkansas Race Riot* (1920), and other books.

See also Alpha Suffrage Club; Antilynching Movement; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Women in the; National Association of Colored Women

References Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (1984); Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice* (1970).

Westwood, Frances Jean Miles (1923–1997)

Jean Westwood was chair of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) in 1972, the first woman to chair either of the major political parties’

national committees. Westwood began her political career at the precinct level in the mid-1950s and worked on the staff of a member of Congress from 1964 to 1967. She served as vice chair of the Democratic Party in Utah, cochair of a voter registration campaign, campaign manager for a congressional candidate, and beginning in 1968, national committeewoman for Utah. The first member of the DNC to endorse Senator George McGovern's candidacy for president, she helped him build his organization.

When George McGovern became the Democratic Party's presidential candidate in 1972, he chose Westwood to chair the party. McGovern lost to incumbent president Richard Nixon, and the DNC replaced Westwood shortly after the election. She continued to be active in the party until 1988.

Born in Price, Utah, Westwood attended Carbon College and took classes at other colleges and universities.

References *New York Times*, 15 July 1972, 23 August 1997.

Wexler, Anne Levy (b. 1930)

Democratic Party activist Anne Wexler is considered one of the most powerful lobbyists in Washington, D.C. She began her political career working in congressional and presidential races in the 1960s. She supported Jimmy Carter's 1976 presidential campaign and worked on his transition team following his election. Appointed deputy undersecretary of commerce, she coordinated the department's programs and field operations and chaired the President's Task Force on Women Business Owners. Appointed an assistant to the president in 1978, she was the only woman on President Jimmy Carter's senior staff. As assistant for public liaison, Wexler's responsibilities included working with the business community and other interest groups to build public support for the president's programs and policies. Wexler founded a government relations firm in 1981.

Born in New York City, Wexler earned her bachelor of arts degree from Skidmore College in 1951. She began her political activism while a student, canvassing door-to-door during Harry S. Truman's 1948 presidential campaign.

References *New York Times*, 12 July 1972, 24 November 1978.

Whitman, Christine Todd (b. 1946)

Republican Christine Todd Whitman became governor of New Jersey in 1994, the first woman governor of the state, and was reelected in 1997 for a second four-year term. A fiscal conservative, Whitman promised voters during her first campaign for governor that she would reduce taxes by 30 percent, a pledge she kept and one that helped her when she sought reelection.

Christine Todd Whitman (R-NJ) was elected the first woman governor of New Jersey, 1994 (Corbis/Robert Maass)



Born in New York state, Whitman is the daughter of active and influential Republicans. Her mother Eleanor Todd served on the Republican National Committee for a decade, was the committee's vice chair, and chaired the New Jersey Federation of Republican Women. Her father chaired the New Jersey Republican State Central Committee for eleven years. Whitman's political ventures began when she was a child selling lemonade to benefit Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1952 presidential campaign.

Whitman earned her bachelor of arts degree from Wheaton College in 1968 and worked on Nelson Rockefeller's campaign for the Republican nomination for president. Later that year, she worked at the Republican National Committee, where she developed the Listening Post project and toured the country to learn the reasons why college students were not attracted to the Republican Party. She later worked at the Office of Economic Opportunity. During the 1972 presidential campaign, she worked for the Committee to Reelect the President, organizing support for President Richard Nixon among senior citizens.

Whitman first ran for public office in 1982, when she was elected to the Somerset County Board of Chosen Freeholders, which is comparable to a county board of supervisors. She served on the board for five years,

becoming both deputy director and director in that period. She supervised the construction of a new county courthouse, developed an open space program, and helped establish the county's first homeless shelter.

In 1988 Governor Todd Kean appointed Whitman president of the New Jersey Board of Utilities. In response to questionable actions by previous members of the board, Whitman developed a code of ethics for the board. Among her public policy goals for the board was maintaining low utility rates.

Whitman unsuccessfully ran for the U.S. Senate in 1990. Her defeat by only two percentage points convinced her that she could win the governor's seat in 1993. She hosted a biweekly radio talk show, wrote a newspaper column to maintain the name recognition she had developed, and worked for candidates at every level, building a political base for her planned gubernatorial campaign. Her success on election day was marred within a few days by a scandal created by her campaign manager, Ed Rollins. Rollins told a group of reporters that the campaign had spent \$500,000 dissuading African American ministers from endorsing incumbent governor Jim Florio and paying Democratic workers to stay home on election day. Whitman immediately responded that she had no knowledge of the activities and began an internal investigation of her campaign. Rollins soon recanted and said that he had not done the things he had said. The New Jersey attorney general and the U.S. attorney general both investigated Whitman's campaign but could find no evidence of the illegal practices.

During her first year in office, Whitman cut income taxes 10 percent, eliminated 400 state jobs, and abolished the Department of Higher Education and the Office of the Public Advocate. The cuts included reductions in contributions to the state pension fund but also made New Jersey more appealing to business. As her first term continued, Whitman reduced income taxes by a total of 30 percent, privatized the Department of Motor Vehicles, and changed the state's Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. Between 1994 and 1999, Whitman helped New Jersey gain a net increase of more than 300,000 jobs through her economic development programs. Whitman also reformed the state's juvenile justice program, establishing a system of preventive programs, sanctions, and aftercare for youthful offenders. The program included a new juvenile boot camp, a facility for female juvenile offenders, and funding for local prevention programs.

A moderate Republican, Whitman supports abortion rights, which has placed her outside the party's prevailing sentiments but not outside the party's favor. In 1995, she became the first woman and the first governor to deliver the Republican Party's response to a presidential State of the Union address.

See also Governors, Women

References Beard, *Growing Up Republican* (1996); McClure, *Christie Whitman* (1996); *New York Times*, 1 July 1994, 5 May 1996.

Widnall, Sheila Evans (b. 1938)

Secretary of the Air Force from 1993 to 1997, Sheila Widnall is the first woman to head a branch of the U.S. military. During her tenure as secretary, Widnall focused attention on quality-of-life issues and scientific and technological development. Before her appointment, Widnall had served on the U.S. Air Force Board of Visitors and several Air Force advisory committees. An internationally recognized authority on fluid dynamics, Widnall began teaching at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1964 and returned to teaching there after stepping down as secretary of the Air Force.

Born in Tacoma, Washington, Widnall earned her bachelor of science degree in 1960, her master of science degree in 1961, and her doctor of science degree in 1964, all from MIT.

See also Military, Women in the

References www.af.mil.

Willard, Frances Elizabeth Caroline (1839–1898)

Temperance leader and suffragist Frances Willard was president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) from 1879 until her death. Willard expanded the organization's focus from Prohibition and total abstinence from alcohol to include woman suffrage and other social reform crusades.

Born in Churchville, New York, she grew up in Wisconsin Territory on her family's frontier farm. Her early education was sporadic, but she attended Milwaukee Female College in 1857; transferred to North Western Female College in Evanston, Illinois, and graduated in 1859; and began teaching the next year. From 1871 to 1873, she was president of Evanston College for Ladies, a part of Northwestern University.

Over the next two years, Willard supported herself as a temperance speaker, was elected president of Chicago Woman's Christian Temperance Union, attended her first national WCTU convention, and was elected corresponding secretary of the national group. Elected national WCTU president in 1879, Willard improved the organization's financial condition and decentralized it by giving state and local groups greater autonomy. She also created a variety of departments covering topical areas, including heredity and hygiene, social purity, legislation, and petition.

At the 1881 WCTU convention, Willard told members to "do everything" and pointed out that reforms were interconnected. Over the next

decade the WCTU became increasingly politically active by forging an alliance with the Prohibition Party and endorsing presidential candidates. In addition, Willard successfully lobbied the Prohibition Party to include a suffrage plank in its 1888 platform. She led the WCTU in expanding its social reform programs to encompass establishing free kindergartens, reducing the workday to eight hours, passing protective labor legislation, raising the legal age of consent for sex, toughening rape laws, and closing businesses on Sunday.

See also Suffrage; Temperance Movement, Women in the; Woman's Christian Temperance Union

References Lee, "Do Everything" Reform: *The Oratory of Frances E. Willard* (1992).



Frances Willard, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and suffragist leader, between 1880 and 1898 (Library of Congress)

Willebrandt, Mabel Walker (1889–1963)

The first female public defender in the United States, Mabel Walker Willebrandt became an assistant attorney general in 1921, making her the first woman to hold a permanent subcabinet-level appointment. Seven years later, in 1928, she chaired the Credentials Committee of the 1928 Republican National Convention and with that appointment became the first woman to chair an important national convention committee for either party. Throughout her career, she worked to advance the opportunities and careers of other women lawyers.

Born in a sod dugout in southwestern Kansas, Willebrandt attended Park College and Academy in Kansas from 1906 to 1907. She married in 1910 and moved to Arizona because of her husband's poor health. She earned her teaching certificate from Arizona's Tempe Normal School in 1911, and the couple moved to the Los Angeles area, where she taught school during the day and attended law school at night, earning her bachelor of laws degree from the University of Southern California in 1916 and her master of laws degree from the same school the next year. She began her law career as the assistant public defender in Los Angeles, working on more than 2,000 cases brought against women, particularly charges for prostitution. By 1918, she had established herself within the legal profession in Los Angeles, helped organize the Women's Law Club of Los Angeles County, and developed an active private practice.

Willebrandt began her political career by campaigning for candidates and became a member of the California Republican State Central Committee which, combined with her legal skills, led to her appointment in 1921 as a U.S. assistant attorney general by President Warren G. Harding. In charge of Prohibition enforcement, taxes, and the Bureau of Federal Prisons, her responsibilities included coordinating the enforcement programs of the Treasury Department, the Coast Guard, and state and local law enforcement agencies. Willebrandt became most widely known for her prosecution of Prohibition cases, leading New York governor Alfred E. Smith to refer to her as "Prohibition Portia." She responded: "It is not particularly gratifying to be thought of merely as a Nemesis of bootleggers, a chaser of criminals." Her first big cases came in 1922, when she broke two southern rings, one in Savannah, Georgia, and the other in Mobile, Alabama, in which Congressman John W. Langley of Kentucky was found guilty. Willebrandt developed a novel strategy for enforcing the Volstead Act when she decided to use income tax evasion as a way to stop bootleggers. She preferred enforcing tax laws because, as she said: "They require detached and abstract thought, an intellectual exercise of which women were once thought incapable."

Willebrandt aggressively pursued those who broke the law, filing between 49,000 and 55,000 criminal and civil cases annually. In these cases, she helped establish the constitutional validity of the Volstead Act and other laws through U.S. Supreme Court decisions. Of the thirty-nine cases she argued before the Court, she won thirty-seven. By 1929, of all the lawyers who had argued cases before the Court, she ranked fourth in the total number of cases she had presented.

With prisons filling with Volstead violators, the need for additional space in them grew, as did the need to review the related policies. Willebrandt began by calling for a federal women's prison, for which she sought support from the Women's Joint Congressional Committee (WJCC). With the WJCC's help, she found support from the League of Women Voters, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC), and several other groups. She also believed that young, male, first-time offenders serving their sentences in prison were further corrupted by the exposure to more experienced law violators and that a federal reformatory for them was needed. By enlisting the support of the Young Men's Christian Association, GFWC, American Bar Association, Kiwanis Club International, and other groups, Willebrandt succeeded in creating a federal reformatory. In addition, she sought to improve prison conditions and to provide work within prisons. Her first task, however, was to identify and remove corrupt and incompetent prison officials by planting government agents posing as inmates within the facilities. With the support of GFWC and others interested in

prison reform, she then began developing prison industries to provide employment for every prison inmate, engaging in perennial battles for appropriations for the programs.

In 1928, Willebrandt turned some of her attention to the Republican Party and to making Herbert Hoover the party's presidential nominee. She attended the Republican National Convention as a Hoover delegate and was permanent chair of the party's Credentials Committee. As Credentials Committee chair, Willebrandt worked to ensure that the committee decided in favor of delegates pledged to Hoover, which helped him obtain the nomination. A dedicated Hoover supporter, Willebrandt worked for him throughout the campaign and became the center of a national controversy. In a speech to a group of Methodists who supported Prohibition, Willebrandt questioned Democratic presidential nominee Al Smith's commitment to enforcing the Volstead Act and characterized Hoover as ready to provide the necessary leadership in enforcing it. In that and subsequent speeches to other religious groups, she referred to Smith's religion, Catholicism, making it an issue in the campaign. Willebrandt was attacked by the press for injecting religion into the presidential race, and some Republican leaders wanted her silenced. One leading feminist, however, viewed the dispute as testimony that a woman had enough political power to be the center of a disagreement. Commenting on the criticism heaped on Willebrandt, Democratic Party leader Emily Newell Blair said that Willebrandt was the first woman to make a place for herself as a "great figure in politics." After Hoover won the election, Willebrandt concluded that he was not as committed to enforcing Prohibition as she had thought and resigned as assistant attorney general in May 1929.

Willebrandt joined Aviation Corporation as general counsel and began a new career in the emerging field of aviation law, chairing a committee on the topic for the American Bar Association from 1938 to 1942. She also pioneered in the area of radio law, winning a U.S. Supreme Court decision that upheld the Federal Radio Commission's power to regulate broadcasting. In addition, she worked for Louis B. Meyer of MGM Studio and Hollywood stars and other celebrities.

See also General Federation of Women's Clubs; Langley, Katherine Gudger; League of Women Voters; Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Women's Joint Congressional Committee

References Brown, *Mabel Walker Willebrandt* (1984); *New York Times*, 9 April 1963; Strakosh, "A Woman in Law" (1927).

***Williams v. Zbaraz* (1980)**

Decided with *Harris v. McRae*, *Williams v. Zbaraz* challenged an Illinois statute prohibiting state medical assistance payments for all abortions

except those to save the life of the woman seeking the abortion. Approaching this case as a class action suit, the challengers argued that even though Medicaid funding for medically necessary abortions had ended with the passage of the Hyde Amendment, the state still had an obligation to pay for them under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The U.S. Supreme Court rejected the argument, saying that a state was not obligated to pay for medically necessary abortions that were not covered by Medicaid and that the policy did not violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

See also Abortion; *Harris v. McRae*

References *Williams v. Zbaraz*, 448 U.S. 358 (1980).

Wilson, Edith Bolling Galt (1872–1961)

First lady from 1915 to 1921, Edith Wilson was the wife of President Woodrow Wilson. After President Wilson suffered a stroke in October 1919, Edith Wilson controlled who could see her husband during the six months of his convalescence, and every document that the president received went first to his wife. Edith Wilson did not attempt to run the presidency, but her control over access to the president determined which matters received his attention and which would languish. Edith Wilson kept the president's condition a secret from all except his doctor and a few intimates; she did not inform the cabinet.

Born in Wytheville, Virginia, Edith Wilson learned to read and write at home and attended Martha Washington College, a girls' preparatory school, from 1887 to 1888 and Powell's School from 1889 to 1890. Her first husband, Norman Galt, died in 1908. Edith Wilson was Woodrow Wilson's second wife; his first wife, Ellen, had died in 1914. Edith Wilson and Woodrow Wilson met at the White House when she was there for tea, and after a brief courtship, they married.

References Weaver, "Edith Bolling Wilson as First Lady: A Study in the Power of Personality, 1919–1920" (1985).

Wilson, Heather (b. 1960)

Republican Heather Wilson of New Mexico was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives on 23 June 1998. Wilson won her seat in a special election to fill the vacancy created by the death of the incumbent. She is the first woman veteran ever elected to Congress.

Born in Keene, New Hampshire, Wilson earned her bachelor of science degree from the U.S. Air Force Academy in 1982. She earned her master's of philosophy in 1984 and her doctor's degree in philosophy in 1985, both from Oxford University. Wilson served as an Air Force officer

until 1989, when she became director for European defense policy and arms control on the National Security Council staff. In 1991 she founded a business consulting firm that worked with senior executives in U.S. defense and scientific corporations. She served as cabinet secretary of the New Mexico Children, Youth, and Families Department, leading the development of programs that addressed juvenile crime, abuse and neglect, and child care and early education.

After winning the special election in June 1998, Wilson won reelection to her seat in the November general elections of that year. Her congressional priorities include improving teacher training, strengthening curricula and early childhood education, eliminating the marriage penalty in income taxes, and maintaining the solvency of Social Security. She cast her vote in Congress for a bill to reform the Internal Revenue Service.

See also Congress, Women in

References "Heather Wilson, R-N.M. (1)" (1998); www.house.gov/wilson/biography/index.htm.

Wingo, Effiegene Locke (1883–1962)

Democrat Effiegene Wingo of Arkansas served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 4 November 1930 to 3 March 1933. After the death of her husband, Representative Otis Wingo, Effiegene Wingo was elected to fill the vacancy and then to a full term. She worked to establish a game refuge in Ouachita National Forest, to create Ouachita National Park, and to complete construction of a railroad bridge in her district. Her district had suffered from natural disasters and from the effects of the Depression, problems she attempted to address by seeking various relief measures. She retired from office after serving the full term and in 1934 was a cofounder of the National Institute of Public Affairs, which provided internships in Washington to students.

Born in Lockesburg, Arkansas, Wingo studied music at the Union Female Seminary and graduated from Maddox Seminary in 1901.

See also Congress, Women in

References Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

WISH List

Founded in 1992, the WISH List supports prochoice Republican women for elective offices at every level. The WISH List is an acronym for Women in the Senate and House. In its first seven years, the WISH List raised \$1.5 million and supported the successful candidacies of New Jersey governor Christine Todd Whitman; U.S. senators Susan Collins, Kay

Bailey Hutchison, and Olympia Snowe; and ten women members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

The WISH List process for assisting candidates begins with identifying a Republican prochoice woman candidate and investigating her organization, the race, and her likelihood of winning. After selecting candidates, the WISH List recommends them to its members, including a profile of the candidate and her positions on key issues. WISH List members select at least two of the endorsed candidates and send their contributions to WISH List, which bundles them and forwards them to the candidates.

See also Abortion; Collins, Susan Margaret, Hutchison, Kathryn (Kay) Ann Bailey; Republican Party, Women in the; Snowe, Olympia Jean Bouchles; Whitman, Christine Todd

References www.thewishlist.org.

Wollstonecraft, Mary (1759–1797)

Englishwoman Mary Wollstonecraft published *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in 1792, a challenge to contemporary philosophers' views of women and their intellectual abilities. She conceded that many women were vain, ignorant, and childish but argued that women were denied the education and opportunity to develop their skills. She advocated education, opportunities to develop physical strength, and equal rights for women. Her book provided some of the philosophical basis for the suffrage movement that developed in the United States in the nineteenth century. Lucretia Mott, a leader of that movement, called it her “pet book,” and when suffragists published their history of the movement, Wollstonecraft was among the women to whom they dedicated it.

Born near London, Mary Wollstonecraft rejected becoming dependent upon anyone else when she was fifteen years old. Self-educated, she opened a school and ran it for several years. After the school began to lose money and closed, Wollstonecraft began a career as a writer.

See also Suffrage

References Gurko, *Ladies of Seneca Falls: The Birth of the Woman's Rights Movement* (1974); Matthews, *Women's Struggle for Equality* (1997).

Woman's Christian Temperance Union

Founded in 1874, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) sought to obtain pledges of total abstinence from alcohol and later added tobacco and other drugs. When Frances Willard became WCTU president in 1879, she added a political dimension to the moral suasion used to achieve the goal of abstinence. Using the motto “do everything,” the organization expanded its areas of interest to include establishing and man-

aging day care centers, providing housing for homeless people, and setting up medical clinics—any project that members believed would contribute to achieving abstinence. WCTU advocated a range of social reforms, from woman suffrage to equal pay for equal work to federal aid for education. Willard's presidency ended in 1898, and the WCTU narrowed its scope to a stronger focus on temperance. After passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919, which started Prohibition, the WCTU returned to a broader social reform agenda. For example, it worked with the Women's Joint Congressional Committee to establish a federal women's prison in the 1920s. The oldest voluntary, nonsectarian women's organization in continuous existence in the world, the WCTU continues to advocate abstinence from alcohol and tobacco and has added marijuana and other drugs to its agenda.

See also Suffrage; Temperance Movement, Women in the; Willard, Frances Elizabeth Caroline; Willebrandt, Mabel Walker

References www.wctu.org.

Woman's National Loyal League

Organized in 1863 by women's rights leaders and abolitionists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the Woman's National Loyal League supported the constitutional amendment banning slavery in the United States. At the founding convention, attendees adopted resolutions supporting the government as long as it pursued freedom for slaves and pledged to collect 1 million signatures calling for passage of the Thirteenth Amendment. Stanton served as the organization's president and Anthony as its secretary.

Two thousand women, men, and children circulated the petitions, with Stanton offering honor badges to the children who collected 100 names. The league gathered 100,000 names, presenting them to the U.S. Senate on 9 February 1864. When the league disbanded in August 1864, it had collected 400,000 signatures. The Thirteenth Amendment passed Congress in early 1865 and was ratified by the states that year.

See also Abolitionist Movement, Women in the; Anthony, Susan Brownell; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady

References Flexner and Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, enlarged edition (1996).

Woman's Peace Party

Founded in 1915 in response to World War I, the Woman's Peace Party (WPP) included delegates from the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Congressional Union, the Woman's Christian Temperance

Union, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Women's Trade Union League, and several other women's organizations. At the organizational meeting, the WPP passed planks calling for arms limitations, mediation of the European conflict, the establishment of international laws to prevent war, woman suffrage, and other measures. By 1916, the WPP had 40,000 members, the highest membership it would ever have. In addition to World War I, the WPP protested the presence of U.S. troops in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, U.S. bases in Nicaragua, and the colonial government in Puerto Rico.

As the United States prepared to enter the war, divisions developed within the WPP as leaders and members questioned their responsibilities to their government and as Congress passed measures related to loyalty and treason. Membership declined in some parts of the country, but some WPP members remained steadfast in their advocacy for peace. In 1919, the WPP became the U.S. branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

See also Congressional Union; General Federation of Women's Clubs; Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Women's Trade Union League

References Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (1993).

Women in Apprenticeship and Nontraditional Occupations Act of 1992

Introduced by Republican congresswoman Constance A. Morella of Maryland and passed by Congress in 1992, the Women in Apprenticeship and Nontraditional Occupations Act offers grants to community-based organizations to help businesses provide women with apprenticeships in nontraditional occupations. Administered through the Department of Labor, the grants are also used to assist unions and employers in preparing workplaces for women employees. The act seeks to prepare low-income women and welfare recipients for jobs in the skilled trades and technical positions, according to Republican senator Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas.

See also Kassebaum Baker, Nancy Landon; Morella, Constance Albanese

References *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session . . . 1992* (1993).

Women Strike for Peace

Founded in 1961 to protest atmospheric tests and the danger of radioactive pollution to children's health, Women Strike for Peace (WSP) works for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. As a radioactive cloud from

a Russian nuclear test hung over the United States, 50,000 women in more than sixty cities went on strike on 1 November 1961, in the largest women's peace action in the nation to that date. Women lobbied Congress and government offices to "End the Arms Race—Not the Human Race." During the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, more than 20,000 women across the country marched in protest. In 1963, WSP helped convince President John F. Kennedy to complete the limited nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviet Union.

WSP began in book illustrator Dagmar Wilson's home, where she had gathered five women to discuss the nuclear crisis. Through their networks with members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the League of Women Voters, and other peace activists, they distributed a call for the November 1961 strike. A grassroots movement, WSP has no formal organization, president, board of directors, formal membership, or official policies. Local groups may or may not work together.

In 1962 the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) subpoenaed Wilson and several WSP members as part of its investigation of peace groups and Communist involvement in them. Instead of being fearful of the committee and its interrogation, Wilson and her colleagues belittled the committee with humor and their moral superiority. They acknowledged that Communists could be members but explained they did not know of any. Invoking the Fifth Amendment dozens of times, they also lectured the committee members as they attempted to explain WSP's lack of traditional organization. WSP members received favorable press, and the press ridiculed HUAC, which admitted that WSP was not a subversive organization.

In other areas, WSP has pressured toy manufacturers to stop producing toy guns and war toys and has asked retailers to stop selling them. It issued a Children's Bill of Rights, which called for food, shelter, medical care, and education for all children.

See also League of Women Voters; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

References Linden-Ward and Green, *American Women in the 1960s: Changing the Future* (1993).

Women Work! The National Network for Women's Employment

Women Work! was founded in 1974 to provide advocacy for and assistance to women whose marriage had ended and with it their economic support. Two California women, divorcée Tish Sommers and widow Laurie Shields, created the organization, originally known as the Alliance for Displaced Homemakers and later as the National Displaced Homemakers Network. The organization gained its current name in 1993.

Displaced homemakers are women whose marriage has ended, regardless of the reason. Women Work! contends that for many women, when their marriage is over, their employment also effectively ends, and that those women need job training and other assistance to support themselves. The Displaced Homemakers Self-Sufficiency Assistance Act of 1990 was passed with the support of Women Work!

See also Displaced Homemakers

Women's Bureau

Created in 1920, the Women's Bureau is the single federal government unit exclusively concerned with serving and promoting the interests of working women. The Women's Bureau's mandate states: "It shall be the duty of said bureau to formulate standards and policies which shall promote the welfare of wage-earning women, improve their working conditions, increase their efficiency, and advance their opportunities for profitable employment." The Women's Bureau fulfills its mission by alerting women to their rights in the workplace, proposing legislation that benefits working women, researching and analyzing information about women and work, and reporting its findings to the president, Congress, and the public.

The Women's Bureau began first as the Women's Division of the Ordnance Department during World War I. As increasing numbers of women filled jobs previously held by men who had been called to war, the division was established to monitor the needs of women entering the munitions industry. In 1918, the division was moved to the Labor Department and renamed Women in Industry Service.

When World War I ended and concerns arose that Women in Industry Service would be disbanded and the needs of women workers would be ignored, the New York Women's Trade Union League began lobbying for a permanent government agency. The result was the creation of the Women's Bureau in 1920 as part of the Department of Labor. The first director, Mary Anderson, who served from 1920 to 1944, was an organizer for the Women's Trade Union League.

The relationship between the Women's Trade Union League and the Women's Bureau involved mutual support and a shared agenda. Both groups strongly supported protective legislation for women, including limits on the hours women could work, the amount of weight they could lift, and other matters. A consequence of the Women's Bureau's commitment to protective legislation was its opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), proposed in 1923 by Alice Paul of the National Woman's Party. The bureau remained opposed to the amendment until 1969, when under the leadership of Director Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, it came to support the ERA.

Research conducted by the bureau has helped identify problems confronting working women and has been the basis for its advocacy of several public policies and the enactment of federal and state legislation. The Women's Bureau was instrumental in including women in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which for the first time set minimum wages and maximum hours for women. During World War II, the bureau advocated nontraditional job training and child care, priorities that continue to the present. The bureau played a significant role in the creation of the President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1961 and in the passage of the Equal Pay Act of 1963.

The bureau's 1994 Working Women Count! project involved responses from more than a quarter of a million women. The survey revealed that women continue to seek equitable pay and benefits, a workplace culture that supports and respects families, and equal opportunity. In the 1990s, the bureau also conducted a public education campaign on women's job rights and created programs to help women balance work and family needs and to help women move from welfare to the paid workforce.

See also Equal Pay Act of 1963; President's Commission on the Status of Women; Women's Trade Union League

References Freeman, *The Politics of Women's Liberation* (1975); www.dol.gov.

Women's Campaign Fund

Founded in 1974 by a bipartisan group of women, the Women's Campaign Fund (WCF) was the first organization formed with the specific purpose of providing financial support for women candidates who support the Equal Rights Amendment and other women's issues and are pro-choice, regardless of party affiliation. WCF began raising money for women candidates when many of them could not attract financial support because of their gender. WCF also recruits candidates and provides training for them.

See also EMILY's List; WISH List

References Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Quarterly's Federal PACs Directory, 1998–1999* (1998).

Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974

Passed in 1974, the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) seeks to provide educational access and opportunities to women and girls. Sponsored by Democratic congresswoman Patsy Takemoto Mink of Hawaii, the WEEA provides funding for the development of nonsexist teaching materials and for model programs. WEEA encourages full educational opportunities for women without the limitations of sex-role stereotypes.

Part of the Department of Education, the WEEA Office funds gender equity research, develops model programs and curricula, and implements policies and programs to address gender bias in schools. WEEA has awarded more than 700 grants and contracts to schools, universities, community organizations, and individuals. Some of the grantees include the National Women's History Project; the National Women's Law Center; the Wichita, Kansas Public Schools; and the National Black Child Development Institute.

In the 1970s, the WEEA focused on awareness of gender equity issues, career counseling for women returning to the workforce and to school, women considering nontraditional occupations, math and science education for women, and displaced homemakers. In the 1980s, WEEA added an emphasis on at-risk populations. By the 1990s, its attention had turned to gender-based violence and school-to-work issues, as well as providing Spanish translations of its publications and publishing works focusing on Native American women.

Since 1977, the WEEA has provided funding for the WEEA Equity Resource Center at the Educational Development Center. The resource center, a nonprofit educational organization, works with schools, community organizations, businesses, and individuals. In these cooperative endeavors, it publishes and markets gender-equitable educational products; fights against discrimination based on gender, race, class, language, and disability; and distributes multicultural, gender-equitable educational resources. The center offers classroom materials, program guides, anthologies of women's voices, and other materials.

See also Education, Women and

References www.edc.org/WomensEquity/weeainfo/index.html.

Women's Equity Action League

The Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) was founded by Elizabeth Boyer in 1968 to advocate feminist issues and to be a moderate alternative to the National Organization for Women (NOW). A founder of NOW, Boyer shared the organization's feminist goals but believed that its militant activities and positions offended moderate Americans. She also thought that NOW's support for abortion rights and gay rights alienated many who supported the equality of women. She left NOW and organized WEAL.

Boyer served as WEAL's first president and recruited a forty-four-member board of directors. Rejecting picketing, demonstrating, and violent or unseemly behavior, WEAL members emphasized working in and with the political structure. They supported the Equal Rights Amendment and tax credits for child care, fought against discrimination in tax laws

and sex bias in the Social Security system, and worked for the appointment and election of women on the state and local levels. In 1972, WEAL stopped avoiding the issue of abortion and supported the repeal of laws regulating and prohibiting abortions.

WEAL's initial priorities included the elimination of sex-role stereotyping in elementary and secondary schools, the promotion of women in sports, the analysis of credit and banking practices, and a study of divorce reform. In 1970, WEAL initiated formal complaints against forty-one universities and colleges, charging them with sex discrimination in violation of Executive Orders 11246 and 11375. The orders forbid federal contractors from discriminating on the basis of race, creed, color, national origin, or sex. WEAL contended that the colleges and universities, as federal contractors receiving \$3.8 billion per year, were subject to the provisions of the order. The organization pointed to an industry-wide pattern of sex discrimination in the academic community. In 1974, WEAL began a series of lawsuits against the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to enforce affirmative action policies, particularly in higher education. The resulting decisions shaped affirmative action policy in education for nearly twenty years. WEAL also helped open Rhodes scholarships to women. By 1975, WEAL had become a primary political pressure group in the feminist movement.

Other groups adopted priorities and tactics similar to WEAL's, and the group disbanded in 1990. The Marguerite Rawalt Legal Defense Fund continues to offer grants to support legal action in the areas that had been WEAL priorities.

See also Affirmative Action; Executive Order 11246; Executive Order 11375; National Organization for Women

References Daniels, "W.E.A.L.: The Growth of a Feminist Organization" (1979); Freeman, *The Politics of Women's Liberation* (1975); Slavin, *U.S. Women's Interest Groups* (1995); Stimpson, ed., *Women and the "Equal Rights" Amendment* (1972).

Women's Health Equity Act

First introduced in 1990 by the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues (CCWI), the Women's Health Equity Act (WHEA) is a package of proposed bills modeled after the Economic Equity Act. It includes provisions to create an Office for Women's Health Research and Development within the National Institutes of Health (NIH), a gynecology research program within NIH, and a Center for Women's Health Research; to require the NIH director to report on progress on women's health and research; to set up a database of research on women's health; and to require the inclusion of women and minorities in NIH clinical trials. New versions of the WHEA are introduced each session of Congress.

The proposed act resulted from a General Accounting Office investigation that CCWI had requested. The report documented women's general exclusion from medical research studies conducted by the NIH. One example of women's exclusion from health research was the 1988 Harvard Medical School study that demonstrated that taking one aspirin a day could help prevent heart attacks. It involved 22,000 subjects, all of them men. Senator Barbara Mikulski noted: "We have no idea whether that technique will help women or not. This is blatant discrimination. It is inexcusable, unforgivable, and we will not allow it to continue."

CCWI helped pass the Breast and Cervical Cancer Mortality Prevention Act in 1990 to make mammograms and Pap smears more accessible to low-income women. Two years later, CCWI succeeded in passing the Mammography Quality Assurance Act, establishing federal standards for mammography facilities and requiring their accreditation. Also in 1992, Congress passed the Infertility Prevention Act, providing screening and treatment for low-income women of chlamydia and other sexually transmitted diseases that can make women infertile. Congress passed three more provisions of the WHEA in 1993, creating the Office of Research on Women's Health, requiring a biennial report on progress in women's health research and treatment, and establishing a clearinghouse on research on women's health.

See also Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues; Economic Equity Act; Health Care, Women and; Mikulski, Barbara Ann; Women's Health, Office of Research on

References Bingham, *Women on the Hill: Challenging the Culture of Congress* (1997).

Women's Health, Office of Research on

The Office of Research on Women's Health (ORWH), authorized by Congress in 1993, serves as a focal point for women's health research at the National Institutes of Health (NIH). ORWH has three general mandates: to increase research into the diseases and other health conditions that affect women, identify gaps in the knowledge about them, and develop research priorities; to ensure that women are included in research studies; and to increase the number of women in biomedical careers.

ORWH works with the scientific and medical community, organizations interested in women's health, Congress, and other relevant constituencies. It conducts workshops and seminars to involve the research community in developing its agenda and priorities. In the late 1990s, its priority research areas included immunologic and arthritic diseases; acute and chronic pain; reproductive health; sexually transmitted diseases; gastrointestinal disorders; and risk factors for women in different racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups.



ORWH cosponsors the Women's Health Initiative, one of the largest prevention studies ever conducted in the United States. Focusing on the major causes of death, disability, and frailty in postmenopausal women, it will involve over 164,000 women in a fifteen-year study. When completed, the study will offer information on prevention strategies and risk factors for coronary heart disease, breast and colon cancer, and osteoporosis.

See also Women's Health Equity Act

References Bingham, *Women on the Hill: Challenging the Culture of Congress* (1997); www.od.nih.gov/orwh/overview.html.

A petition on arbitration as a substitute for war was presented to President Calvin Coolidge at the White House by Jane Addams, president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and other peace activists, 1927 (Corbis/Bettmann)

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) was founded by women active in the international suffrage movement, who believed that peace required more than treaties between nations and that justice, freedom, nonviolence, opportunity, and equality were essential components of peace. Since its beginnings, WILPF has evolved into an organization that seeks to create an environment of political, economic, social, and psychological freedom for all members of the human community.

As World War I raged across Europe in 1915, European and North American women gathered at The Hague in Holland to register their objections to the use of violence as a response to conflict, to offer suggestions to end it, and to identify strategies to prevent war. They created the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, which changed its name to Women's International League for Peace and Freedom after World War I. In the United States, Jane Addams and Carrie Chapman Catt had founded the Woman's Peace Party, which became the U.S. Section of WILPF. In addition, American Emily Greene Balch was the organization's first international secretary. Even though WILPF's American leadership included notable and admired women, in the 1920s and 1930s the organization was suspected of having Communist leanings.

WILPF seeks world disarmament; the end of sexism, racism, classism, and homophobia; and the end of all forms of violence, including rape, battering, exploitation, and war. WILPF's mission also includes promoting sustainable agriculture and economic justice within and among nations. The organization works to fulfill its mission through lobbying, organizing direct action, conducting and publishing research, and supplying members of Congress and state legislatures with information.

See also Addams, Jane; Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman; Violence Against Women Act of 1994

References www.wilpf.org.

Women's Joint Congressional Committee

Created in 1920 after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women suffrage rights, the Women's Joint Congressional Committee (WJCC) coordinated the national lobbying efforts of several women's organizations. Its areas of interest were protection for infants, public education, arms reduction, and protective labor legislation in addition to other issues concerning women. The WJCC did not take positions on issues. Instead it served as a clearinghouse for member organizations, and when three or more member organizations shared a position on a bill, they formed a subcommittee to develop and execute a strategy for it. In addition, a standing committee monitored legislation in Congress.

WJCC's charter organizations were the American Association of University Women, American Home Economics Association, Business and Professional Women/USA, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers Associations, National Consumers League, National Council of Jewish Women, Women's Trade Union League, and Woman's Christian Temperance Union. For a time, the WJCC had twenty-one member organizations.

Described in 1922 as the most powerful and highly organized lobby in Washington, D.C., the WJCC succeeded in passing several of the measures on its legislative agenda, including the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act in 1921, the Cable Act in 1922, the establishment of the Women's Bureau, and the establishment of a federal prison for women. Research conducted by the WJCC revealed that 60 percent of civil service examinations were closed to women. WJCC worked with a woman on the Civil Service Commission, ended the discrimination, and then passed a measure that reclassified civil service positions to establish pay equity among them. The WJCC's support for the Child Labor Amendment helped gain its approval in Congress, but not enough states ratified it. Because of its support for protective labor legislation, the WJCC opposed the Equal Rights Amendment and succeeded in preventing it from gaining congressional approval. In areas less directly related to women, WJCC also supported the establishment of a coal commission and passage of the 1921 Packers and Stockyards Control Act.

In the mid-1920s, leaders in several of the member organizations were accused of having Communist connections. These and other allegations of a spider web of Communists among women's organizations contributed to the WJCC's loss of influence and its dissolution in the early 1930s.

See also American Association of University Women; Business and Professional Women/USA; Cable Acts; Child Labor Amendment; General Federation of Women's Clubs; National Consumers League; National Council of Jewish Women; Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921; Spider Web; Willebrandt, Mabel Walker; Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Women's Bureau; Women's Trade Union League

References Breckenridge, *Women in the Twentieth Century: A Study of Their Political, Social, and Economic Activities* (1933); Brown, *American Women in the 1920s: Setting a Course* (1987); Lemons, *The Woman Citizen* (1973).

Women's Liberation Movement

In the 1960s, groups of young women in Chicago, Toronto, Seattle, and other cities formed spontaneously and independently of each other. Some of the women had experience in the civil rights movement in the South and others in radical movements in the North, but they shared a common interest in ending male dominance and in fundamentally reshaping society. For example, after concluding that hierarchies are a male form of organization, they developed nonhierarchical groups with equal relationships. They agreed that no one would be a leader or an achiever, and they would resolve differences through discussion. The groups adopted consciousness raising as a technique for revealing sexism to

themselves and each other and developed theories regarding male dominance and sexism.

Women's liberation groups differed from organizations like the National Organization for Women (NOW) in several ways. NOW, for example, works to gain power for women in the existing social, political, and economic systems. Women's liberation adherents rejected those structures and sought to create a new, egalitarian, unstructured society. They rejected men's participation in their groups and explored lesbian relationships as purely feminist relationships. Many of their ideas were initially viewed as radical or undesirable by more staid feminists, but over time the ideas gained acceptance within the larger feminist movement. By the mid-1970s, women's liberation groups had dissolved.

See also Feminist Movement; New York Radical Women; Radicalesbians; Redstockings

References Davis, *Moving the Mountain: The Women's Movement in America Since 1960* (1991).

Women's Policy, Inc.

Founded in 1995, Women's Policy, Inc. (WPI) provides nonpartisan research and information to policymakers, advocates, and the public on issues important to women and children. Through a weekly newsletter, briefing papers, and an annual summary of legislation affecting women and families, WPI reports on abortion, affirmative action, women's health issues, violence against women, and economic equity for women. Other issues covered include workplace fairness, women's entrepreneurship, family-friendly work policies, child care, and child support enforcement.

Two former staff members of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues formed WPI after the U.S. House of Representatives abolished dozens of legislative service organizations, including the caucus.

See also Abortion, Affirmative Action; Child Support Enforcement; Economic Equity Act; Health Care, Women and; Pay Equity

References <http://orgs.womenconnect.com>.

Women's Political Council

Founded in 1946, the Women's Political Council (WPC) played a critical role in the 1955 Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott and helped launch the civil rights movement of the 1960s. The WPC had threatened a boycott of the city's buses since 1950, and Rosa Parks's refusal to give up her bus seat and subsequent arrest provided the catalyst to spark the boycott. Under the leadership of the WPC, the boycott began four days after her arrest and lasted for more than a year.

A group of well-educated African American women had formed WPC after the Montgomery branch of the League of Women Voters (LWV) refused to admit black women members. About forty women decided to create the WPC to provide themselves with a means to be politically active, focusing their efforts on fighting racial segregation and improving the lives of all African Americans, particularly women and children. To achieve its goals, WPC sponsored a variety of programs, including Negro Youth Day, which sought to inspire African American youth to become leaders and to believe in the possibility of change through electoral politics. Several of the students trained in WPC programs became leaders in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, registering voters in Mississippi and other states in the Deep South. The organization also organized letter-writing campaigns, taxation protests, and meetings with the mayor.

As the news circulated that Rosa Parks had been arrested on 1 December 1955, WPC leader JoAnn Robinson, head of the English department at Alabama State College in Montgomery, used the college's mimeograph machines to print leaflets calling for a bus boycott. Other WPC members went into action, distributing the leaflets and organizing support for the boycott, which began on 5 December and involved almost all African Americans in the community. Robinson continued to use the college's mimeograph machines throughout the boycott, which provided a vital means of communication, despite the fact that she risked her job and her safety by doing it. Although she attempted to keep her role as invisible as possible, she was among the first arrested as a result of the boycott and later lost her teaching position for her activism.

After members were subpoenaed during the trials relating to the boycott, they destroyed the organization's records out of fear that the information would be subpoenaed and the meeting minutes and membership lists publicized, resulting in retaliation against them. WPC dissolved in 1960 as members lost their jobs, feared being fired or being subjected to other forms of retaliation, and discontinued their activism. The remaining core continued the work through churches.

See also Civil Rights Movement, Women in the; Parks, Rosa Louise McCauley

References Barnett, "Black Women's Collectivist Movement Organizations: Their Struggles during the 'Doldrums'" (1995).

Women's Political Union

Founded by Harriot Stanton Blatch, the Women's Political Union (WPU) began as the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women (ELSSW), a group that Blatch established in 1907 to revitalize the woman suffrage movement. Through the ELSSW, Blatch organized working women from the ranks of doctors, lawyers, milliners, and industrial workers, women

The logo of the Women's Trade Union League, at a convention in New York City, 1924 (Courtesy: University of Florida, Gainesville)



who were generally overlooked by the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), the dominant suffrage organization. To help attract working-class women, ELSSW concentrated on their needs; in addition, it did not have membership fees. Through the ELSSW, for example, trade union women testified before the New York legislature in support of woman suffrage, the first time working-class women had done so. ELSSW changed its name in 1910 to the Women's Political Union to include a broader range of women. Considered a radical organization, the WPU held open-air meetings and outdoor parades and sought newspaper publicity, strategies later adopted by the more conservative NAWSA. The WPU merged with the Congressional Union in 1916.

See also Blatch, Harriot Eaton Stanton; Congressional Union; National American Woman Suffrage Association

Women's Trade Union League

Founded in 1903 to help working women organize, the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) obtained support primarily from wealthy women. The WTUL did not achieve its goal of persuading women to join unions, but it succeeded in other areas. It publicized women's low wages, long

working hours, and unhealthy working conditions and helped pass protective legislation. The WTUL held its last national convention in 1947. During the post–World War II years, WTUL’s financial support diminished, its leadership aged, and many people feared being associated with unions because they were under attack for alleged connections with communism. WTUL dissolved in 1950.

See also Protective Legislation

References Orleck, *Common Sense and a Little Fire* (1995).

Woodhouse, Chase Going (1890–1984)

Democrat Chase Going Woodhouse of Connecticut served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 3 January 1945 to 3 January 1947 and from 3 January 1949 to 3 January 1951. As secretary of the Democratic Caucus in the 81st Congress (1949–1951), Woodhouse was the first woman to hold a leadership position in Congress. Her term in Congress overlapped that of one of her former students, Jessie Sumner.

A social worker for a brief time, Woodhouse studied economics in Germany and England. She then became a fellow in political economy at the University of Chicago. Between 1918 and 1946, she held teaching and administrative posts. Woodhouse was also involved in women’s groups, serving as president of the Connecticut League of Women Voters, Connecticut Federation of Democratic Women’s Clubs, and Altrusa Clubs. Connecticut secretary of state from 1941 to 1942, she instituted election law schools in the interest of public information.

In her campaign for Congress, Woodhouse emphasized establishing a world peace organization, maintaining full employment during peacetime, revising the tax system, providing adequate educational facilities, and expanding rural electrification. She worked for congressional approval of the International Monetary Fund and for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and has been given credit for the incorporation of these two groups into the United Nations. She fought to maintain wartime price controls to protect consumers and for additional affordable housing for veterans.

After losing her reelection attempt in 1946, Woodhouse was executive director of the women’s bureau of the Democratic National Committee from 1947 to 1948. She regained her congressional seat in 1948 but lost again in 1950. Woodhouse was assistant to the director of Price Stabilization from 1951 to 1953.

Born in Victoria, British Columbia, Chase Going Woodhouse graduated in 1912 and received her master of arts degree in 1913, both from McGill University in Montreal, Canada.

See also Congress, Women in

References Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University; Engelbarts, *Women in the United States Congress, 1917–1972* (1974); H. W. Wilson, *Current Biography: Who's News and Why, 1945* (1945); Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–1990* (1991).

Woodhull, Victoria Claflin (1838–1927)

The first woman to run for president of the United States, Victoria Woodhull was a candidate for the office in 1872 and in 1892. A protégée of Cornelius Vanderbilt, Woodhull was also the first woman stockbroker in the United States. Her reform activities and her advocacy for free love created controversies and turmoil within the suffrage movement for more than a decade. To Woodhull, free love meant that women had absolute control over their own sexual and reproductive lives.

Born in Homer, Ohio, Victoria Woodhull received little education. She married when she was fifteen years old and divorced about eleven years later. In 1868, Woodhull and her sister Tennessee Claflin moved to New York City and arranged to meet Cornelius Vanderbilt, reputedly the wealthiest man in the United States. Under his tutelage, the two sisters made a fortune in the gold market in 1869. Vanderbilt sponsored their Wall Street brokerage firm, Woodhull, Claflin, and Company, making Woodhull the country's first woman stockbroker. From 1870 to 1876, the sisters published *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, a financial and reform newspaper that reported on Wall Street fraud, free love, and legalized prostitution in addition to Woodhull's political views.

Woodhull had attended her first women's rights convention in 1869 and heard Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton speak on woman suffrage and related topics. In *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, Woodhull advocated education for girls, declared that her experience demonstrated that women could work in many professions, and argued that women should be paid as well as men. A few weeks before *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* had begun publication, Woodhull had announced her candidacy for president of the United States in the 1872 elections and promoted it through the newspaper.

Woodhull also became involved in Washington politics in 1870, establishing herself as a lobbyist for woman suffrage. In *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, she wrote that a suffrage amendment was unnecessary if the Constitution were properly interpreted. She argued that women were citizens in the same way that men were and that women paid taxes, as did men. She shared Virginia Minor's belief that the Fourteenth Amendment established women's right to vote, adding that the Fourteenth and Fif-



teenth Amendments nullified state legislation that prohibited women from voting. She concluded that enabling legislation to clarify the point was all that was necessary and lobbied Congress for it as well as meeting with President U.S. Grant to get his support for her interpretation, but he did not provide the endorsement she wanted. She presented a memorial to the House Judiciary Committee asking for the enabling legislation, but it considered and rejected the idea.

Woodhull's presidential candidacy gained the support of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in 1871. When the 1872 National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) convention met, Woodhull attempted to take the leadership away from Stanton and Anthony, but Anthony prevailed in a tumultuous meeting. Woodhull left the NWSA convention, called her own convention, and formed the Equal Rights Party. The party named Woodhull its presidential nominee and Frederick Douglass its vice presidential nominee. Douglass, however, declined. Shortly after the convention, Woodhull's brokerage failed, and she lost her housing and offices.

Scandal erupted shortly before the November 1872 election. After divorcing her first husband in 1865, Woodhull had married Colonel James Harvey Blood in 1868, although no record of the marriage has been found. In 1871, Woodhull's aging and ill first husband had moved in with Woodhull and her second husband, Blood. The revelation of their uncommon arrangement became a scandal. Woodhull responded with a

Victoria Woodhull was the first woman to run for president of the United States in 1892; this woodcut shows her testifying to the House Judiciary Committee regarding woman suffrage, 1871 (Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper)

newspaper article and expounded on her belief in free love “as the only cure for immorality.” To justify her lifestyle, Woodhull revealed in the 2 November 1872 edition of *Woodhull and Claflin’s Weekly* that powerful Brooklyn preacher Henry Ward Beecher was having an affair with Elizabeth Tilton, a parishioner, who was Theodore Tilton’s wife. Beecher had been a mentor to and trusted friend of Theodore Tilton. Woodhull and Claflin were arrested and jailed for publishing the Tilton-Beecher scandal, which authorities deemed obscene. They were both later acquitted, but the scandal effectively ended Woodhull’s political career.

The scandal also created a breach within the woman suffrage movement. Anthony and Stanton defended Woodhull, but their defense did little to help Woodhull and generated public criticism of Anthony and Stanton. Woodhull’s advocacy of free love was used to attack and discredit woman suffrage and women’s rights supporters.

In 1876, Woodhull ended publication of *Woodhull and Claflin’s Weekly*, and the next year she moved to England, where she lectured. She returned to the United States for a second presidential campaign in 1892.

See also Anthony, Susan Brownell; National Woman Suffrage Association; Stanton, Elizabeth Cady; Suffrage

References Underhill, *The Woman Who Ran for President: The Many Lives of Victoria Woodhull* (1995).

Woolsey, Lynn (b. 1937)

On 3 January 1993, Democrat Lynn Woolsey of California entered the U.S. House of Representatives, where her personal experiences have influenced some aspects of her congressional actions. Divorced in the 1960s, she had three children to support and few economic resources and spent three years on welfare. In 1994, she told her congressional colleagues, “I differ from every mother member of this House because I am the only member of Congress to have been a welfare mother. So my opinions are not based on theory. They are based on real-life experience.” The welfare reform bill she introduced included a child support assurance program and guaranteed child support from the federal government.

Believing that education makes a significant difference in people’s ability to support themselves, she has made education a top priority. She passed a bill to provide child care, health care, and crime prevention programs to schools. She supports an increase in the minimum wage; tax deductions for college expenses; and expanded pension coverage, portability, and protection.

She has staunchly supported environmental issues, including her proposal for the Point Reyes National Seashore Farmland Protection Act and her efforts to maintain the ban on offshore oil drilling. She has ob-

tained federal funding to extend carpool lanes, construct park-and-ride lots, and complete the purchase of the Northwest Pacific Railroad right-of-way. Other policy priorities include gun control, the solvency of Medicare, reproductive rights, and universal health care coverage. Woolsey held the leadership position of House deputy minority whip in the 106th Congress (1999–2001).

Born in Seattle, Washington, Woolsey attended the University of Washington from 1955 to 1957 and received her bachelor of science degree in human resources and organizational behavior from the University of San Francisco in 1980. Woolsey started Woolsey Personnel Service, a human resources consulting and employment agency, in 1980. She served on the Petaluma City Council from 1985 to 1993.

See also Abortion; Child Support Enforcement; Congress, Women in

References Congressional Quarterly, *Politics in America* 1994 (1993); www.house.gov/woolsey/bio.htm.

Wright, Frances (Fanny) (1795–1852)

Reformer and writer Frances Wright was likely the first woman to speak before a large audience of women and men in the United States when she lectured on 4 July 1828 in New Harmony, Indiana. With a copy of the Declaration of Independence in her hand to remind Americans of their heritage of fighting for natural rights, she called for educational equality for women, arguing that education was the key to equality for both sexes and all economic and social classes. She believed in the fundamental equality of women and men as human beings, advocated free love, and believed miscegenation would solve racial problems. Newspapers and ministers attacked her for speaking in public, calling her the “Whore of Babylon” and “The Red Harlot of Infidelity.” Wright responded by denouncing the clergy as opponents to freedom of thought.

Three years earlier, in 1825, Wright had been the first woman in the United States to take action against slavery by establishing Nashoba, a utopian community in Tennessee. Populated by the slaves Wright had purchased as well as by sympathetic white people, Nashoba was to be a model for the gradual abolition of slavery. When reports of sexual activities between unmarried people and between blacks and whites became public, the accompanying scandal along with financial difficulties spelled the end of Nashoba. In 1829, she closed the project and freed her slaves in Haiti.

With Robert Dale Owen, in 1829, she founded and edited the *Free Enquirer*, a newspaper that advocated liberalization of divorce laws, birth control, the rights of working people, and women’s rights. She moved to

France in 1830, married, and had a daughter. She returned to the U.S. lecture circuit in 1835, but she did not regain her earlier fame or notoriety.

Born in Dundee, Scotland, Frances Wright inherited adequate funds to pursue an independent life.

See also Grimké, Angelina Emily and Sarah Moore; Public Speaking; Stewart, Maria W.

References Eckhardt, *Fanny Wright: Rebel in America* (1984).

Y

Year of the Woman

Political observers labeled 1992 the “year of the woman” because of the gains women made in winning seats in state legislatures, the U.S. House of Representatives, and the U.S. Senate. The number of women elected to state legislatures increased from 1,369 to 1,527. The number of women serving in the U.S. House of Representatives increased from twenty-eight to forty-seven, and the number in the U.S. Senate went from four to seven. Democratic women dominated the increases, with a net gain of sixteen women in the House and two in the Senate.

More women ran in 1992 than had previously run for Congress in any one election. Many of them said that watching Anita Hill testify before the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas’s confirmation had prompted their candidacies. In addition, several House members had been accused of abusing their privileges in the House’s bank and had written hundreds of checks that created overdrafts in their accounts. Another factor that contributed to the increase in the number of women being elected to office was the gender gap.

See also Congress, Women in; Gender Gap; Hill, Anita Faye; State Legislatures, Women in

Yellen, Janet (b. 1946)

Appointed chair of the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) in 1997 by President Bill Clinton, Janet Yellen had been a member of the Board of

Governors of the Federal Reserve from 1994 to 1997. A cabinet-level position in the Clinton administration, the chair of the three-member council directly advises the president and the senior members of the administration on the economy's trends and developments, recommending policies and helping the public understand economic issues. As chair of the CEA, Yellen questioned the long-term effects of changes in welfare programs made in 1996, concerned that the reductions in programs and program funding could be harmful to children.

Born in Brooklyn, New York, Yellen earned her undergraduate degree from Brown University and her doctoral degree in economics from Yale University in 1971. An assistant professor at Harvard University from 1971 to 1976, she was an economist with the Federal Reserve's Board of Governors from 1977 to 1978, specializing in international trade and finance. A professor at the University of California at Berkeley from 1980 to 1994, she has served on the Panel of Economic Advisers for the Congressional Budget Office and as senior adviser to the Brookings Panel on Economic Activity. Yellen is a recognized scholar in international economics and has written on the causes, mechanisms, and implications of unemployment as well as other related topics.

See also Cabinets, Women in Presidential

References www.businessweek.com/1997/09/b3516111.htm; www.whitehouse.gov/wh/eop/cea/html/yellen.html.

YWCA of the USA

Founded in 1858 as the Young Women's Christian Association, the YWCA of the USA began as a boardinghouse for women and girls in New York City. The organization's mission is to empower women and girls and to end racism. The YWCA began on the local level in several cities, with each group independent from the other, in response to the needs of rural and immigrant women moving into urban areas and needing safe, affordable housing. In 1909, more than 600 local associations coalesced to form the YWCA national organization. Since then the YWCA has grown into more than 400 associations in more than 4,000 locations involving more than 2 million people.

The organization's housing mission evolved into providing shelter and services for victims of violence. Every year about 650,000 women and their children seek services, including emergency shelter, transitional housing, counseling, self-defense training, and legal advocacy. In addition, YWCA sponsors an annual Week Without Violence, an international public awareness campaign.

Racial justice emerged as an early theme for the YWCA. In 1922, the national convention voted to hold national meetings and conferences only

*A poster for the
Young Women's
Christian Association
(Library of Congress)*



in those places that accepted all members, without segregation or discrimination. As the civil rights movement emerged, the YWCA created its National Office of Racial Justice and initiated the One Imperative program to eliminate racism, first directed by Dorothy Height. One of the first organizations to divest its investments in South Africa, the YWCA encouraged universities to follow suit. Since 1992, the YWCA has sponsored the National Day of Commitment to Eliminate Racism and in 1996 began convening women leaders to discuss institutional forms of racism.

In 1864 the YWCA opened the first day nursery in the United States

and now has more than 1,000 sites that serve more than 750,000 children. In addition, the association trains child care providers, has resource and referral services, offers day care for homeless children, and conducts parent education classes. Child care is also one of the areas in which YWCA is a public policy advocate.

Other YWCA programs include leadership training in advocacy, voter participation, and public leadership, as well as employment training, job placement, and sports and physical fitness. Its youth programs include leadership skill development, remedial education, crisis intervention, family violence prevention, and physical and mental health services.

In the 1990s, the YWCA's public policy agenda included advocacy for children, gender equity in sports, increased funding for the National Breast and Cervical Cancer Detection Program, and affirmative action. The organization has worked to increase the number of registered women voters and to get out the vote on election day through the Women's Vote Project. The YWCA has also worked for legislation to end hate crimes, ban assault weapons, implement antidiscrimination policies, and protect abortion rights.

See also Height, Dorothy Irene

References www.ywca.org.

Appendix 1: Documents

Setting Political Agendas

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, women seeking to change their political and social status have gathered together and stated their objections to the status quo and the changes they believed important. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, along with three other women, began the tradition when they organized the first woman's rights convention in 1848 and presented the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions to those gathered in Seneca Falls, New York, for their consideration. Modeled after the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions was debated and voted upon with little controversy, except for the resolution on woman suffrage, which passed but with significant dissent.

The Nineteenth Amendment, which granted women in the United States suffrage rights, became part of the Constitution in 1920, but in some parts of the world, women still did not have voting rights in 1953. The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women developed the Convention on the Political Rights of Women declaring the belief that women should be able to vote on equal terms with men and be able to hold public office. The agreement was signed on 31 March 1953.

In the 1960s, U.S. women again focused on their legal, economic, and political status and concluded that the discriminatory state of federal policies and the economic and political discrimination that permeated society needed to end. Organizing in small and large groups across the country, women identified the barriers they perceived and launched the feminist movement. Among these groups, the National Organization for Women (NOW) emerged as the strongest and the largest. At its first national conference, held in 1967, NOW members stated their demands, including passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and the repeal of a law that made abortion illegal, measures so controversial at the time that they even created conflict among the members.

Another national plan of action emerged from the National Women's Conference held in Houston, Texas, in November, 1977. Financed with a congressional

appropriation, the conference was held in response to the United Nations Decade for Women (1975–1985). Fifty-six state and territorial conventions elected delegates to the national convention and recommended resolutions to it. By far the most controversial item in the agenda was the call for the elimination of discrimination based on sexual preference.

NOW's 1998 Declaration of Sentiments, passed at the organization's recent national convention celebrating 150 years of the women's rights movement, and signed by more than 700 members, opens by stating a vision of the world it hopes to help create. The organization's resolutions echo more than a century's worth of documents demanding women's emancipation and full equality in all human endeavors.

Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, 1848

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

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. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they were accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

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 demand of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and her God.

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.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions in every part of the country.

WHEREAS, The great precept of nature is conceded to be, that “man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness.” Blackstone in his Commentaries remarks, that his law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the

globe, in all countries and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; therefore,

RESOLVED, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of women, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is “superior in obligation to any other.”

RESOLVED, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which places her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

RESOLVED, That woman is man’s equal—was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

RESOLVED, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

RESOLVED, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

RESOLVED, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

RESOLVED, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

RESOLVED, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

RESOLVED, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

RESOLVED, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.

RESOLVED, THEREFORE, That being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and

by speaking, by instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and being a self-evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

Convention on the Political Rights of Women, 1953

The Contracting Parties,

Desiring to implement the principle of equality of rights for men and women contained in the Charter of the United Nations,

Recognizing that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or indirectly through freely chosen representatives, and has the right to equal access to public service in his country, and desiring to equalize the status of men and women in the enjoyment and exercise of political rights, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Having resolved to conclude a Convention for this purpose,

Hereby agree as hereinafter provided:

Article I

Women shall be entitled to vote in all elections on equal terms with men without any discrimination.

Article II

Women shall be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.

Article III

Women shall be entitled to hold public office and to exercise all public functions, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.

Article IV

1. This Convention shall be open for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and also on behalf of any other State to which an invitation has been addressed by the General Assembly.

2. This Convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article V

1. This Convention shall be open for accession to all States referred to in paragraph 1 of article IV.

2. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article VI

1. This Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the sixth instrument of ratification or accession.

2. For each State ratifying or acceding to the Convention after the deposit of

the sixth instrument of ratification or accession the Convention shall enter into force on the ninetieth day after deposit by such State of its instrument of ratification or accession.

Article VII

In the event that any State submits a reservation to any of the articles of this Convention at the time of signature, ratification or accession, the Secretary-General shall communicate the text of the reservation to all States which are or may become parties to this Convention. Any State which objects to the reservation may, within a period of ninety days from the date of the said communication (or upon the date of its becoming a party to the Convention), notify the Secretary-General that it does not accept it. In such case, the Convention shall not enter into force as between such State and the State making the reservation.

Article VIII

1. Any State may denounce this Convention by written notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Denunciation shall take effect one year after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary-General.

2. This Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date when the denunciation which reduces the number of parties to less than six becomes effective.

Article IX

Any dispute which may arise between any two or more Contracting States concerning the interpretation or application of this Convention which is not settled by negotiation, shall at the request of any one of the parties to the dispute be referred to the International Court of Justice for decision, unless they agree to another mode of settlement.

Article X

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in paragraph 1 of article IV of this Convention of the following:

- (a) Signatures and instruments of ratifications received in accordance with article IV;
- (b) Instruments of accession received in accordance with article V;
- (c) The date upon which this Convention enters into force in accordance with article VI;
- (d) Communications and notifications received in accordance with article VII;
- (e) Notifications of denunciation received in accordance with paragraph 1 of article VIII;
- (f) Abrogation in accordance with paragraph 2 of article VIII.

Article XI

1. This Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts shall be equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit a certified copy to all Members of the United Nations and to the non-member States contemplated in paragraph 1 of article IV.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the undersigned, being duly authorized thereto by their respective Governments, have signed the present Convention, opened for signature at New York, on the thirty-first day of March, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-three.

The National Organization for Women's Bill of Rights for Women, 1967

WE DEMAND:

I. That the U.S. Congress immediately pass the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution . . . and that such then be immediately ratified by the several States.

II. That equal employment opportunity be guaranteed to all women, as well as men . . .

III. That women be protected by law to ensure their rights to return to their jobs within a reasonable time after childbirth without loss of seniority or other accrued benefits, and be paid maternity leave as a form of social security and/or employee benefit.

IV. Immediate revision of tax laws to permit the deduction of home and child-care expenses for working parents.

V. That child-care facilities be established by law on the same basis as parks, libraries, and public schools, adequate to the needs of children from the pre-school years through adolescence, as a community resource to be used by all citizens from all income levels.

VI. That the right of women to be educated to their full potential equally with men be secured by Federal and State legislation.

VII. The right of women in poverty to secure job training, housing, and family allowances on equal terms with men, but without prejudice to a parent's right to remain at home to care for his or her children; revision of welfare legislation and poverty programs which deny women dignity, privacy, and self-respect.

VIII. The right of women to control their own reproductive lives by removing from the penal codes laws limiting access to contraceptive information and devices, and by repealing penal laws governing abortion.

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The National Women's Conference Plan of Action, 1977

Fifty-six state and territorial conventions forwarded recommendations summarized below for ratification by 2000 delegates gathered in Houston in 1977. Apart from gender, it was the most diverse elected body ever assembled.

1. Arts and Humanities: Equitable representation in management, governance, and decision-making structures in libraries, museums, media and higher education; blind-judging when possible.

2. Battered Women: Elimination of violence in the home through emergency shelters; training and intervention; strengthening and enforcement of laws; legal services for victims.

3. Business: Support for women entrepreneurs through government-related activities and contracts; inclusion of women-owned business in Small Business Administration targeting.

4. Child Abuse: Support for prevention and treatment of abused children including training for public awareness, parent counseling, service and justice agencies.
5. Child Care: Federally supported efforts and legislation at all levels to promote quality child care programs; labor and business support; education for parenthood.
6. Credit: Education and enforcement of the 1974 Federal Equal Credit Opportunity Act.
7. Disabled Women: Enforcement and expansion of legislation on education, employment, housing, and support services recognizing the special needs of disabled women.
8. Education: Enforcement of laws prohibiting discrimination in education; special consideration for physical education, leadership positions, vocation training, elimination of sex and race stereotyping.
9. Elective/Appointive Office: Joint effort by federal and state governments, political parties, and other organizations to increase women in office, policy making positions and judgeships.
10. Employment: A federal full employment policy; enforcement and extension of anti-discrimination laws; efforts by governments, institutions, business, industry and unions to reduce occupational segregation and promote upward mobility; special attention to minority women; amendment of the Veteran's Preference Act; extensions of the labor standards and the right to unionize; support for flextime jobs.
11. Equal Rights Amendment: Ratification of the ERA.
12. Health: Establishment of a national health security program acknowledging the special needs of women; improve community facilities, contraceptive research, reproductive services, substance abuse efforts, representation in professions and on policy boards; increase review of drugs, custodial care, surgical procedures.
13. Homemakers: Revise marital property, social security, and pension laws; in divorce provide for children's needs and sharing of economic burden; support displaced homemaker programs.
14. Insurance: Adoption of Model Regulations to Eliminate Unfair Sex Discrimination amended to cover pregnancy, newborns, policy conversions.
15. International Affairs: Increased participation by women in foreign policy-making roles; enforcement of anti-discrimination laws; improvement of the image of women in the mass media.
16. Media: Increased opportunity for women in professional and policy-making roles; enforcement of anti-discrimination laws; improvement of the image of women in the mass media.
17. Minority Women: Recognition that every Plan recommendation applies to all minority women with recognition of additional burdens through institutionalized bias and inadequate data; enforcement of anti-discrimination laws as they affect education, housing, health, employment; recognition of special needs of American Indian/ Alaskan Native women, Asian Pacific women, Hispanic women, Puerto Rican women, Black women.
18. Offenders: Review of sentencing laws and practices with discriminatory effects on women in penal facilities; address legal, counseling, health, educational needs of women, especially mothers and juveniles.

19. Older Women: Support by governments, public and private institutions of services promoting dignity and security in housing, health services, transportation, education, social security, recognition of the changing image of older women and their capacity to contribute to policy making.

20. Rape: Revise criminal codes to correct inequities against rape victims; rape crisis centers and prevention and self-protection programs; support for the National Center for the Prevention/ Control of Rape; victim compensation.

21. Reproductive Freedom: Support for U.S. Supreme Court decision guaranteeing reproductive freedom; make certain all methods of family planning are available to all women under privately or publicly funded medical services; oppose involuntary sterilization; full access to family planning and education on responsible sexuality for teens, full education programs with child care for teen parents.

22. Rural Women: Rural education policy to meet isolation, poverty and underemployment affecting women; improved data; full ownership rights for farm wives, review conditions affecting plantation/ migratory workers.

23. Sexual Preference: Legislation eliminating discrimination based on sexual preference in employment, housing, public accommodations, credit, public facilities, funding, military, repeal of laws restricting private behavior between consenting adults; evaluation of child custody suits based solely on parenting capacity.

24. Statistics: An analysis of all data collected by the government on the basis of sex and race to assess the impact of programs on women.

25. Welfare and Poverty: Focus on welfare and poverty by federal and state governments as major women's issues compounding inequality of opportunity; support for welfare reform program considering social security, child care, minimum wage, education, job opportunities, health insurance, and legal services; federal floor to ensure an adequate standard of living.

26. Continuing Committee of National Women's Conference: Establishment of a body to consider steps to achieve the Plan and convene a second conference.

Declaration of Sentiments of the National Organization for Women, 1998

On this twelfth day of July, 1998, the delegates of the National Organization for Women gather in convention on the one hundred and fiftieth year of the women's rights movement.

We bring passion, anger, hope, love and perseverance to create this vision for the future:

We envision a world where women's equality and women's empowerment to determine our own destinies is a reality;

We envision a world where women have equal representation in all decision-making structures of our societies;

We envision a world where social and economic justice exist, where all people have the food, housing, clothing, health care and education they need;

We envision a world where there is recognition and respect for each person's intrinsic worth as well as the rich diversity of the various groups among us;

We envision a world where non-violence is the established order;

We envision a world where patriarchal culture and male dominance no longer oppress us or our earth;

We envision a world where women and girls are heard, valued and respected.

Our movement, encompassing many issues and many strategies, directs our love for humanity into action that spans the world and unites women.

But our future requires us to know our past.

One hundred fifty years ago the women's rights movement grew out of the fight to abolish slavery. Angered by their exclusion from leadership and public speaking at abolitionist conventions and inspired by the power of the Iroquois women, a small dedicated group of women and men built a movement. After its inception, the movement was fractured by race. Our history is full of struggle against common bonds of oppression and a painful reality of separation. Nevertheless, these activists created a political force that achieved revolutionary change. They won property rights for married women; opened the doors of higher education for women; and garnered suffrage in 1920.

In 1923, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the historic Seneca Falls convention, feminists led the demand for constitutional equality for women to win full justice under the law in order to end economic, educational, and political inequality.

Our foremothers—the first wave of feminists—ran underground railroads, lobbied, marched, and picketed. They were jailed and force fed, lynched and raped. But they prevailed. They started with a handful of activists, and today, the feminist movement involves millions of people every day.

Standing on their shoulders, we launched the National Organization for Women in 1966, the largest and strongest organization of feminists in the world today. A devoutly grassroots, action-oriented organization, we have sued, boycotted, picketed, lobbied, demonstrated, marched, and engaged in non-violent civil disobedience. We have won in the courts and in the legislatures; and we have negotiated with the largest corporations in the world, winning unparalleled rights for women.

The National Organization for Women and our modern day movement have profoundly changed the lives of women, men and children. We have raised public consciousness about the plight of women to such an extent that today the majority of people support equality for women.

In the past 32 years, women have advanced farther than in any previous generation. Yet still we do not have full equality.

We have moved more feminists than ever before into positions of power in all of the institutions that shape our society. We have achieved some measure of power to effect change in these institutions from within; yet still we are far from full equality in decision-making. We demand an equal share of power in our families and religions, in law, science and technology, the arts and humanities, sports, education, the trades and professions, labor and management, the media, corporations and small businesses as well as government. In no sphere of life should women be silenced, underrepresented, or devalued.

Today, we reaffirm our demand for Constitutional equality for women and girls. Simultaneously, we are working with sister organizations to develop and pass a national women's equality act for the twenty-first century. And we participate in and advance a global movement for women and demand that the United States join the overwhelming majority of nations of the world in ratifying the

United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women without reservations, declarations, or understandings that would weaken this commitment.

We reaffirm our commitment to the power of grassroots activism, to a multi-issue, multi-tactical strategy.

We are committed to a feminist ideology and reaffirm our historic commitment to gaining equality for women, assuring safe, legal and accessible abortion and full reproductive freedom, combating racism, stopping violence against women, ending bigotry and discrimination based on sexual orientation and on color, ethnicity, national origin, women's status, age, disability, size, childbearing capacity or choices, or parental or marital status.

We will not trade off the rights of one woman for the advancement of another. We will not be divided. We will unite with all women who seek freedom and join hands with all of the great movements of our time and all time, seeking equality, empowerment and justice.

We commit to continue the mentoring, training, and leadership development of young and new activists of all ages who will continue our struggle. We will work to invoke enthusiasm for our goals and to expand ownership in this movement for current and future generations.

We commit to continue building a mass movement where we are leaders, not followers, of public opinion. We will continue to move feminist ideals into the mainstream thought, and we will build our media and new technology capabilities to control our own image and message.

How long and hard a struggle it was to win the right for women to vote. Today, we fight the same reactionary forces: the perversion of religion to subjugate women; corporate greed that seeks to exploit women and children as a cheap labor force; and their apologists in public office who seek to do through law what terrorists seek to accomplish through bullets and bombs. We will not submit, nor will we be intimidated. But we will keep moving forward.

Those who carried the struggle for women's suffrage through to its end were not there at the start; those who started the struggle did not live to see the victory. Like those strong feminist activists, we will not let ourselves be dispirited or discouraged. Even when progress seems most elusive, we will maintain our conviction that the work itself is important. For it is the work that enriches our lives; it is the work that unites us; it is the work that will propel us into the next century. We know that our struggle has made a difference, and we reaffirm our faith that it will continue to make a difference for women's lives.

Today, we dedicate ourselves to the sheer joy of moving forward and fighting back.

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Woman Suffrage

Women's rights advocates began calling for the right to vote in the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions. Following ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, guaranteeing citizenship to former slaves, and of the Fifteenth Amendment, establishing their voting rights, suffrage supporters began seeking alternatives to a woman suffrage amendment. Several women attempted to vote, or voted, in the 1872 presidential elections, some arguing that the Fourteenth Amendment gave them the right, others arguing that as citizens they had the right. Suffrage leader Susan B. Anthony was among the women who voted in that year's election, an act that resulted in her being charged, tried, and convicted of voting. In her 1873 speech, she explained the reasoning that led her to believe that she had the right to vote.

Both sides of the woman suffrage debate had women and men in their ranks. Manufacturers and distributors of alcoholic beverages opposed woman suffrage because they believed that women would vote to outlaw liquor, a concern bolstered by women active in the temperance movement. Kate Gannett Wells in her letter and Jeannette L. Gilder in her article emphasize that some women could be prudent and informed voters, but they insist that the benefits of those women casting votes are outweighed by the costs to society.

In 1915, Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, presented what she called her Winning Plan to pass the Nineteenth Amendment and gain suffrage rights for women. In August 1920, Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the amendment.

Speech after Being Convicted of Voting in the 1872 Presidential Election, Susan B. Anthony, 1873

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 voting, 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 yet 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.

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.

Webster, Worcester, and Bouvier all define a citizen to be a person in the United States, entitled to vote and hold office.

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.

An Argument against Woman Suffrage, Kate Gannett Wells, 1884

I have not come here with any hope of refuting in ten minutes all the arguments of our pro-suffrage friends, nor is it necessary that I should even try to do so, for repeated discussion of the subject has made us all familiar with our own convictions and those of our contrary-minded neighbors. Still less have I come in any unfriendly spirit to the pro-suffragists, for I know many of them too well not to acknowledge that they are working, heart and soul, for what they believe is one of the necessary, if not the most necessary, factors in human progress.

The anti-suffrage women are women so busy in their own homes, so occupied in charities and plans for the poor and ignorant, that they never have had time, more than that, they never have had the wish to come before the public, even in this Green Room. More than that, they do not think it is woman's place to argue or to refute statements in the arena of politics. For years they were silent, passive; their convictions strengthening all the while, they expressing them only as social intercourse demanded. But a year or two ago reproaches were heaped upon them for their passivity, which was called cowardice. They are not cowards, but they are women, and as such they prefer to stay at home and do their part through their home. There are but few of us trained to the public work of addressing you. Those few the distance of many miles keeps from us, but there are thousands of women who feel that if their silence is attributed to fear or to small numbers, they must summon courage to speak, and therefore have they asked me to come and speak as best I may for them.

I stand here because we anti-suffragists believe that the time has come for us to declare that our intellectual judgments, our moral convictions, and our belief in right expediency as one of the grounds on which governmental and constitutional changes should be made, are entirely opposed to the doctrine of female suffrage.

It is said that the casting of a vote is a slight duty, quickly performed. If it were that simple mechanical act, we might not object to such action, but to cast a vote ought to mean to cast it intelligently and honestly; and how can we gain

that accurate intelligence except by attending caucuses, primaries, nominating conventions, and supplementing general knowledge as far as possible by personal acquaintance with candidates? Even if some women have time and ability for such work, most of us have not; and even if we all had the time, is it desirable that the presence and co-work of unintelligent and depraved women should be added to the already jarring factions of political life? Every woman knows that all women cannot purify politics; and if a good woman can vote, so can a bad woman! Therefore, gentlemen, we say that to permit us to vote is to permit us to do many impossible things, which, nevertheless, we ought to do as patriotic women. The point in question is a vexed one between the pro and anti-suffragists. They say we have no right to prevent their doing what they consider to be right, and also that we need not vote because they do. We say that their demand for extension of the suffrage does involve us, and therefore we are put on the defensive against them. Party questions and reform measures of all kinds will arise; we may hold convictions different from theirs, and as we also care as much for our country's welfare as they do, when we see some measure we deem unwise likely to succeed, then, to save our country or State, we must vote; therefore do we beseech you not to grant female suffrage. And if it is replied that women will only vote and legislate rightly, I answer that I utterly disagree with such a statement. Women, as a rule, will vote on the side of pure moral issues, but they will also vote for illogical, inexpedient measures to secure some narrow, present good, which should be outweighed by the larger issues of legal stability, validity of order, constitutional and States' rights, which are also involved in the immediate settlement of any question.

What, then, is our general position?

1. That suffrage is not a *natural* right; if it were, no restriction of age; property, or education could be put upon it such as now exists.

2. That the essence of republicanism does not depend upon *every one's* voting, independent of qualification, but that it is the sovereign people, and not a monarchical power, who shall decide what persons may vote and under what restrictions.

3. That to be deprived of a vote is not to be deprived of one's personality; we are persons whether we are voters or not, and as persons should demand and receive careful legislation in all that concerns our interests.

4. Our opponents have rendered it useless for us to reaffirm that an intelligent woman is as capable of casting an intelligent vote as an intelligent man, or that some form of restricted suffrage might perhaps be desirable, for they demand unrestricted, universal female suffrage. They claim that suffrage is an educating power. We "anti" women grant that it may be, but we add that as the country is already so heavily weighted with an ignorant population, and that as our naturalization laws admit foreigners to vote before they have become Americanized, therefore we, as true patriots, will not burden our country with a great class of women to be educated.

We anti-suffragists will not yield one iota to the pro-suffragists in our belief in woman's capacity for advancement in every direction; in her right to receive the highest education, to demand equal wages with men, to work as physician, lawyer, minister, lecturer, or in any occupation she wishes. We also demand of our legislature that they erase from the statutes laws which discriminate unjustly against woman. We also believe that she should serve on school committees, on

State boards of charities, and on all kindred institutions, so that we wish to effect no curtailment of a woman's sphere except in the direction of suffrage.

And why do we wish that she should not enter upon that? Because most women are not fitted for it. We do not say that they never will be, but that they are not now, and will not be for some generations to come. Because I am a woman, because I care for woman's advancement, because I believe that though a large number of women are already fitted to vote, an infinitely greater number of women are not fitted for it, do I—do we—implore you not to give to all what at least most of us are not able to use rightly. You cannot give us suffrage without letting loose influences akin to those which have already debased politics and given rise to words of doubtful morality like wire-pulling, bribery, log-rolling, etc. If you give suffrage to all, you will speedily find that women are adepts in political measures, and will no more shrink at trying all means to secure their ends than do men; though on the other hand many men do, and many women would, employ only honorable means.

It is not necessary that women should vote in order to have the laws more favorable for them. The changes that have already taken place in them are due to the great progress of modern civilization within the last fifty years, and have had nothing to do with suffrage.

There is an opinion in some minds that the State should more and more assume a paternal relation to its population; that it should provide whatever is asked, and that by the making of laws, oppression and poverty will cease. It is also supposed that women can legislate best for themselves. Gentlemen, those who assume either of these opinions are asking the State and the power of suffrage to do the work of personal righteousness. If women can best legislate for themselves, why should not minors, both girls and boys, ask to have themselves qualified before the present legal age? And why should not one class of women legislate for themselves, and still another class for themselves? That there are still unfair and degrading laws is granted, but if we ask for woman suffrage in order to rectify them, we open the way for increased private, class, and personal legislation of all kinds. Is woman suffrage going to cure the evils that come from one's own misdoings? Will a brutal, an intemperate husband be any less brutal or intemperate because his wife has the power to vote? Will trustees cease to speculate with their clients' money because those clients can vote? Again, it is personal righteousness that must do the work which so often is expected from legislation and suffrage.

It is woman's ignorance more than man's wickedness, or the law's injustice, which brings about the evils for which our sympathy is craved. Suffrage is not needed to beget self-respect, or a knowledge of contracts, investments, and the workings of the law, which if carefully studied before action is begun, would save later needless misery. Lastly, it is argued against us that for various reasons we need not fear that the unintelligent will vote. This must remain a matter of opinion between us and those who differ from us. I can only say that my experience has led me to the contrary conclusion. I had occasion one winter to be connected with some work at the North End. The women were too careless and wretched in their lives and in their dress to be here described. They talked with each other in little groups; many a one spoke of the time when she could vote, as the only vengeance left her to exercise upon the wealthy classes. Woman suffrage, they said, would give the unskilled workwomen more ample wages, for they could vote

themselves what they needed. Again, I was in a house where workingmen came for their daily dinner. The men were also talking of this subject, and said that the women must vote, "for we want the eight-hour law, and can get it THROUGH the women. They must make the State give us work. The women must see to it that we have work and only work for eight hours." These are but two instances, though I think they could be multiplied a hundred-fold; yet are they not indications of the way in which woman suffrage may be urged to forward some special party measure? Once let the great mass of uneducated women be added to the great mass of already uneducated men voters, and the State will slowly but surely be shaken under the varying demands made upon it for bread, work, money, leisure, and all kinds of laws to favor all kinds of persons. When those times come, there will be more bitter animosities of women against women, of secret warfare, of despicable wire-pulling, and of exercise of the power of personal charms as a weapon of persuasion, than now exists among men.

One word more. Even if in itself suffrage may be based upon the fundamental principle of justice, it does not follow that it should be applied when great injustice must be done. No wise government deals in abstract justice without considering the expediency of the steps necessary to remove justice from an abstract principle into a concrete action. Therefore, if in close argument I should be forced (which I could not be) to surrender all my assumed positions against woman suffrage, I could never be driven from this position, that in the present constitution of events, of facts,—physiological, social, financial, moral, and political,—it is inexpedient for government to grant universal female suffrage.

Inexpedient! Yes, forever inexpedient, until the highest type of morality and the clearest sense of justice and the widest reaches of law in its theoretical and practical applications are reached by all women. Women now do generous, wise, and lofty deeds, and women now do mean, foolish, despicable actions,—oh, how mean! how bad!

So finally we beseech you, gentlemen, to rectify all unjust laws against women; to strengthen the hands of good women all over the land in raising the fallen, in teaching self-respect and self-support to the ignorant, in bringing more happiness into every one's life; and to withhold from us the duty, necessity, right of suffrage, whichever it may be called, until you can have only *noble, honest* women for your voters and legislators.

Printed by the Massachusetts Association opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women. Courtesy of the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage, Jeannette Gilder, 1894

It has been quite a shock to people who do not know me, but who thought they did, to find me opposed to woman's suffrage. Because I have been for so many years a working-woman, and because the profession I chose is, or was at the time I entered it, supposed to be entirely a man's profession, they thought I wanted all the privileges of men. But I don't. You could have counted the women journalists on the fingers of one hand at the time I entered the ranks. Nowadays you could not find fingers enough in a regiment to count them on. There are now certain branches of journalistic work that are almost entirely given over to women, and women not only edit mere departments of daily papers, but there are those who edit the Sunday editions of some of the biggest dailies.

I am a great believer in the mental equality of the sexes, but I deny the physical equality. I believe in putting men's work and women's work of the same kind side by side, and judging them not as sex work, but simply as work. To have a "Woman's Building" at the World's Fair did not seem to me a compliment to the sex, but I believe some good reasons were advanced for it. Even some of its staunchest advocates, however, doubt if there will ever be such another building at such another show. I do not believe in sex in literature or art. Every book should be compared with all other books of its kind, and so with every picture, statue, or musical composition. There are few trades or professions that I do not think women fairly well equipped for, or capable of being prepared for. I cannot say that I quite like the idea of a woman preacher, but that may be a mere prejudice; nor do I think that I would retain a woman lawyer. But this is neither here nor there.

In politics I do not think that women have any place. The life is too public, too wearing, and too unfitted to the nature of women. It is bad enough for men—so bad, that some of the best of them keep out of it; and it would be worse for women. Many of the women who are enthusiastic in the cause of suffrage seem to think that if they are once given the power to vote, every vexed question will be settled, every wrong righted. By dropping their ballots in the box they believe that they can set in motion the machinery of an earthly paradise. I wish I could think so. It is my opinion that it *would let loose the wheels of purgatory*. If the ballot were the end, that would be one thing, but it is only the beginning. If women vote they must hold office, they must attend primaries, they must sit on juries. We shall have women "healers" and women "bosses"; there will be the "girls" of the Fourth Ward (when it comes to New York) as well as the "boys."

What will become of home life, I should like to know, if the mother and the father both are at the "primary" or the convention? Who will look after the children? Hired mothers? But can every woman with political ambitions afford to pay for a "resident" or a "visiting" mother? And even if she can, will such a one take the place of the real mother? I think not. Cannot a woman find a sufficiently engrossing "sphere" in the very important work of training her children? If there are any sons among them, she can mould them into good citizens; if there are any daughters, she can guide their footsteps along any path they may choose, for all paths but the political are open to them. I do not think that to be a good housewife should be the end and aim of every woman's ambition, but I do think that it should be some part of it; for I am old-fashioned enough to be a pious believer in the influence of a mother's training upon her children. Read the life of any great man, and you will see how much of his greatness he owed to his mother. It seems to me that it is a bigger feather in a woman's cap—a brighter jewel in her crown—to be the mother of a George Washington than to be a member of Congress from the Thirty-second District.

From the day Adam and Eve were created to the present year of grace men and women have been different in all important respects. They were made to fill different roles. It was intended by nature that men should work, and that women should share in the disposition and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. Circumstances alter cases, and women are often—alas! too often—driven out into the world to make their own way. Would they find it any easier if they had the ballot! Do men find it so easy to get work? If they do, why are there so many thousands of the clamoring unemployed?

It is said that the laws are unfair to women. Then call the attention of the law-makers to the fact, and see how soon they will be amended. I think that men want to be fair to women, and a petition will work wonders with a Congressman. Will women always be fair to women? That is a serious question. They may on some points, but the question of chivalry never comes into consideration between women. It does between men and women, and the latter profit by it.

I speak from experience when I say that I don't see how women can cultivate home life and enter the political arena. Circumstances forced me to go out into the world to earn my own bread and a part of that of others. When my mother was living, she made the home, and all went well. But after that, after marriages and deaths, a family of four small children came to me for a home. I don't mean for support, for they had a father living, but for a home. I had to take, as far as possible, the place of my sister, their mother. To do my duty by them and by my work was the most difficult task I ever undertook. I had to go to my office every day and leave them to the care of others. Sometimes the plan worked well, but oftener it worked ill—very ill indeed. I had seven people doing, or attempting to do, what I and two others could have done had I been able to be at home and look after things myself. Suppose that politics had been added to my other cares? Suppose that I had had meetings to attend and candidates to elect, perhaps to be elected myself? What would have been the result? Even direr disaster! We cannot worship God and Mammon; neither can we be politicians and women. It is against nature, against reason. Give woman everything she wants, but not the ballot. Open every field of learning, every avenue of industry to her, but keep her out of politics. The ballot cannot help her, but it can hurt her. She thinks it a simple piece of paper, but it is a bomb—one that may go off in her own hands, and work a mischief that she little dreams of.

From Harper's Bazaar, May 19, 1894. Courtesy of the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

The Winning Plan, Carrie Chapman Catt, 1915

. . . National Boards must be selected hereafter for one chief qualification—the ability to lead the national fight. There should be a mobilization of at least thirty-six state armies [after congressional approval an amendment needed the approval of three quarters of the states—or thirty-six states], and these armies should move under the direction of the national officers. They should be disciplined and obedient to the national officers in all matters concerning the national campaign. This great army with its thirty-six, and let us hope, forty-eight divisions, should move on Congress with precision, and a will. . . . More, those who enter on this task, should go prepared to give their lives and fortunes for success, and any pusillanimous coward among us who dares to call retreat, should be courtmartialled.

Any other policy than this is weak, inefficient, illogical, silly, inane, and ridiculous! Any other policy would fail of success. . . .

When a general is about to make an attack upon the enemy at a fortified point, he often begins to feint elsewhere in order to draw off attention and forces. If we decide to train up some states into preparedness for campaign, the best help which can be given them is to keep so much "suffrage noise" going all over the country that neither the enemy nor friends will discover where the real battle is. . . .

We should win, if it is possible to do so, a few more states before the Federal Amendment gets up to the legislatures.

. . . A southern state should be selected and made ready for a campaign, and the solid front of the "anti" south broken as soon as possible.

Some break in the solid "anti" East should be made too. If New York wins in 1917 the backbone of the opposition will be largely bent if not broken. . . .

By 1920, when the next national party platforms will be adopted, we should have won Iowa, South Dakota, North Dakota, Nebraska, New York, Maine and a southern state. We should have secured the Illinois law in a number of other states.

With these victories to our credit and the tremendous increase of momentum given the whole movement, we should be able to secure planks in all platforms favoring the Federal Amendment (if it has not passed before that time) and to secure its passage in the December term of the 1920 Congress.

It should then go to the legislatures of thirty-nine states which meet in 1921, and the remaining states would have the opportunity to ratify the amendment in 1922. If thirty-six states had ratified in these two years, the end of our struggle would come by April 1, 1922, six years hence. . . .

Equal Rights Amendment

The Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution was first conceived by National Woman's Party leader Alice Paul and was first introduced in Congress in 1923. Her 1943 article in the Congressional Digest outlines the National Woman's Party's rationale for demanding a constitutional amendment for women's equality. Congress passed a somewhat different version of the amendment in March 1972, but it had the same purpose: to guarantee women's equality with men. The resolution for the amendment included a seven-year limit for ratification that was extended for two years.

Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-NY)'s comments to the House of Representatives in 1969 outline the reasons she believed that the amendment was necessary. As an African American woman, she compared the racial discrimination and the sexual discrimination that she had experienced.

Ruth Bader Ginsburg, writing before her appointment to the U.S. Supreme Court, provides a legal context for supporting the amendment. Discussing opinions of the Court on which she later served, Ginsburg's 1977 article outlines several Supreme Court decisions related to gender discrimination and the need for the Equal Rights Amendment.

*The amendment failed to be ratified by the required thirty-eight states and died on 30 June 1982. Stop ERA founder and leader Phyllis Schlafly, who was the person most responsible for defeating the amendment, recollected her followers' celebration on the day of the defeat in a 1997 article in *George* magazine. Amendment supporters, however, continued to believe in the importance of equality and sought other avenues to end discrimination against women, including the passage of state constitutional amendments.*

Should Congress Approve the Proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution? Alice Paul, 1943

The National Woman's Party is striving to remove every handicap placed upon women by law and by custom. In order to remove those handicaps which the law can touch, it is endeavoring to secure the adoption of an Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution.

The Woman's Party advocates such an Amendment for the following reasons:

1. *A national amendment is the most effective way to establish equality of rights for men and women throughout the country.*

The amendment would, at one stroke, compel both Federal and State governments to observe the principle of Equal Rights since the Federal Constitution is the supreme law of the land. The amendment would override all existing legislation which denies women Equal Rights with men and it would prevent any such legislation in the future.

2. *A national amendment is the most permanent way to establish equality of rights for men and women throughout the country.*

An amendment to the National Constitution would establish the principle of Equal Rights permanently in our country insofar as anything can be established permanently by law. Equal Rights laws passed by legislative bodies, on the other hand, are subject to reversal by later legislative bodies.

3. *A national amendment is the most dignified way to establish equality of rights for men and women throughout the country.*

The principle of Equal Rights for men and women is so important that it should be written into the National Constitution as one of the basic principles upon which our government is founded. The matter is too important to our Nation's welfare and honor to leave it to the States for favorable or unfavorable action, or for complete neglect, as they may see fit.

At this moment when the United States is engaged in a war with the avowed purpose of establishing freedom and equality for the whole world, the United States should hasten to set its house in order by granting freedom and equality to its own women. For the sake of a new and better world, as well as in justice to women themselves, we ask the immediate adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment.

From Congressional Digest (April 1943). Reprinted by permission.

Equal Rights for Women, Rep. Shirley Chisholm, 1969

Mr. Speaker, when a young woman graduates from college and starts looking for a job, she is likely to have a frustrating and even demeaning experience ahead of her. If she walks into an office for an interview, the first question she will be asked is, "Do you type?"

There is a calculated system of prejudice that lies unspoken behind that question. Why is it acceptable for women to be secretaries, librarians, and teachers, but totally unacceptable for them to be managers, administrators, doctors, lawyers, and Members of Congress?

The unspoken assumption is that women are different. They do not have executive ability, orderly minds, stability, leadership skills, and they are too emotional.

It has been observed before, that society for a long time discriminated against another minority, the blacks, on the same basis—that they were different and inferior. The happy little homemaker and the contented "old darkey" on the plantation were both produced by prejudice.

As a black person, I am no stranger to race prejudice. But the truth is that in the political world I have been far oftener discriminated against because I am a woman than because I am black.

Prejudice against blacks is becoming unacceptable although it will take years to eliminate it. But it is doomed because, slowly, white America is beginning to admit that it exists. Prejudice against women is still acceptable. There is very little understanding yet of the immorality involved in double pay scales and the classification of most of the better jobs as "for men only."

More than half of the population of the United States is female. But women occupy only 2 percent of the managerial positions. They have not even reached the level of tokenism yet. No women sit on the AFL-CIO council or Supreme Court. There have been only two women who have held Cabinet rank, and at present there are none. Only two women now hold ambassadorial rank in the diplomatic corps. In Congress, we are down to one senator and ten representatives.

Considering that there are about 3 1/2 million more women in the United States than men, this situation is outrageous.

It is true that part of the problem has been that women have not been aggressive in demanding their rights. This was also true of the black population for many years. They submitted to oppression and even cooperated with it. Women

have done the same thing. But now there is an awareness of this situation particularly among the younger segment of the population.

As in the field of equal rights for blacks, Spanish-Americans, the Indians, and other groups, laws will not change such deep-seated problems overnight. But they can be used to provide protection for those who are most abused, and to begin the process of evolutionary change by compelling the insensitive majority to reexamine its unconscious attitudes.

It is for this reason that I wish to introduce today a proposal that has been before every Congress for the last 40 years and that sooner or later must become part of the basic law of the land—the equal rights amendment.

Let me note and try to refute two of the commonest arguments that are offered against this amendment. One is that women are already protected under the law and do not need legislation. Existing laws are not adequate to secure equal rights for women. Sufficient proof of this is the concentration of women in lower paying, menial, unrewarding jobs and their incredible scarcity in the upper level jobs. If women are already equal, why is it such an event whenever one happens to be elected to Congress?

It is obvious that discrimination exists. Women do not have the opportunities that men do. And women that do not conform to the system, who try to break with the accepted patterns, are stigmatized as “odd” and “unfeminine.” The fact is that a woman who aspires to be chairman of the board, or a member of the House, does so for exactly the same reasons as any man. Basically, these are that she thinks she can do the job and she wants to try.

A second argument often heard against the equal rights amendment is that it would eliminate legislation that many states and the federal government have enacted giving special protection to women and that it would throw the marriage and divorce laws into chaos.

As for the marriage laws, they are due for a sweeping reform, and an excellent beginning would be to wipe the existing ones off the books. Regarding special protection for working women, I cannot understand why it should be needed. Women need no protection that men do not need. What we need are laws to protect working people, to guarantee them fair pay, safe working conditions, protection against sickness and layoffs, and provision for dignified, comfortable retirement. Men and women need these things equally. That one sex needs protection more than the other is a male supremacist myth as ridiculous and unworthy of respect as the white supremacist myths that society is trying to cure itself of at this time.

Let's Have ERA as a Signal, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, 1977

Last year we celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, but for most American women it's more important to look at four questions that relate to the present decade of the 1970s. First, how have jurists treated official line drawing by gender before the present decade? Second, how has the judicial response altered in the current decade? Third, what is the purpose and function of the equal rights amendment to the federal Constitution? And finally, how may the presence (or absence) of the equal rights amendment affect Supreme Court precedent?

The State of the Art to 1971

“Anything goes” seems to be a fair summary of the Supreme Court’s decisions until 1971. The Court consistently had affirmed governmental authority to classify by gender, as a trilogy of cases illustrates—*Muller v. Oregon*, 208 U.S. 412 (1908); *Goesaert v. Cleary*, 335 U.S. 464 (1948); and *Hoyt v. Florida*, 368 U.S. 57 (1961).

In 1905, in the now long-discredited *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45, the Court rebuffed a state’s attempt to enact protective labor legislation for all workers, men and women alike. But in 1908 in *Muller* the Court upheld a ten-hour day for women only. The decision reflects themes first sounded in nineteenth century decisions—first, that women’s place in a world controlled by men is divinely ordained (a thought Justice Bradley expressed in his concurring opinion in *Bradwell v. Illinois*, 16 Wall. 130 [1873]); and second, that while men can fend for themselves, women must “rest upon and look to [men] for protection.” Somewhat inconsistently, the Court added in *Muller* that women require the aid of the law “to protect her from the greed as well as the passion of man.”

Next in the trilogy, *Goesaert* illustrates the danger lurking behind “protective” labels. This decision upheld a Michigan statute that allowed women to work as waitresses in taverns but barred them from the more lucrative job of bartender. The law protects women, said the state, while male bartenders plus their union joined in a chivalrous chorus.

One of the plaintiffs was a female bar owner whose daughter, a coplaintiff, assisted in operating the business. The state had protected away mother’s and daughter’s right to compete with male bar owners. If the Goesaerts would not pay a man to do a job the two women were fully capable of doing themselves, they would have to close up shop. The Supreme Court opinion in *Goesaert* declares and proceeds from this premise: “Michigan could, beyond question, forbid all women from working behind a bar.”

Increasingly, as this century has worn on, women who needed jobs to support themselves and in many cases their families became skeptical of this kind of “protection” from the law. From their vantage point, restrictive labor laws operate less to protect women than to protect men’s jobs from women’s competition.

In the last in the series, *Hoyt*, a unanimous Supreme Court held it permissible to limit women’s jury service to those who volunteered. This system yielded the result that lay participation in the administration of justice was virtually all male.

By the late 1960s a revived and burgeoning feminist movement spotlighted the altered life patterns of women. Two factors contributed in particular to this changed atmosphere—the virtual disappearance of food and goods cultivated or produced at home and the access to more effective means of birth control. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 (29 U.S.C. § 206(d)) and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. § 2000 (e) *et seq.*) began to focus national attention on the adversely discriminatory treatment that women encountered in the labor market.

The Judicial Response after 1971

The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit in 1974 summarized the post-1971 developments this way: Supreme Court precedent with respect to gender-based discrimination is “still evolving,” “rapidly changing, and variously interpreted” (509 F.2d 508, 510). In the same year in an article in

the *New York University Law Review* Prof. John Johnston, Jr., commented that the courts are “not certain what constitutes sex discrimination, how virulent this form of discrimination is or how it should be analyzed in terms of due process and equal protection.” My own appraisal, expressed in an article in *The Supreme Court Review*, 1975, is that the Supreme Court had taken a few remarkable steps in a new direction, but it had shied away from doctrinal development and had left open avenues of retreat.

The first break from the “anything goes” pattern was *Reed v. Reed*, 404 U.S. 71, in which the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional an Idaho law providing that as between persons “equally entitled” to administer a decedent’s estate, “males must be preferred to females.” A year and a half later, in *Frontiero v. Richardson*, 411 U.S. 677 (1973), married women in the uniformed services were held entitled to the same fringe benefits as married men. Under the law that the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional, married men automatically received a housing allowance and medical care for their wives, while married women received these benefits only if they supplied all their own support and more than half of their husband’s.

In 1974 the Supreme Court retrenched, first in *Kahn v. Shevin*, 416 U.S. 351, a decision upholding exclusion of widowers from the Florida statute that grants widows a real property tax exemption. This exemption saved the real-property-owning widow the grand sum of fifteen dollars annually. A benign favor for (widowed) women? The Supreme Court said the fifteen dollar saving compensated women for past economic disadvantage. Florida gave three classes this little tax break: the blind, the totally and permanently disabled, and widows.

Later in 1974 the Court returned a decision impossible to rationalize as a favor to women. In *Geduldig v. Aiello*, 417 U.S. 484, the Court upheld a California statute that excluded women disabled by pregnancy from a workers’ income protection disability insurance plan. On the other hand, the Supreme Court has held that school teachers may not be dismissed or placed on involuntary leave arbitrarily at a fixed stage in pregnancy (414 U.S. 632 [1974]) and that pregnant women ready and willing to work may not be denied unemployment compensation (423 U.S. 44 [1975]).

Absence of a consistent, comprehensible approach to this issue was further indicated last month. In *General Electric Company v. Gilbert*, 45 U.S.L.W. 4031 (December 7, 1976), the Court confronted an employer’s plan providing nonoccupational sickness and accident benefits to all employees, save only those with disabilities arising from pregnancy. Construing Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Court declared this exclusion entailed no gender-based discrimination at all!

With no pregnant problems on its calendar, 1975 brought the Supreme Court back to the 1971–73 track. In *Taylor v. Louisiana*, 419 U.S. 522, the Court overturned its 1961 *Hoyt* women’s jury service decision and declared unconstitutional a Louisiana provision that restricted jury service by women to volunteers. In *Stanton v. Stanton*, 421 U.S. 7, the Court declared unconstitutional a Utah law that required parents to support a son until he is twenty-one but a daughter only until she is eighteen. And in *Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld*, 420 U.S. 636, the Court struck down one of a series of Social Security sex lines. It held a widowed father to be entitled to the same benefits to care for his child that a widowed mother receives.

Is *Wiesenfeld* a men's rights case? Only derivatively. The discrimination started with Paula Wiesenfeld, a wage-earning woman. When she died, her social insurance provided less protection for her family than the social insurance of a wage-earning man. Paula Wiesenfeld paid social security taxes without any discount. But the payout to her survivors, husband Stephen and son Jason Paul, was subject to a drastic discount.

Do We Need the E.R.A.?

The key to the Supreme Court's performance in the 1970s is not so much the specific results of decided cases but how those results were reached. The justices so far have avoided articulating general principles and have shown a tendency to deal with each case as an isolated instance in a narrow frame. No opinion attracting five votes acknowledges a clear perception of what computer runs or federal and state statutes so plainly reveal—that the particular statutes presented to the Supreme Court are part of a pervasive design, a design reflecting distinctly nonneutral notions about “the way women (or men) are.”

Why does the Court shy away from doctrinal development? For an altogether understandable reason. Justice Powell explained the problem in his *Frontiero* concurring opinion. The Court must act with particular circumspection, he said, in the dim zone between constitutional interpretation (a proper judicial task) and constitutional amendment (a job for federal and state legislatures).

But the equal protection guarantee exists for all persons, and the Supreme Court has indeed acknowledged that women are “persons” within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. Why, then, the reluctance to interpret the equal protection principle dynamically in this area? Because it is historic fact that neither the founding fathers nor the Reconstruction Congress had women's emancipation on the agenda. When the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments were added to the Constitution, women were denied the vote, the most basic right of adult citizens. If they were married, in many states they could not contract, hold property, or litigate on their own behalf. Courts are sensitive to that history.

Race discrimination decisions may be anchored with some security to the design of those who drafted the Constitution. Indeed, in the 1872 *Slaughter-House Cases*, 16 Wall. 36, the Court said that the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause is so clearly a provision for the black race that the Court doubted whether any other form of official discrimination would ever be held to come within its purview.

Recognition of women as “persons” occurred in the Supreme Court's 1874 *Minor v. Happersett*, 21 Wall. 162, opinion, a decision rejecting a woman's claim to the franchise. Beyond doubt women are “persons” and may be “citizens” within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Court said. So are children, it went on to explain, and no one would suggest children have a constitutional right to the franchise.

The adoption of the equal rights amendment would relieve the Court's uneasiness in the gray zone between interpretation and amendment of the Constitution. It would remove the historical impediment—the absence of any intention by eighteenth and nineteenth century Constitution makers to deal with gender-based discrimination. It would add to our fundamental instrument of government a principle under which the judiciary may develop the coherent opinion

pattern lacking up to now. It also should end the legislative inertia that retards social change by keeping obsolete discriminatory laws on the books. And, as Justice Stevens observed in his confirmation hearings, the amendment would have symbolic importance. It would serve as a forthright statement of our moral and legal commitment to a system in which neither sons nor daughters are pigeonholed by government because of their sex. Rather, so far as laws and officialdom are concerned, males and females will be free to grow, develop, and aspire in accordance with their individual talents, preferences, and capacities.

What Are the Consequences?

What are the consequences of the High Court's unwillingness to articulate a principle of general application governing legislative line drawing by gender?

A look at the Court's docket for this current term indicates the situation. First, Oklahoma's 3.2 beer law is before the Court (No. 75-628). This is a "protective" statute with an unusual twist in that it permits girls to buy 3.2 beer or work in a beer parlor at the age of eighteen, while boys must wait until they are twenty-one. The plaintiff, Carolyn Whitener, is an entrepreneur who sells 3.2 beer, and her coplaintiff is an apparently thirsty young man. It is an embarrassment that a law of this kind is retained by a legislature and must occupy the attention of the highest court in the nation.

Second, there is another Social Security Act challenge (No. 75-699). W, a wage earner, dies. H, her spouse, is not himself covered under social security. H seeks survivors' benefits under W's account. The law says H is not entitled unless W outearned H three to one. For a spouse to qualify under a female wage earner's account, the female must provide all her own support, plus half of his—in other words, three fourths of the total family support.

If the situation were the other way around—if a male were the covered worker, a female the survivor—the survivor would qualify for benefits without regard to H's and W's respective contributions to family income. Women are put on a par with men for social security contribution purposes, but the payout under a woman's account is less than the payout under a man's.

That very same gender differential was declared unconstitutional in *Frontiero v. Richardson*, the 1973 military fringe benefits case. And *Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld*, the 1975 social security case, overturned a differential that the solicitor general described as "closely analogous." Yet despite a unanimous decision in *Wiesenfeld* and a near unanimous (eight-to-one) judgment in *Frontiero*, the Court did not deem it appropriate to affirm summarily. And the solicitor general argues, with some justification, that each precedent in the 1970s was written for one case and one day alone.

With the ERA on the books, we may expect Congress and state legislatures to undertake in earnest, systematically and pervasively, the law revision so long deferred. History should teach that the entire job is not likely to be done until the ERA supplies the signal. In the event of legislative default, the courts will be guided by a constitutional text clearly and cleanly in point.

Without the ERA, the judiciary will continue to be plagued with a succession of cases challenging laws and official practices that belong on history's scrap heap. The Supreme Court will confront again and again the need for principled

decisions to guide the lower courts and the difficulty of anchoring those decisions to the text of eighteenth and nineteenth century draftsmen.

The American Bar Association endorsed the equal rights amendment in August of 1974. The resolution aroused scant opposition. No one spoke against it in the House of Delegates; only a dozen or so “nay” votes were audible. The resolution included a commitment to work for ratification by the number of states required to write the amendment into the Constitution.

That commitment is hardly fulfilled. It is my hope that the Association, as a reasoned voice for the profession, will move swiftly this year to carry out its 1974 undertaking and its pledge to play an active role in educating the public. For the American Bar Association, perhaps more than any other professional organization, has the capacity and resources to dispel misunderstanding on this issue and to explain why the ERA is the way for a society that believes in the essential human dignity and interdependence of each man and each woman.

Reprinted from the American Bar Association Journal, 63 (January 1977), 70–73, with permission from Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg.

Eyewitness: Beating the Bra Burners, Phyllis Schlafly, 1997

A giant rainbow of balloons hovered high over the dais in the Omni Shoreham ballroom in Washington, D.C. Some 1,400 battle-weary but triumphant Stop ERA volunteers gathered to savor their victory when the proposed equal rights amendment died at midnight on June 30, 1982.

Amid the clamor, a hotel security guard rushed toward the emcee, Representative Bob Dornan of California, with urgent news: The hotel had received a phone call that a bomb had been planted in the ballroom. But the Stop ERA revelers just had to laugh. No need to evacuate. We anticipated that a bomb threat would be the radical feminists’ last insult, and police dogs had already sniffed out the room.

It was the last day of a ten-year David-and-Goliath struggle waged across America. A little band of women, headquartered in the kitchen of my home on the bluffs of the Mississippi in Alton, Illinois, had defeated the big guns. The odds against us could not have been greater. The ERA drew the support of presidents (Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter), would-be presidents of all political stripes (from Ted Kennedy to George Wallace), all members of Congress except eight in the Senate and 24 in the House, all the pushy women’s organizations, a consortium of 35 women’s magazines, and what seemed like 99 percent of the media.

In March 1972, Congress sent ERA to the states for their legislatures to approve, and its ratification by the necessary three-fourths of the 50 states seemed inevitable. But the unstoppable was stopped by our unflappable ladies in red. They descended on state capitols wearing their octagonal STOP ERA buttons. They treated legislators to home-baked bread. And they sweetly and persistently made their case that ERA was a fraud: It would actually *take away* legal rights that women possessed, such as the right of an 18-year-old girl to be exempt from the military draft and the right of a wife to be supported by her husband.

Pro-ERA advocates argued that women wanted absolute equality anyway. That line didn’t sell in Middle America. A noisy tax-funded national women’s confab in November 1977 had showcased ERA’s hidden agenda: abortion funding and same-sex unions. The noose around ERA was tightening.

The war over these ideas included annual clashes in key states. But the decisive battle (*i.e.*, what Midway was to World War II) took place in Springfield, Illinois, on June 18, 1980. If we could win in this northern industrial state, then we could triumph in pro-ERA territory, and other states might swing our way. President Carter rang up Democratic legislators, in my view luring votes for ERA with talk of new federal housing projects for their districts. Back in 1978, Governor James Thompson phoned Republican legislators, reportedly promising “jobs, roads, and bridges” for a yes vote. Later, Chicago pols rallied their lawmakers to ERA’s side, allegedly under threat of seeing their relatives and friends lose city patronage jobs. Some ERA supporters even offered cash bribes for votes. But in 1980, ERA failed once again.

After the votes were tallied, ABC’s *Nightline* caught Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, in the Illinois House gallery. “There is something very powerful out against us,” she said. “And certainly it isn’t people.” The Stop ERAers knew the source of their power: prayer and the truth.

ERA activists persisted in desperate tactics at that crucial statehouse. In May and June of 1982, an excommunicated Mormon, Sonia Johnson, led a hunger strike in the rotunda, while upstairs other pro-ERAers chained themselves to the door of the Senate chamber. On June 25, ERA supporters went to a slaughterhouse, purchased plastic bags of pigs’ blood, and used it to spell out the names of the legislators they hated most on the capitol’s marble floor. The lawmakers found these tactics, well, unpersuasive. Victory was sealed on June 30, 1982, and many politicians paid tribute. But the day’s heroes were the women who came from the 15 states that never ratified ERA and from the 5 states that bravely rescinded their previous ratifications.

That evening, singers Bill and Prudence Fields sang the appropriate themes: “The Impossible Dream” and “Great Day.”

From George Magazine, June, 1997. Reprinted with permission.

Women, Campaigns, and Political Parties

Women have sought political power by working in their parties and by running for office since the 1870s, long before women had voting rights. The first woman to actively seek the presidency was Victoria Woodhull, a newspaper publisher and owner of a stock brokerage firm, who announced her candidacy in the New York Herald in 1870. Other women followed Woodhull, but it would be more than ninety years before a woman sought a major party's nomination. The first was Senator Margaret Chase Smith, who sought the Republican Party's presidential nomination in 1964. Eight years later, Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) became a candidate for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. She examined the meaning of her candidacy in a speech before the National Women's Political Caucus in 1973. Republican Elizabeth Dole, former Secretary of Labor and former Secretary of Transportation, sought to be her party's nominee in the year 2000 elections.

The televised and widely reported Republican and Democratic national conventions, held to select each party's presidential nominees, provide the parties with a national stage that they use to attract supporters. Party leaders carefully choose keynote speakers and party activists seek to be one of the keynoters. At the 1976 Democratic national convention, Rep. Barbara Jordan (D-TX) was the first African American woman to keynote a national party convention, captivating the audience with her powerful message.

By the late 1990s, Republican party leaders had become aware of the gender gap that existed between the two major parties. Women tended to favor the Democratic Party and its candidates over the Republican Party and its candidates, a factor that helped elect President Bill Clinton in 1992 and 1996. During the 1996 elections, Rep. Jennifer Dunn (R-WA) sought to convince women that the Republican Party was addressing their concerns when she addressed groups on behalf of male Republican congressional candidates.

I Announce Myself as a Candidate for the Presidency, Victoria Woodhull, 1870

As I happen to be the most prominent representative of the only unrepresented class in the republic, and perhaps the most practical exponent of the principles of equality, I request the favor of being permitted to address the public through the *Herald*. While others of my sex devoted themselves to a crusade against the laws that shackle the women of the country, I asserted my individual independence; while others prayed for the good time coming, I worked for it; while others argued the equality of woman with man, I proved it by successfully engaging in business; while others sought to show that there was no valid reason why women should be treated, socially and politically, as being inferior to man, I boldly entered the arena of politics and business and exercised the rights I already possessed. I therefore claim the right to speak for the unenfranchised women of the country, and believing as I do that the prejudices which still exist in the popular mind against women in public life will soon disappear, I now announce myself as a candidate for the Presidency.

. . . The present position of political parties is anomalous. They are not inspired by any great principles of policy or economy; there is no live issue up for discussion. A great national question is wanted. . . . That question exists in the issue, whether woman shall . . . be elevated to all the political rights enjoyed by

man. The simple issue whether woman should not have this complete political equality . . . is the only one to be tried, and none more important is likely to arise before the Presidential election.

Printed in the New York Herald, April 2, 1870.

Women in Politics, Rep. Shirley Chisholm, 1973

When it was arranged that I should speak to you today, Liz Carpenter wrote me a note and suggested my speech should be, "Can a Woman Become President?" Knowing Liz, she probably thought this would be a wonderful occasion for me to exhort an audience of potential candidates to plan their own onslaughts on the pinnacle of elective office.

As I look back on the past year and a half, I think my campaign did help to break the barrier against women seeking the presidency and other elective offices, but my experiences also made me acutely aware of some of the problems women candidates face as well as particular problems which the women's movement, and especially the National Women's Political Caucus, must face up to.

One of my biggest problems was that my campaign was viewed as a symbolic gesture. While I realized that my campaign was an important rallying symbol for women and that my presence in the race forced the other candidates to deal with issues relating to women, my primary objective was to force people to accept me as a real viable candidate.

Although many have compared my race to that of Victoria Woodhull, I specifically rejected that comparison. Mrs. Woodhull was a feminist candidate running on a feminist party platform. I specifically rejected this feminist candidacy as I did the projection of myself into a black candidacy or an antiwar candidacy. I chose to run for the nomination of one of the major national parties.

I did this because I feel that the time for tokenism and symbolic gestures is past. Women need to plunge into the world of politics and battle it out toe to toe on the same ground as their male counterparts. If they do not do this, they will not succeed as a presidential candidate or in any other campaign for political office.

First and foremost, it is essential that you believe in yourself and your ability to handle the job you are seeking. If you don't, it is difficult to persuade others to support you. While pretty obvious to anyone who has run for office, I found that the press, the public, and even those in the women's movement found it difficult to understand this key point. Over and over in the campaign, I was asked, "But why are you running, Mrs. Chisholm?" Over and over I would reply, "Because I think I can do the job," "Because I think I am better than the rest of the candidates in the field."

One of the stumbling blocks I encountered was the fact that many people, including feminists, thought that since I "didn't have a chance" it was foolish to work for me.

For those who genuinely preferred another candidate, one can have no quarrel. But for those who thought I was the best candidate but chose to work for someone else because they viewed my campaign as hopeless, they will need to re-examine their thinking for truly, no woman will ever achieve the presidency as long as their potential supporters hold this view.

As the effect of the Wallace phenomenon in this last election points out, a

campaign becomes truly effective when those who believe in their candidate pull out all the stops.

One of the other most difficult problems I faced was that many of my wonderful women's movement supporters did not understand that I both wanted and needed to talk about issues other than equal rights, abortion and child care. As you know, I am a strong supporter of all of these issues but in a campaign, there is a great deal of other ground to cover. Senior citizens don't really give a hang about abortion and homosexuals are more concerned with their own situation than the status of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Further, and this is critical to the discussion we will enter into at this convention, different women view different segments of the women's movement agenda as priority items.

The movement has, for the most part, been led by educated white middle-class women. There is nothing unusual about this. Reform movements are usually led by the better educated and better off. But, if the women's movement is to be successful you must recognize the broad variety of women there are and the depth and range of their interests and concerns. To black and Chicano women, picketing a restricted club or insisting on the title Ms. are not burning issues. They are more concerned about bread-and-butter items such as the extension of minimum wage, welfare reform and day care.

Further, they are not only women but women of color and thus are subject to additional and sometimes different pressures.

For example, the black experience in America has not been one of unbridled success for black men. Indeed, there have been times when discrimination and the economic situation were such that it was easier for a black woman to get a job than her husband. Because of this, anything that might be construed as anti-male will be viewed skeptically by a black woman.

Indeed this is a problem not only for black women but most women.

If this caucus is to have a real impact, we must have a broad base and appeal to the average woman.

Unfortunately, the movement is currently perceived as anti-male, anti-child, and anti-family.

Part of this is bad press. The media does not concentrate on the blue-haired lady in pearls testifying on behalf of the equal employment opportunities bill. It trains its eyes on the young girl shaking her fist and screaming obscenities at an abortion rally.

Part of it is that many of the leaders of the movement have down-graded traditional roles in their attempts to show abuses and to affirm the right of a woman to have a choice of roles to play.

Finally, there have been excesses. Not all sexual advances are sexist. Children are more than a pile of dirty diapers, and families while they have often restricted women, have also provided warmth, security, and love.

If we are to succeed in uniting ourselves and in attracting the typical woman who is likely to be a housewife and mother who likes living in suburbia, we are going to have to make a concerted effort to articulate issues so that everyone will want to be identified with and active in the movement.

Address delivered before the National Women's Political Caucus Convention, Houston, February 9, 1973. Reprinted by permission.

Exploratory Committee Announcement Speech, Elizabeth Dole, 1999

Hello. Thank you for tuning in.

I know your life is busy: so many things you need to do and not enough time for what you want to do, so, thanks for choosing to spend a few minutes with me. I promise to be brief. But I have some thoughts I'm eager to share with you about the future of our country. And I'd like to talk a little about my own sense of obligation as a citizen of the freest land on earth.

As you know, I have been thinking about running for President.

Since I left the American Red Cross, January 15th, I've been traveling around the country, and I've been humbled by the response. It's been inspiring to appear before overflow crowds in such places as New Hampshire, Iowa, Colorado, Florida, and Texas. It's been that way everywhere, but I don't think I'm the cause. I think the crowds and the enthusiasm are evidence of a great American yearning to make our nation a better place.

Yes, I've seen many Presidential campaigns up close. I know what they entail. And I know a run for the Presidency should be undertaken only if you believe in something so strongly that its accomplishment makes everything worthwhile.

And if I run, this will be why: I believe our people are looking for leaders who will call America to her better nature. Yes, we've been let down—and by people we should have been able to look up to. But it's not just that. Politics and the politics of governing have become so negative, so paralyzed by special interests, that as a people we're beginning to lose faith in our own institutions. It's only a short step to losing faith in ourselves, and then we would be lost.

When I entered public service as a young woman, it was considered a noble thing to do. Today, too many of our young men and women can't see the wondrous possibilities of public life for the ugliness of politics. And they turn away from public service.

We must rekindle a spirit in our hearts—something very American, something still alive but buried beneath a thickening layer of skepticism and doubt. We must renew faith in the goodness of our nation, and a sense in ourselves that each one of us can make a difference—no matter how large the challenge. For both are true.

Restoring a national belief in the power of the individual and the need for acceptance of personal responsibility is, I believe, at the center of our challenge today as a nation.

What does a woman like me have to offer the country? I'm not a politician, and frankly today I think that may be a plus. But I have spent a lifetime as a servant of the public. I have served in the administrations of five Presidents. Some of those jobs have included Federal Trade Commissioner, Ronald Reagan's White House staff, and the Reagan and Bush cabinets as Secretary of Transportation and Secretary of Labor. Working with committed teams of public servants and volunteers, I oversaw the largest privatization in government history when we sold the government freight railroad, Conrail; I led the massive safety overhaul of our nation's airline inspection system and placed special emphasis on ensuring passenger safety in the age of deregulation; worked to untangle years of suspicion and mistrust in ending a crippling coal strike while at the Department of Labor; and, as President of the Red Cross, a \$2.2 billion dollar corporation—transformed the manner in which half our nation's blood supply is collected, tested and distributed, creating a new gold standard for safety and reliability.

I mention all this to point out that if there is an overriding theme to my thirty-plus years in public life—and I think there is—it lies in placing service over politics, consensus over confrontation and a constant recognition of the desire of my fellow countrymen to do what is right.

If today's politics seem irrelevant, it falls to us—all of us—to make them more relevant. If public life is lacking in civility, then it is our common task to help civilize it.

But what are the issues we want our leaders to address? I'm proud to have served as a lieutenant in Ronald Reagan's army. He was sure of his mission and his policies revolutionized our economy.

And I can well remember when President Reagan asked the telling question: "Are you better off today than you were four years ago?" Perhaps the question we should be asking today is: Are we better? Are our families stronger? Are our public schools committed first to excellence? Are our children safe from drugs? Do we assume responsibility for our culture and our choices? And have we shouldered the burden incumbent on each generation of Americans to man and maintain a national defense with the wherewithal to keep us free?

Today our taxes have reached the highest percentage of gross domestic product in 50 years. The average American family spends 40 percent of its income just paying the tax bill. According to the Tax Foundation, that means the family spent more than 5 months in 1998 working for the government—in federal, state and local taxes combined.

And today, defense spending has reached its lowest percentage of gross domestic product in 50 years.

The readiness of our troops is in question and a whole generation of outdated military equipment is waiting to be replaced. The military has been downsized so far, many of our best people are leaving, and all this at a time when North Korea is building nuclear bombs that could be ready to strike us within a year according to the Secretary of Defense, and Iraq is manufacturing biological weapons that could terrorize the world.

Today the United States reigns as the world's only superpower. But rogue nations and terrorists still threaten our people, our freedom and our way of life. I believe there is an urgent need to refurbish our military and resolve to develop and deploy a strategic missile defense system at the earliest possible date.

Another menace to our way of life lurks within our borders: the cancer of drug abuse. It was recently reported that the head of the Drug Enforcement Agency said, "The nation has neither the will nor the resources to win the drug war" and "Curbing drug use is not a high enough priority with the American people."

People tell me the polls show that drug abuse is not a priority issue. I believe we should make it one. My passion doesn't come from polling. I have a vision of an America free of drugs. Like you, I'm appalled that marijuana and cocaine use by teenagers tripled in recent years. . . . And together I know we can change that. But first we have to recognize that it's not enough to urge foreign countries to reduce the supply. Let's be honest. There wouldn't be a supply if there wasn't a demand. Can we stand by and allow the great United States of America to be consumed by an insatiable appetite for this devastating addiction?

Of course not. America needs a President who will use the bully pulpit, and from it speak out loudly and clearly and often about the dangers of drugs with

the unmistakable message that drugs are not cool. They kill. The Federal Government must do a better job of supporting the hundreds of local anti-drug coalitions. And, yes, we must strengthen our interdiction efforts to stop illegal drugs before they reach our borders. At this moment when the number of Americans behind bars—most on drug-related charges—has never been greater, we must make absolutely clear that drugs are a personal and national evil that threatens us all.

But the challenges today to public education pose perhaps the greatest test of our citizenship. I regard public education as one of the glories of American democracy. Which is precisely why the number one priority of any education reform must be this: To restore our public schools to greatness.

I count as one of the most rewarding experiences of my life, teaching in a public school near Boston while I was earning a graduate degree in education. I learned in the classroom what a noble profession teaching really is.

And ever since then, I have refused to join those who often find it expedient to turn teachers into rhetorical punching bags. Yes, we should expect the best out of our teachers. Yes, we should reward outstanding performance. No, we should not be expected to put up with incompetence. But let us never forget that the true heroes of our society are not to be found on a movie screen or a football field—they are to be found in our classrooms.

I doubt any of us remembers which federal official had primary responsibility for education when we graduated from high school. But I bet each and every one of us can remember the teacher who awakened in us a love of history or a fascination with words.

It was at the Department of Labor when education truly became more than an interest for me—it became a passion. Improving the skills of America's current and future workforce was for me a top priority.

Across the board, employers were insisting—and are insisting—on higher skills and a better educated workforce.

And, I was hearing from employers that the preparation students were receiving in our classrooms was inadequate to meet the needs of our workplace. From one corporate leader, I learned that four out of every five job applicants in his company had recently flunked entry level employment exams requiring seventh grade English skills, and fifth grade math.

We are the richest nation in the world. We can afford safer, newer classrooms with smaller classes. Places where real knowledge is transferred by better-trained, more accountable teachers. Where orderly, disciplined students stay in class more hours during more days. If we take up this challenge across America, our public schools will become again places where America's separating classes can melt together, because rich and poor alike will freely choose them for their children.

There are many ideas to restore to local school districts, funds taken in taxes by the Federal Government. We should do this, because local districts know best what their schools need. Maybe it's hiring more teachers, or raising their salaries or fixing up falling down buildings. But the ultimate test of our resolve is not how much money Washington gives to school districts. It's how much control Washington gives back to parents and teachers.

By all means, let's put a computer in every classroom. But let's make sure to put parents in every classroom as well. Parents will do what the government has

not: ensure a zero tolerance for incompetence. We should test and track and act on the results, holding teachers and principals and schools accountable for the success of the children in their care. But if a child is trapped in an unsafe, failing school, we must provide other answers, like a voucher to help parents select another school.

And I believe we must return teaching to the heart of the educational enterprise.

Teaching needs to be supported, not only by rewarding excellence in teaching, but by placing the training of teachers at the center of our higher education system. I will be revealing nothing by saying that some of our schools of education have not demanded nearly enough of their students, nor have they been accorded the attention and support they would have in a properly constituted educational order. If teaching is to become a prestigious profession, teachers must undergo rigorous training and hold prestigious degrees.

As we raise the regard for teachers, perhaps we can also reinstate regard for public service. Because service to others—be it in the classroom, in government, or at the local Red Cross—can and does bring out the best in ourselves.

In my eight years at the American Red Cross, I saw things that will haunt me the rest of my life—the dim eyes of starving children in Somalia, the paralyzing grief of parents in Oklahoma City, the despair of those family members who lost loved ones and everything they owned to a tornado's 260-mile-per-hour, terrifying violence.

But I also saw the power of the human heart—of America's heart: neighbors helping neighbors after hurricanes, earthquakes and floods; Americans willing to go to the other side of the globe to help those they didn't know, and would never see again—the victims of war and natural disaster.

As I travel this country, I am buoyed by the goodness of our citizens, the clarity of your vision and the strength of your values. Which is why I am ready to take the next step. This week, I have filed papers to form an exploratory committee. I will be reaching out to you. I want to listen, to hear your hopes and understand your concerns—people to people. And I would like to ask for your support and the support of people all across our country, as I explore a Presidential candidacy. I hope to see you soon on one of my next visits. You may also contact me through my exploratory committee website, www.edole2000.org.

Like you, I love my country. And like you, I want to do whatever I can to make it better. I believe the road ahead beckons to every American, for whom the untraveled world is a place of limitless possibility. God willing, we will travel it together, with courage, confidence, and conviction, leaving no one behind, knowing that the future is our friend.

Thank you. God bless you. And may God bless America.

Reprinted with permission from the Elizabeth Dole campaign.

A New Beginning: A New Dedication, Rep. Barbara Jordan, 1976

One hundred and forty-four years ago, members of the Democratic party first met in convention to select a presidential candidate. Since that time, Democrats have continued to convene once every four years and draft a party platform and nominate a presidential candidate. And our meeting this week is a continuation of that tradition.

But there is something different about tonight. There is something special

about tonight. What is different? What is special? I, Barbara Jordan, am a keynote speaker.

A lot of years passed since 1832, and during that time it would have been most unusual for any national political party to ask that a Barbara Jordan deliver a keynote address . . . but tonight here I am. And I feel that notwithstanding the past that my presence here is one additional bit of evidence that the American Dream need not forever be deferred.

Now that I have this grand distinction what in the world am I supposed to say?

I could easily spend this time praising the accomplishments of this party and attacking the Republicans but I don't choose to do that.

I could list the many problems which Americans have. I could list the problems which cause people to feel cynical, angry, frustrated: problems which include lack of integrity in government; the feeling that the individual no longer counts; the reality of material and spiritual poverty; the feeling that the grand American experiment is failing or has failed. I could recite these problems and then I could sit down and offer no solutions. But I don't choose to do that either.

The citizens of America expect more. They deserve and they want more than a recital of problems.

We are a people in a quandary about the present. We are a people in search of our future. We are a people in search of a national community.

We are a people trying not only to solve the problems of the present: unemployment, inflation . . . but we are attempting on a larger scale to fulfill the promise of America. We are attempting to fulfill our national purpose; to create and sustain a society in which all of us are equal.

Throughout our history, when people have looked for new ways to solve their problems, and to uphold the principles of this nation, many times they have turned to political parties. They have often turned to the Democratic party.

What is it, what is it about the Democratic party that makes it the instrument that people use when they search for ways to shape their future? Well I believe the answer to that question lies in our concept of governing. Our concept of governing is derived from our view of people. It is a concept deeply rooted in a set of beliefs firmly etched in the national conscience, of all of us.

Now what are these beliefs?

First, we believe in equality for all and privileges for none. This is a belief that each American regardless of background has equal standing in the public forum, all of us. Because we believe this idea so firmly, we are an inclusive rather than an exclusive party. Let everybody come.

I think it no accident that most of those emigrating to America in the nineteenth century identified with the Democratic party. We are a heterogeneous party made up of Americans of diverse backgrounds.

We believe that the people are the source of all governmental power; that the authority of the people is to be extended, not restricted. This can be accomplished only by providing each citizen with every opportunity to participate in the management of the government. They must have that.

We believe that the government which represents the authority of all the people, not just one interest group, but all the people, has an obligation to actively underscore, actively seek to remove those obstacles which would block individual

achievement . . . obstacles emanating from race, sex, economic condition. The government must seek to remove them.

We are a party of innovation. We do not reject our traditions, but we are willing to adapt to changing circumstances, when change we must. We are willing to suffer the discomfort of change in order to achieve a better future.

We have a positive vision of the future founded on the belief that the gap between the promise and reality of America can one day be finally closed. We believe that.

This, my friends, is the bedrock of our concept of governing. This is a part of the reason why Americans have turned to the Democratic party. These are the foundations upon which a national community can be built.

Let's all understand that these guiding principles cannot be discarded for short-term political gains. They represent what this country is all about. They are indigenous to the American idea. And these are principles which are not negotiable.

In other times, I could stand here and give this kind of exposition on the beliefs of the Democratic party and that would be enough. But today that is not enough. People want more. That is not sufficient reason for the majority of the people of this country to vote Democratic. We have made mistakes. In our haste to do all things for all people, we did not foresee the full consequences of our actions. And when the people raised their voices, we didn't hear. But our deafness was only a temporary condition, and not an irreversible condition.

Even as I stand here and admit that we have made mistakes I still believe that as the people of America sit in judgment on each party, they will recognize that our mistakes were mistakes of the heart. They'll recognize that.

And now we must look to the future. Let us heed the voice of the people and recognize their common sense. If we do not, we not only blaspheme our political heritage, we ignore the common ties that bind all Americans.

Many fear the future. Many are distrustful of their leaders, and believe that their voices are never heard. Many seek only to satisfy their private work wants. To satisfy private interests.

But this is the great danger America faces. That we will cease to be one nation and become instead a collection of interest groups; city against suburb, region against region, individual against individual. Each seeking to satisfy private wants.

If that happens, who then will speak for America?

Who then will speak for the common good?

This is the question which must be answered in 1976.

Are we to be one people bound together by common spirit sharing in a common endeavor or will we become a divided nation?

For all of its uncertainty, we cannot flee the future. We must not become the new puritans and reject our society. We must address and master the future together. It can be done if we restore the belief that we share a sense of national community, that we share a common national endeavor. It can be done.

There is no executive order; there is no law that can require the American people to form a national community. This we must do as individuals and if we do it as individuals, there is no President of the United States who can veto that decision.

As a first step, we must restore our belief in ourselves. We are a generous people so why can't we be generous with each other? We need to take to heart the words spoken by Thomas Jefferson: "Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and that affection without which liberty and even life are but dreary things."

A nation is formed by the willingness of each of us to share in the responsibility for upholding the common good.

A government is invigorated when each of us is willing to participate in shaping the future of this nation.

In this election year we must define the common good and begin again to shape a common good and begin again to shape a common future. Let each person do his or her part. If one citizen is unwilling to participate, all of us are going to suffer. For the American idea, though it is shared by all of us, is realized in each one of us.

And now, what are those of us who are elected public officials supposed to do? We call ourselves public servants but I'll tell you this: we as public servants must set an example for the rest of the nation. It is hypocritical for the public official to admonish and exhort the people to uphold the common good if we are derelict in upholding the common good. More is required of public officials than slogans and handshakes and press releases. More is required. We must hold ourselves strictly accountable. We must provide the people with a vision of the future.

If we promise as public officials, we must deliver. If we as public officials propose, we must produce. If we say to the American people it is time for you to be sacrificial; sacrifice. If the public official says that, we (public officials) must be the first to give. We must be. And again, if we make mistakes, we must be willing to admit them. We have to do that. What we have to do is strike a balance between the idea that government should do everything and the idea, the belief, that government ought to do nothing. Strike a balance.

Let there be no illusions about the difficulty of forming this kind of a national community. It's tough, difficult, not easy. But a spirit of harmony will survive in America only if each of us remembers that we share a common destiny. If each of us remembers when self-interest and bitterness seem to prevail, that we share a common destiny.

I have confidence that we can form this kind of national community.

I have confidence that the Democratic party can lead the way. I have that confidence. We cannot improve on the system of government handed down to us by the founders of the Republic, there is no way to improve upon that. But what we can do is to find new ways to implement that system and realize our destiny.

Now, I began this speech by commenting to you on the uniqueness of a Barbara Jordan making the keynote address. Well I am going to close my speech by quoting a Republican President and I ask you that as you listen to these words of Abraham Lincoln, relate them to the concept of a national community in which every last one of us participates: "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master."

This expresses my idea of Democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference is no democracy.

Delivered to the National Democratic Convention, July 12, 1976. Reprinted by permission of the Barbara Jordan Archives, Texas Southern University.

What the GOP Has Done for Women, Rep. Jennifer Dunn, 1996

When women back home in my district talk to me about what this Congress is doing these days, I tell them that Congress is dealing with the very problems that women are concerned about.

Well, what is it that we women care about?

We want opportunity for ourselves and our families.

We want some sense that there will be a retirement system we can count on.

We want a healthy environment.

We want a good education for our children.

We want personal safety.

We want health care security.

We want the folks who really need help in our society to get that help.

We want homemaker IRAs, because we know that the work done inside the home is every bit as important, if not more important, as the work done outside the home.

What has the Republican Congress done to answer these needs?

This Congress has indeed been supportive of women and the family. We passed a \$500 per child tax credit; we passed marriage penalty tax relief; we passed tougher laws on sexual predators and stalkers; we are supporting employees having the option of selecting either time-off or cash instead of overtime wages. For too long parents have had to choose between work and spending time with their children. A working mother may prefer to see her daughter in a school play rather than be paid time and a half for staying at her job. She should have that choice.

And women care about their families. Much of what we care about concerns the family. Don't let the media fool you when they say this isn't a "family friendly" Congress. It may not seem so to those of us who spend hour after hour, day after day, month after month fighting the battles in the Congress! But it truly is friendly to families.

We increased day care money and child support enforcement provisions in our welfare reform plan—\$4.5 billion more dollars than the current welfare system.

We support funding for the "Violence Against Women Act"—which will help state and local governments to focus tax dollars on preventing crimes targeted toward women, like domestic violence.

We support tax credits for couples who choose to adopt a child.

We support tax credits to help families care for elderly parents and grandparents in a loving home as long as they can stay there.

We passed the "Domestic Violence Insurance Protection Act"—which forbids insurance companies from treating domestic violence victims as having a pre-existing condition.

We passed steps to amend Medicare regulations to include the treatment of breast cancer with a proven cancer-stopping drug.

We support increased funding for women's health care research—given how hard this Congress has worked to balance the budget, an increase illustrates our high level of commitment to women's health issues.

And we have passed a bi-partisan "Safe Drinking Water Act" that has been heralded by environmentalists.

Please don't believe the rhetoric—rather, look at our record and look at what we've done.

For instance, take a look at our record on small business—the real engine that creates new jobs and energizes the economy. Small business built this country. Today, more people are employed by women-owned small business than by Fortune 500 companies. And according to the SBA, women are starting businesses at twice the rate of men. It is anticipated that women will own 50 percent of the small businesses in America in the 21st Century.

What are these women small business owners and workers interested in?

Growth and prosperity, less regulation and lower taxes, common-sense laws, and health insurance deductibility for the self-employed. Women small business owners can be assured that their concerns are in sync with the Republican Congress' work on behalf of small business.

Look at what we've passed:

- regulatory relief
- paperwork reduction and elimination
- health care deductibility for the self employed
- we ensured the solvency of the principal lending programs at SBA
- we made tax compliance for "S" Corporations less complicated
- we provided small businesses the ability to quickly write-off the money they spend on practical things like computers and office furniture

In fact, if Congress gets its way—and President Clinton keeps his veto pen in his pocket—women business owners can expect sustained growth, more jobs and better wages . . . sounds a bit like the American Dream, doesn't it?

I've found that my women friends at home in Washington state care about the very same things that this Republican Congress does: helping families keep more of their paychecks so they can decide how to do more for their families and their communities; saving Medicare for our parents and welfare for the folks who are truly in need, and encouraging local answers as we solve the problems of increasing crime, and declining education and protecting the environment.

Our solutions are not complicated. Our solutions do not require Congressional studies, or committee hearings or "expert" testimony.

Our solution is to listen.

I've have found that if you listen to the American woman and respect her advice, the answers are all right there.

According to Representative Dunn's office this speech was given dozens of times during the 1996 campaign on behalf of male Republican Congressional candidates. Reprinted by permission.

Women of Sovereign Nations

Americans live in a culture so dominated by European traditions and laws that it is often difficult to recognize the ways in which other cultures coexist with American life. It is important to realize that while some women in the United States struggled for the vote and equality with men, Native American women have participated in their own political systems, often on equal terms with men, and have ruled their sovereign nations.

At this book goes to press, the United States has not had a woman president, but a sovereign nation that was annexed by it once had a queen. The Hawaiian Islands, sovereign until 1895, were ruled by Queen Liliuokalani from 1891 to 1893, years when colonial interests competed with the throne for power and for control over the islands. Confronted with a provisional government and threats of violence, Queen Liliuokalani sought a strategy that would avoid the loss of life and preserve the option of maintaining her country's sovereignty. She sought assistance from President Grover Cleveland, but ultimately her attempt failed and led to her abdication from the throne in 1895.

Native American Zitkala-Ša, a Yankton Sioux also known as Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, was a leader in the Society of American Indians in the 1910s and was the founder and president of the National Council of American Indians from 1926 to 1938. Dedicated to Native American self-determination, she worked to find a balance between "Americanizing" her people and preserving Native American culture and tradition. Bonnin's convictions emerged from her childhood experiences in a mission school, as described in her article.

In the last decades of the twentieth century, Native American women have established themselves as national leaders with compelling agendas. Anishinabe Winona LaDuke has focused her efforts on the synergy between environmental and women's issues; she ran for Vice President of the United States on the Green Party ticket in 1996. Ada Deer, the first woman to direct the Bureau of Indian Affairs, testified in Congress about proposed amendments to the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978, which recognized the harm done to Native American children when they were removed from their communities and acknowledged the right of tribal governments to determine tribal membership and to serve the best interests of their children.

Appeal to President Grover Cleveland, Queen Liliuokalani, 1893

I, Liliuokalani, by the Grace of God and under the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the Constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom.

That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the Provisional Government.

Now to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do this under protest and impelled by said force yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon facts being presented to it,

undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the Constitutional Sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

The School Days of an Indian Girl, Zitkala-Ša, 1900

The first turning away from the easy, natural flow of my life occurred in an early spring. It was in my eighth year; in the month of March, I afterward learned. At this age I knew but one language, and that was my mother's native tongue.

From some of my playmates I heard that two paleface missionaries were in our village. They were from that class of white men who wore big hats and carried large hearts, they said. Running direct to my mother, I began to question her why these two strangers were among us. She told me, after I had teased much, that they had come to take away Indian boys and girls to the East. My mother did not seem to want me to talk about them. But in a day or two, I gleaned many wonderful stories from my playfellows concerning the strangers.

"Mother, my friend Judéwin is going home with the missionaries. She is going to a more beautiful country than ours; the palefaces told her so!" I said wistfully, wishing in my heart that I too might go.

Mother sat in a chair, and I was hanging on her knee. Within the last two seasons my big brother Dawée had returned from a three years' education in the East, and his coming back influenced my mother to take a farther step from her native way of living. First it was a change from the buffalo skin to the white man's canvas that covered our wigwam. Now she had given up her wigwam of slender poles, to live, a foreigner, in a home of clumsy logs.

Judéwin had told me of the great tree where grew red, red apples; and how we could reach out our hands and pick all the red apples we could eat. I had never seen apple trees. I had never tasted more than a dozen red apples in my life; and when I heard of the orchards of the East, I was eager to roam among them. The missionaries smiled into my eyes, and patted my head. I wondered how mother could say such hard words against them.

"Mother, ask them if little girls may have all the red apples they want, when they go East," I whispered aloud, in my excitement.

The interpreter heard me, and answered: "Yes, little girl, the nice red apples are for those who pick them; and you will have a ride on the iron horse if you go with these good people."

I had never seen a train, and he knew it.

"Mother, I'm going East! I like big red apples, and I want to ride on the iron horse! Mother, say yes!" I pleaded.

My mother said nothing. The missionaries waited in silence; and my eyes began to blur with tears, though I struggled to choke them back. The corners of my mouth twitched, and my mother saw me.

"I am not ready to give you any word," she said to them. "Tomorrow I shall send you my answer by my son."

With this they left us. Alone with my mother, I yielded to my tears, and cried aloud shaking my head so as not to hear what she was saying to me. This was the first time I had ever been so unwilling to give up my own desire that I refused to harken to my mother's voice.

There was a solemn silence in our home that night. Before I went to bed I begged the Great Spirit to make my mother willing I should go with the missionaries.

The next morning came, and my mother called me to her side. "My daughter, do you still persist in wishing to leave your mother?" she asked.

"Oh, mother, it is not that I wish to leave you, but I want to see the wonderful Eastern land," I answered.

. . . My brother Dawée came for mother's decision. I dropped my play, and crept close to my aunt.

"Yes, Dawée, my daughter, though she does not understand what it all means, is anxious to go. She will need an education when she is grown, for then there will be fewer real Dakotas, and many more palefaces. This tearing her away, so young, from her mother is necessary, if I would have her an educated woman. The palefaces, who owe us a large debt for stolen lands, have begun to pay a tardy justice in offering some education to our children. But I know my daughter must suffer keenly in this experiment. For her sake, I dread to tell you my reply to the missionaries. Go, tell them that they may take my little daughter, and that the Great Spirit shall not fail to reward them according to their hearts."

Wrapped in my heavy blanket, I walked with my mother to the carriage that was soon to take us to the iron horse. I was happy. I met my playmates, who were also wearing their best thick blankets. We showed one another our new beaded moccasins, and the width of the belts that girdled our new dresses. Soon we were being drawn rapidly away by the white man's horses. When I saw the lonely figure of my mother vanish in the distance, a sense of regret settled heavily upon me. I felt suddenly weak, as if I might fall limp to the ground. I was in the hands of strangers whom my mother did not fully trust. I no longer felt free to be myself, or to voice my own feelings. The tears trickled down my cheeks, and I buried my face in the folds of my blanket. Now the first step, parting me from my mother, was taken, and all my belated tears availed nothing.

Having driven thirty miles to the ferryboat, we crossed the Missouri in the evening. Then riding again a few miles eastward, we stopped before a massive brick building. I looked at it in amazement, and with a vague misgiving, for in our village I had never seen so large a house. Trembling with fear and distrust of the palefaces, my teeth chattering from the chilly ride, I crept noiselessly in my soft moccasins along the narrow hall, keeping very close to the bare wall. I was as frightened and bewildered as the captured young of a wild creature.

The first day in the land of apples was a bitter-cold one; for the snow still covered the ground, and the trees were bare. A large bell rang for breakfast, its loud metallic voice crashing through the belfry overhead and into our sensitive ears. The annoying clatter of shoes on bare floors gave us no peace. The constant clash of harsh noises, with an undercurrent of many voices murmuring an unknown tongue, made a bedlam within which I was securely tied. And though my spirit tore itself in struggling for its lost freedom, all was useless.

A paleface woman, with white hair, came up after us. We were placed in a line of girls who were marching into the dining room. These were Indian girls, in stiff shoes and closely clinging dresses. The small girls wore sleeved aprons and shingled hair. As I walked noiselessly in my soft moccasins, I felt like sinking to the floor, for my blanket had been stripped from my shoulders. I looked hard at the Indian girls, who seemed not to care that they were even more immodestly dressed than I, in their tightly fitting clothes. While we marched in, the boys entered at an opposite door. I watched for the three young braves who came in our party. I spied them in the rear ranks, looking as uncomfortable as I felt . . .

. . . Late in the morning, my friend Judéwin gave me a terrible warning. Judéwin knew a few words of English; and she had overheard the paleface woman talk about cutting our long, heavy hair. Our mothers had taught us that only unskilled warriors who were captured had their hair shingled by the enemy. Among our people, short hair was worn by mourners, and shingled hair by cowards!

We discussed our fate some moments, and when Judéwin said, "We have to submit, because they are strong," I rebelled.

"No, I will not submit! I will struggle first!" I answered.

I watched my chance, and when no one noticed I disappeared. I crept up the stairs as quietly as I could in my squeaking shoes,—my moccasins had been exchanged for shoes. Along the hall I passed, without knowing whither I was going. Turning aside to an open door, I found a large room with three white beds in it. The windows were covered with dark green curtains, which made the room very dim. Thankful that no one was there, I directed my steps toward the corner farthest from the door. On my hands and knees I crawled under the bed, and cuddled myself in the dark corner.

From my hiding place I peered out, shuddering with fear whenever I heard footsteps near by. Though in the hall loud voices were calling my name, and I knew that even Judéwin was searching for me, I did not open my mouth to answer. Then the steps were quickened and the voices became excited. The sounds came nearer and nearer. Women and girls entered the room. I held my breath, and watched them open closet doors and peep behind large trunks. Some one threw up the curtains, and the room was filled with sudden light. What caused them to stoop and look under the bed I do not know. I remember being dragged out, though I resisted by kicking and scratching wildly. In spite of myself, I was carried downstairs and tied fast in a chair.

I cried aloud, shaking my head all the while until I felt the cold blades of the scissors against my neck, and heard them gnaw off one of my thick braids. Then I lost my spirit. Since the day I was taken from my mother I had suffered extreme indignities. People had stared at me. I had been tossed about in the air like a wooden puppet. And now my long hair was shingled like a coward's! In my anguish I moaned for my mother, but no one came to comfort me. Not a soul reasoned quietly with me, as my own mother used to do; for now I was only one of many little animals driven by a herder. . . .

. . . Now, as I look back upon the recent past, I see it from a distance, as a whole. I remember how, from morning till evening, many specimens of civilized people visited the Indian school. The city folks with canes and eyeglasses, the country men with sunburnt cheeks and clumsy feet, forgot their relative social ranks in an ignorant curiosity. Both sorts of these Christian palefaces were alike astounded at seeing the children of savage warriors so docile and industrious.

As answers to their shallow inquiries they received the students' sample work to look upon. Examining the neatly figured pages, and gazing upon the Indian girls and boys bending over their books, the white visitors walked out of the schoolhouse well satisfied: they were educating the children of the red man! They were paying a liberal fee to the government employees in whose able hands lay the small forest of Indian timber.

In this fashion many have passed idly through the Indian schools during the last decade, afterward to boast of their charity to the North American Indian. But

few there are who have paused to question whether real life or long-lasting death lies beneath this semblance of civilization.

Excerpted from "Impressions of an Indian Childhood," "The School Days of an Indian Girl," and "An Indian Teacher among Indians" by Zitkala-Ša, Atlantic Monthly 85 (January, February, and March 1900):45–47, 186–187, and 386.

The Indigenous Women's Network: Our Future, Our Responsibility, Winona LaDuke, 1995

I am from the Mississippi Band of Anishinabeg of the White Earth reservation in northern Minnesota, one of approximately 250,000 Anishinabeg people who inhabit the great lakes region of the North American continent. Aniin indinaway-mugnitok. Me gweich Chi-iwewag, Megwetch Ogitchi taikwewag. Nindizhinikaz, Beenaysayikwe, Makwa nin dodaem. Megwetch indinawaymugunitok.

I am greeting you in my language and thanking you, my sisters, for the honor of speaking with you today about the challenges facing women as we approach the 21st century.

A primary and central challenge impacting women as we approach the 21st century will be the distance we collectively as women and societies have artificially placed ourselves from our Mother the Earth, and the inherent environmental, social, health and psychological consequences of colonialism, and subsequently rapid industrialization, on our bodies and our nations. A centerpiece of this problem is the increasing lack of control we have over ourselves, and our long term security. This situation must be rectified through the laws of international institutions, such as the United Nations, but as well, the policies, laws and practices of our nations, our communities, our states, and ourselves.

The situation of Indigenous women, as a part of Indigenous peoples, we believe is a magnified version of the critical juncture we find ourselves in as peoples, and the problems facing all women and our future generations as we struggle for a better world. Security, militarism, the globalization of the economy, the further marginalization of women, increasing intolerance and the forced commodification and homogenization of culture through the media.

The Earth is our Mother. From her we get our life and our ability to live. It is our responsibility to care for our mother, and in caring for our Mother, we care for ourselves. Women, all females are the manifestation of Mother Earth in human form. We are her daughters and in my cultural instructions: Minobi-maatsiwin, we are to care for her. I am taught to live in respect for Mother Earth. In Indigenous societies, we are told that Natural Law is the highest law, higher than the law made by nations, states, municipalities and the World Bank. That one would do well to live in accordance with Natural Law, with those of our Mother. And in respect for our Mother Earth of our relations—indinaway-muguni took.

One hundred years ago, one of our Great Leaders, Chief Seattle, stated "What befalls the Earth, befalls the People of the Earth." And that is the reality of today, and the situation of the status of women, and the status of Indigenous women and Indigenous peoples.

While I am from one nation of Indigenous peoples, there are millions of Indigenous people worldwide. An estimated 500 million people are in the world today. We are in the Cordillera, the Maori of New Zealand, we are in East Timor, we

are the Wara Wara of Australia, the Lakota, the Tibetans, the peoples of Hawaii, New Caledonia and many other nations of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples. We are not populations, not minority groups, we are peoples, we are nations of peoples. Under international law we meet the criteria of nation states, having common economic system, language, territory, history, culture and governing institutions. Despite this fact, Indigenous Nations are not allowed to participate at the United Nations.

Nations of Indigenous people are not, by and large, represented at the United Nations. Most decisions today are made by the 180 or so member states to the United Nations. Those states, by and large, have been in existence for only 200 years or less, while most Nations of Indigenous peoples, with few exceptions, have been in existence for thousands of years. Ironically, there would likely be little argument in this room, that most decisions made in the world today are actually made by some of the 47 transnational corporations and their international financiers whose annual income is larger than the gross national product for many countries of the world.

This is a centerpiece of the problem. Decisionmaking is not made by those who are affected by those decisions, people who live on the land, but corporations, with an interest which is entirely different than that of the land, and the people, or the women of the land. This brings forth a fundamental question. What gives these corporations like Conoco, Shell, Exxon, Diashawa, ITT, Rio Tinto Zinc, and the World Bank, a right which supercedes or is superior to my human right to live on my land, or that of my family, my community, my nation, our nations, and us as women. What law gives that right to them; not any law of the Creator, or of Mother Earth. Is that right contained within their wealth? Is that right contained within their wealth, which is historically acquired immorally, unethically, through colonialism, imperialism, and paid for with the lives of millions of people, or species of plants and entire ecosystems? They should have no such right, that right of self determination, and to determine our destiny, and that of our future generations.

The origins of this problem lie with the predator/prey relationship industrial society has developed with the Earth, and subsequently, the people of the Earth. This same relationship exists vis-a-vis women. We collectively find that we are often in the role of the prey to a predator society, whether for sexual discrimination, exploitation, sterilization, absence of control over our bodies, or being the subjects of repressive laws and legislation in which we have no voice. This occurs on an individual level, but equally and more significantly, on a societal level. It is also critical to point out at this time that most matrilineal societies, societies in which governance and decisionmaking are largely controlled by women, have been obliterated from the face of the Earth by colonialism and subsequently industrialism. The only matrilineal societies which exist in the world today are those of Indigenous nations. We are the remaining matrilineal societies, yet we also face obliteration.

On a worldwide scale and in North America, Indigenous societies historically, and today, remain in a prey/predator relationship with industrial society, and prior to that, colonialism and imperialism. We are the peoples with the land—land and natural resources required for someone else's development program and the amassing of wealth. The wealth of the United States, that nation

which today determines much of world policy, easily expropriated from our lands. Similarly the wealth of Indigenous peoples of South Africa, Central and South American countries, and Asia was taken for the industrial development of Europe, and later for settler states which came to occupy those lands. That relationship between development and underdevelopment adversely affected the status of our Indigenous societies, and the status of Indigenous women.

Eduardo Galeano, the Latin American writer and scholar, has said: "In the colonial to neocolonial alchemy, gold changes to scrap metal and food to poison; we have become painfully aware of the mortality of wealth which nature bestows and imperialism appropriates."

Today, on a worldwide scale, we remain in the same situation as one hundred years ago, only with less land, and fewer people. Today, on a worldwide scale, 50 million Indigenous peoples live in the world rainforests, a million Indigenous peoples are slated to be relocated for dam projects in the next decade (thanks to the World Bank, from the Narmada Project in India, to the Three Gorges Dam Project, here in China, to the James Bay Hydro Electric Project in northern Canada). Almost all atomic weapons which have been detonated in the world are also detonated on the lands or waters of the Indigenous, like the proposal to detonate atomic weapons this upcoming month. This situation is mimicked in the North American context. Today, over 50 percent of our remaining lands are forested, and both Canada and the United States continue aggressive clearcutting policies on our land. Over two thirds of the uranium resources in the United States, and similar figures for Canada, are on Indigenous lands, as is one third of all low-sulfur coal resources. We have huge oil reserves on our reservations, and we have the dubious honor of being the most highly bombed nation in the world, the Western Shoshone Nation, on which over 650 atomic weapons have been detonated. We also have two separate accelerated proposals to dump nuclear waste on our reservation lands, and similarly over 100 separate proposals to dump toxic waste on our reservation lands. We understand clearly the relationship between development for someone else, and our own underdevelopment. We also understand clearly the relationship between the environmental impacts of types of development on our lands, and the environmental and subsequent health impacts in our bodies as women. That is the cause of the problems.

We also understand clearly that the analysis of North versus South is an erroneous analysis. There is, from our perspective, not a problem of the North dictating the economic policies of the South, and subsequently consuming the South. Instead, there is a problem of the Middle consuming both the North and the South. That is our situation. Let me explain.

The rate of deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon is one acre every nine seconds. Incidentally, the rate of extinction of Indigenous peoples in the Amazon is one nation of Indigenous peoples per year. The rate of deforestation of the boreal forest of Canada is one acre every twelve seconds. Siberia, thanks to American corporations like Weyerhaeuser, is not far behind. In all cases, Indigenous peoples are endangered. And there is frankly no difference between the impact in the North and the South.

Uranium mining has devastated a number of Indigenous communities in North America. Uranium mining in northern Canada has left over 120 million tons of radioactive waste. This amount represents enough material to cover the

trans-Canada highway two meters deep across the country. Present production of uranium waste from Saskatchewan alone occurs at the rate of over 1 million tons annually. Since 1975, hospitalization for cancer, birth defects, and circulatory illnesses in that area have increased dramatically—between 123 and 600 percent in that region. In other areas impacted by uranium mining, cancers and birth defects have increased to, in some cases, eight times the national average. The subsequent increases in radiation exposure to both the local and to the larger North American population are also evidenced in broader incidences of cancer, such as breast cancer in North American women, which is significantly on the rise. There is not a distinction in this problem caused by radiation whether it is in the Dene of northern Canada, the Laguna Pueblo people of New Mexico, or the people of Namibia.

The rapid increase in dioxin, organochlorides, PCBs (poly-chlorinated biphenols) chemicals in the world, as a result of industrialization, has a devastating impact on Indigenous peoples, Indigenous women, and other women. Each year, the world's paper industry discharges from 600 to 3,200 grams of dioxin equivalents into water—sludge and paper product—on the United States Environmental Protection agency statistics. This quantity is equal the amount which would cause 58,000 to 294,000 cases of cancer every year, based on the Environmental Protection Agency's estimate of dioxin's carcinogenicity. According to a number of recent studies, this has increased significantly the risk of breast cancer in women. Similarly, heavy metals and PCB contamination of Inuit women of the Hudson Bay region of the Arctic indicates that they have the highest levels of breast milk contamination in the world. In a 1988 study, Inuit women were found to have contamination levels up to 28 times higher than the average of women in Quebec, and ten times higher than that considered "safe" by the government. It is also of great concern to our women, and our peoples, that polar bears in that region of the Arctic have such a high level of contamination from PCBs, that they may be facing total sterility, and forced into extinction by early in the next century. As peoples who consider the Bears to be our relatives, we are concerned also, significantly, about the ability to reproduce, as a consequence of this level of bio-accumulation of toxins. We find that our communities, like those of our relatives, the Bears, are in fact, in danger of extinction. Consequently, it is clear to us that the problems also found in the south like the export of chemicals, and bio-accumulation of toxins, are also very much our problems, and the problems clearly manifested in our women. These are problems which emanate from industrial societies' mistreatment and disrespect for our Mother Earth, and subsequently are reflected in the devastation of the collective health and well being of women.

In summary, I have presented these arguments for a purpose: to illustrate that these are very common issues for women; not only for Indigenous women, but for all women. What befalls our mother Earth, befalls her daughter—the women who are the mothers of our nations. Simply stated, if we can no longer nurse our children, if we can no longer bear children, and if our bodies themselves are wracked with poisons, we will have accomplished little in the way of determining our destiny, or improving our conditions. And, these problems, reflected in our health and well being, are also inherently resulting in a decline of the status of women, and are the result of a long set of historical processes which

we as women will need to challenge if we will ultimately be in charge of our own destinies, our own self determination, and the future of our Earth our Mother.

The reality is that all of these conditions, those emanating from the military and industrial devastation of our Mother the Earth, and subsequently, our own bodies, and the land on which we live are mimicked in social and development policies which affect women.

It is our belief, at Indigenous Women's Network, the following:

1) Women should not have to trade their ecosystem for running water, basic housing, health care, and basic human rights.

2) Development projects, whether in the North or in the South, whether financed by the World Bank, or by the coffers of Rio Tinto Zinc and Exxon, often replicate patriarchy and sexism, and by and large cause the destruction of matrilineal governance structure, land tenure, and cause a decline in the status of women. By denying us the basic land on which we live, and the clean food and streams from which to eat, and instead offering us a wage economy, in which privilege is often dictated by class, sex, and race, Indigenous women are frequently moved from a central role in their societies to the margins and refugee status of industrial society.

3) The intellectual knowledge systems today often negate or deny the existence of inherent property rights of Indigenous people to our cultural and intellectual knowledge, by supplanting our knowledge systems with industrial knowledge systems, calling us "primitive," while our medical knowledge, plants, and even genetic material are stolen (as in the Human Genome Project) by transnational corporations and international agencies. This situation affects Indigenous women, as a part of our communities, but on a larger scale, has affected most women.

4) Subsequently, our women find that the basic rights to control our bodies are impacted by all of the above, through development policies aimed at non-consensual or forced sterilization, medical testing, invasive genetic sampling, and absence of basic facilities and services which would guarantee us the right and ability to control the size of our families safely and willingly. These same development policies often are based on tourism which commodifies our bodies and cultures (the Pacific and Native America as prime examples), and cause the same with women internationally.

Collectively, we must challenge this paradigm, and this international arena. I call on you to support the struggle of Indigenous peoples of the world for recognition, and to recognize that until all peoples have self determination, no one will truly be free, free of the predator, and free to control our destiny. I ask you to look into the charter of the United Nations, Part One, Article Three, which provides that "All peoples have right to self determination. By virtue of that right they may freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and political development."

All peoples should be construed to mean Indigenous peoples have that right to self determination. And, by virtue of that right, they may freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and political development. Accord us the same rights as all other nations of peoples. And through that process, allow us to protect our ecosystems, their inherent biodiversity, human cultural diversity, and those matriarchal governments which remain in the world. And with the Unrepresented People's Organization (UNPO), we reaffirm that

definition of self determination provided in an article of The International Covenant on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights, further recognizing that the right to self determination belongs equally to women and to men. We believe that the right of all peoples to self determination cannot be realized while women continue to be marginalized and prevented from becoming full participants in their respective societies. The human rights of women, like the human rights of Indigenous peoples, and our inherent rights to self determination, are not issues exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of states. For further discussion of these, please see the international agreements and accords struck by hundreds of Indigenous nations, such as the Karioka document and the Matatua document.

Finally, while we may, here in the commonness of this forum, speak of the common rights of all women, and those fundamental human rights of self determination, it is incumbent upon me to point out the fundamental inequalities of this situation. So long as the predator continues, so long as the middle, the temperate countries of the world continue to drive an increasing level of consumption, and, frankly continue to export both the technologies and drive for this level of consumption to other countries of the world, there will be no safety for the human rights of women, rights of Indigenous peoples, and to basic protection for the Earth, from which we get our life. Consumption causes the commodification of the sacred, the natural world, cultures, and the commodification of children and women.

From the United States's position, consider the following. The United States is the largest energy market in the world. The average American consumes seven times as many wood products per capita as anywhere else in the industrialized world, and overall that country consumes one third of the world's natural resources. In Canada, by comparison, per capita energy consumption is the highest in the world. Levels of consumption in the industrial world drive destruction of the world's rainforests, and the world's boreal forests, drive production of nuclear wastes, and production of PCBs, dioxin, and other lethal chemicals, which devastate the body of our Mother Earth, and our own bodies. Unless we speak and take meaningful action to address the levels of consumption, and subsequently, the exports of these technologies, and levels of consumption to other countries (like the international market for nuclear reactors), we will never have any security for our individual human rights as Indigenous women, and for our security as women.

If we are to seek and struggle for common ground of all women, it is essential to struggle with this issue. For it is not, frankly, that the women of the dominant society in so-called first world countries should have equal pay, and equal status, if that pay and status continues to be based on a consumption model which is not only unsustainable, but causes constant violation of the human rights of women and nations elsewhere in the world. It essential to collectively struggle to recover our status as Daughters of the Earth. In that is our strength, and the security, not in the predator, but in the security of our Mother, for our future generations. In that we can insure our security as the Mothers of our Nations.

This speech was given at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, August 31, 1995. Reprinted by permission.

Statement before the Joint Hearing of the House Resources Committee and Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, Ada Deer, 1997

Good morning Chairman Campbell, Chairman Young, and Members of the Committees. I am pleased to be here to present the Department of the Interior's views on proposed amendments to the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) of 1978. The Department of the Interior supports, without reservation, H.R. 1082 and its companion bill, S. 569, which have incorporated the consensus-based tribal amendments developed last year by tribal governments and the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) and the adoption community to improve the Indian Child Welfare Act.

Background Information

Congress passed the Indian Child Welfare Act in 1978 (ICWA), after ten years of study on Indian child custody and placements revealed an alarming high rate of out of home placements and adoptions. The strongest attribute of the ICWA is the premise that an Indian child's tribe is in a better position than a State or Federal court to make decisions or judgments on matters involving the relationship of an Indian child to his or her tribe. The clear intent of Congress was to defer to Indian tribes issues of cultural and social values as such relate to child rearing.

In addition to protecting the best interests of Indian children, the ICWA has also preserved the cultural integrity of Indian tribes because it affirmed tribal authority over Indian child custody matters. As a result the long term benefit is, and will be, the continued existence of Indian tribes.

Implementation of the ICWA

The Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 is the essence of child welfare in Indian Country and provides the needed protections for Indian children who are neglected. On the whole, the ICWA has fulfilled the objective of giving Indian tribes the opportunity to intervene on behalf of Indian children eligible for tribal membership in a particular tribe.

There have been concerns over certain aspects of the ICWA and the ICWA should be revised to address problem areas and to ensure that the best interests of Indian children are ultimately considered in all voluntary child custody proceedings. Although several high-profile cases were cited to support the introduction last year of ICWA amendments, which would have been detrimental to Indian tribes and families, those cases do not warrant a unilateral and unfettered intrusion on tribal government authority.

Implications of Proposed Amendments to the ICWA

The provisions contained in H.R. 1082 and S. 569 reflect carefully crafted consensus amendments between Indian tribes seeking to protect their children, culture and heritage and the interests of the adoption community seeking greater clarity and certainty in the implementation of the ICWA. First and foremost, the amendments will clarify the applicability of the ICWA to voluntary child custody matters so that there are no ambiguities or uncertainties in the handling of these cases. We know from experience that State courts have not always applied the ICWA to voluntary child custody proceedings.

The amendments will ensure that Indian tribes receive notice of voluntary ICWA proceedings and also clarify what should be included in the notices. Timely and adequate notice to tribes will ensure more appropriate and permanent placement decisions for Indian children. Indian parents will be informed of their rights and their children's rights under the Act, ensuring that they make informed decisions on the adoptive or foster care placement of their children. When tribes and extended family members are allowed to participate in placement decisions, the risk for disruption will be greatly reduced. While the amendments place limitations on when Indian tribes and families may intervene and when birth parents may withdraw their consent to an adoption, they protect the fundamental rights of tribal sovereignty. Furthermore, the amendments will permit open adoptions, when it is in the best interest of an Indian child, even if State law does not so provide. Under an open adoption, Indian children will have access to their natural family and cultural heritage when it is deemed appropriate.

An important consideration is that upon a tribe's decision to intervene in a voluntary child custody proceeding, the tribe must certify the tribal membership status of an Indian child or their eligibility for membership according to tribal law or custom. Thus, there would be no question that a child is Indian under the ICWA and ensures that tribal membership determinations are not made arbitrarily. Lastly, the amendments will provide for criminal sanctions to discourage fraudulent practices by individuals or agencies which knowingly misrepresent or fail to disclose whether a child or the birth parent(s) are Indian to circumvent the application of the ICWA.

In summary, the tribally developed amendments contained in H.R. 1082 and S. 569 clearly address the concerns which led to the introduction of Title III of H.R. 3286 (104th Congress), including time frames for ICWA notifications, timely interventions, and sanctions, definitive schemes for intervention, limitations on the time for biological parents to withdraw consent to adoptive placements, and finality in voluntary proceedings.

Effect of "Existing Indian Family" Concept

Chairman Campbell and Chairman Young, we want to express our grave concern that the objectives of the ICWA continue to be frustrated by State court created judicial exceptions to the ICWA. We are concerned that State court judges who have created the "existing Indian family exception" are delving into the sensitive and complicated areas of Indian cultural values, customs and practices which under existing law have been left exclusively to the judgment of Indian tribes. Legislation introduced last year, including H.R. 3286, sought to ratify the "existing Indian family exception" by amending the ICWA to codify this State-created concept. The Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, in striking Title III from H.R. 3286, made clear its views that the concept of the "existing Indian family exception" is in direct contradiction to existing law. In rejecting the "existing Indian family exception" concept, the Committee stated that "the ICWA recognizes that the Federal trust responsibility and the role of Indian tribes as *parens patriae* extend to all Indian children involved in all child custody proceedings." [Report 104-335 accompanying S. 1962, 104th Cong., 2nd Session].

Position of the Department of the Interior

The Department of the Interior's position on the emerging "existing Indian family exception" concept is the same as previously stated in the Administration's statement of policy issued on May 9, 1996. We oppose any legislative recognition of the concept.

The Department's position is that the ICWA must continue to provide Federal protections for Indian families, tribes and Indian children involved in any child custody proceeding, regardless of their individual circumstances. Thus, the Department fully concurs with the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs' assessment and rejection of the "existing Indian family exception" concept and all of its manifestations. We share the expressed concerns of tribal leaders and a majority of your Committee members about continuing efforts to amend the ICWA, particularly those bills which would seriously limit and weaken the existing ICWA protections available to Indian tribes and children in voluntary foster care and adoption proceedings.

The United States has a government-to-government relationship with Indian tribal governments. Protection of their sovereign status, including preservation of tribal identity and the determination of Indian tribal membership, is fundamental to this relationship. The Congress, after ten years of study, passed the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 (Pub. L. 95-608) as a means to remedy the many years of widespread separation of Indian children from their families. The ICWA established a successful dual system that establishes exclusive tribal jurisdiction over Indian Child Welfare cases arising in Indian Country, and presumes tribal jurisdiction in the cases involving Indian children, yet allows concurrent State jurisdiction in Indian child adoption and child custody proceedings where good cause exists. This system, which authorizes tribal involvement and referral to tribal courts, has been successful in protecting the interests of Indian tribal governments, Indian children and Indian families for the past eighteen years.

Because the proposed amendments contained in H.R. 1082 and S. 569 will strengthen the Act and continue to protect the lives and future of Indian children, the Department fully embraces the provisions of H.R. 1082 and S. 569.

In closing, we appreciate the good faith efforts of tribal governments in addressing the ICWA-specific concerns raised by certain members of the Congress and in developing tribally acceptable legislative amendments toward resolving these issues within the past year. I would like to thank Chairman Campbell, Chairman Young, and the Committee members for all their hard work and heartfelt assistance to tribes in shepherding the tribal amendments through the legislative process. This Administration will endeavor to ensure that tribal sovereignty will not be compromised, specifically, the right of tribal governments to determine tribal membership and the right of tribal courts to determine internal tribal relations.

This concludes my prepared statement. I will be pleased to answer any questions the Committees may have.

Confronting Racism and Discrimination

Americans have long battled a wide range of prejudices that have included discrimination on the basis of sex, race, religion, country of origin, sexual orientation, and skin color. Viewing racism and discrimination through the eyes of women who have experienced it provides an invaluable perspective for understanding the indignities the targets of these prejudices have endured and the strength required to persevere in the face of them.

In the 1890s, Mary Church Terrell emerged as a leader in the African American women's club movement and served as the first president of the National Association of Colored Women. Through her description of discrimination in the early 1900s, she shares her frustration with the practice and she compels the reader to join her in her resistance to it. In the 1940s, she was a leader in the movement to end discrimination in Washington, D.C.'s restaurants, hotels, and other public accommodations.

Rep. Patsy Mink (D-HI) offers another perspective on race relations, that of a Japanese American. In her 1971 speech to the Los Angeles Japanese-American Citizens League, she outlines discriminatory actions and sentiments. She also discusses generational differences between older Japanese Americans and their children, who may have adopted the dominant cultures in ways that confuse their elders.

Senator Carol Moseley-Braun (D-IL), the first African American elected to the United States Senate, attracted national attention for her opposition to what observers initially thought was a noncontroversial matter. In July 1993, the Senate debated renewing a patent on the Daughters of the Confederacy's flag. Moseley-Braun's arguments against the measure led to its defeat.

In the 1980s and 1990s, gays and lesbians responded in increasingly public ways to the legal, verbal, and physical attacks directed at them. Asserting their humanity, their dignity, and their desire to be recognized as citizens possessing the same civil rights as other Americans, gays and lesbians called on each other and on all Americans to join them in their crusade. In her 1993 speech to the March on Washington, Urvashi Vaid challenged her listeners to join the struggle to end violence, discrimination, and homophobia. She frames her arguments in the context of the civil rights and feminist movements, describing the gay rights movement as "an integral part of the American promise of freedom."

A Black Woman Describes Prejudice in the Nation's Capital, Mary Church Terrell, 1900

For fifteen years I have resided in Washington, and while it was far from being a paradise for colored people when I first touched these shores it has been doing its level best ever since to make conditions for us intolerable. As a colored woman I might enter Washington any night, a stranger in a strange land, and walk miles without finding a place to lay my head. Unless I happened to know colored people who live here or ran across a chance acquaintance who could recommend a colored boarding-house to me, I should be obliged to spend the entire night wandering about . . .

As a colored woman I may walk from the Capitol to the White House, ravenously hungry and abundantly supplied with money with which to purchase a meal, without finding a single restaurant in which I would be permitted to take a

morsel of food, if it was patronized by white people, unless I were willing to sit behind a screen. As a colored woman I cannot visit the tomb of the Father of this country which owes its very existence to the love of freedom in the human heart and which stands for equal opportunity to all, without being forced to sit in the Jim Crow section of an electric car which starts from the very heart of the city—midway between the Capitol and the White House. If I refuse thus to be humiliated, I am cast into jail and forced to pay a fine for violating the Virginia laws. Every hour in the day Jim Crow cars filled with colored people, many of whom are intelligent and well to do, enter and leave the national capital . . .

Unless I am willing to engage in a few menial occupations, in which the pay for my services would be very poor, there is no way for me to earn an honest living, if I am not a trained nurse or a dressmaker or can secure a position as teacher in the public schools, which is exceedingly difficult to do. It matters not what my intellectual attainments may be or how great is the need of the services of a competent person, if I try to enter many of the numerous vocations in which my white sisters are allowed to engage, the door is shut in my face . . .

Some time ago a young woman who had already attracted some attention in the literary world by her volume of short stories answered an advertisement which appeared in a Washington newspaper, which called for the services of a skilled stenographer and expert typewriter. It is unnecessary to state the reasons why a young woman whose literary ability was so great as that possessed by the one referred to should decide to earn money in this way. The applicants were requested to send specimens of their work and answer certain questions concerning their experience and their speed before they called in person. In reply to her application the young colored woman, who, by the way, is very fair and attractive indeed, received a letter from the firm stating that her references and experience were the most satisfactory that had been sent and requesting her to call. When she presented herself there was some doubt in the mind of the man to whom she was directed concerning her [race], so he asked her point-blank whether she was colored or white. When she confessed the truth the merchant expressed great sorrow and deep regret that he could not avail himself of the services of so competent a person, but frankly admitted that employing a colored woman in his establishment in any except a menial position was simply out of the question . . .

And so I might go on citing instance after instance to show the variety of ways in which our people are sacrificed on the altar of prejudice in the Capital of the United States and how almost insurmountable are the obstacles which block his path to success. Early in life many a colored youth is so appalled by the helplessness and the hopelessness of his situation in this country that in a sort of stoical despair he resigns himself to his fate. "What is the good of our trying to acquire an education? We can't all be preachers, teachers, doctors, and lawyers. Besides those professions there is almost nothing for colored people to do but engage in the most menial occupations, and we do not need an education for that." More than once such remarks, uttered by young men and women in our public schools who possess brilliant intellects, have wrung my heart.

Reprinted from "What It Means to Be Colored in the Capital of the United States," The Independent, LXII (Jan. 24, 1907), pp. 181–182, 185.

Seeking a Link with the Past, Rep. Patsy T. Mink, 1971

I would like to thank President Kanegai and the other officers and members of the West Los Angeles Japanese-American Citizens League for this opportunity to be with you at your thirtieth anniversary banquet and installation. I am delighted to participate in this memorable occasion.

It must be difficult to look back thirty years to 1941 and relive the pains and agonies that were inflicted upon you as citizens, unloved and unwanted in their own country of their birth. Loving this land as much as any other citizen, it is difficult to fathom the despair and fury which many must have felt, yet who fought back and within a few years had reestablished their lives and their futures. Most of us remember these years vividly. Our faith in justice was tested many times over. Our patriotism was proven by blood of our sons upon the battlefields.

Yet today, thirty years later to many even in this room, it is only a part of our history. Our children, thirty years old and younger, cannot follow with us these memories of the forties. They tire of our stories of the past. Their life is now, today . . . tomorrow. Their youthful fervor was poured into the symbolism of the repeal of Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950, portrayed by its title, Emergency Detention Act. That Act became law nearly ten years *after* the Japanese were evacuated from the West Coast into "relocation camps." Yet, it stood as a reminder of what could happen again. Of course, despite the successful repeal, it could happen again, as it did indeed to the Japanese-Americans who were rounded up without any statutory authority whatsoever. It was not until 1950 that Title II became law.

It is quite evident that I am standing before an affluent group whose surface appearance does not reveal the years of struggle and doubt that have ridden behind you.

Sociologists have generally described the Japanese-Americans as an easily acculturated people who quickly assimilated the ways of their surroundings. This has always been in my view a friendly sort of jab at our cultural background, for what it has come to mean for me is a description of a conformist which I hope I am not!

I still dream that I shall be able to be a real participant in the changing scenario of opportunity for all of America. In this respect, I share the deep frustration and anguish of our youth as I see so much around us that cries out for our attention and that we continue to neglect.

Many factors have contributed towards a deepening sense of frustration about our inability to solve our problems of poverty and racial prejudice. Undoubtedly the prolonged, unending involvement in Vietnam has contributed to this sense of hopelessness. At least for our youth who must bear the ultimate burden of this war, it seems unfair that they should be asked to serve their country in this way when there are so many more important ways in which their youth and energy can be directed to meet the urgent needs at home. They view our Government as impotent to deal with these basic issues.

It is true that Congress has passed a great many civil rights laws. The fact that new, extra laws were found necessary to make it easier for some people to realize their constitutional guarantees is a sad enough commentary on the American society, but what is even worse is the fact that the majority of our people are still unready, personally, to extend these guarantees to all despite the Constitution and all the civil rights laws, and despite their protestations to the contrary.

Certainly, no one will admit his bigotry and prejudice—yet we always find ways to clothe such feelings in more presentable forms—and few will openly advocate suppression or oppression of other men, but nevertheless, it exists.

Although Congress has repealed the Emergency Detention Act, the fight for freedom is not over. We now see a new witch hunt proclaimed in which all Government employees will be examined for their memberships and organizations. It seems that we have not yet succeeded in expunging the notion that dangerous persons can be identified by class or group relationships and punished accordingly.

I believe that nobody can find safety in numbers—by huddling with the larger mass in hopes of being overlooked. Those who seek to suppress will always find ways to single out others. Instead, we must change the basic attitude that all must conform or be classed as renegades and radicals. Our nation was founded on the idealistic belief in individualism and pioneering spirit, and it would be tragic for our own generation to forswear that ideal for the false security of instant assimilation.

It seems to me that our society is large enough to accept a wide diversity of types and opinions, and that no group should be forced to try to conform to the image of the population as a whole. I sometimes wonder if our goal as Japanese-Americans is to be so like the White Anglo-Saxon population as to be indistinguishable from it. If so, we will obviously never succeed!

There has been and continues to be prejudice in this country against Asians. The basis of this is the belief that the Oriental is “inscrutable.” Having such base feelings, it is simple to stir up public outrage against the recognition of the People’s Republic of China in the United Nations, for instance, even though reasoned judgment dictates otherwise, unless of course a Yellow Communist is really worse than a Red one!

The World War II detention overnight reduced the entire population of one national origin to an enemy, stripped of property, rights of citizenship, human dignity, and due process of law, without so much as even a stifled voice of conscience among our leading scholars or civil libertarians. More recently, the Vietnam war has reinforced the view of Orientals as something less than fully human. All Vietnamese stooping in the rice fields are pictured as the enemy, subhuman without emotions, and for whom life is less valuable than for us.

During the trial of Lieutenant Calley, we were told about “MGR,” the “Mere Gook Rule,” which was the underlying basis for Calley’s mindless assertion that the slaughter of defenseless women and children, our prisoners of war, was “no big thing.” The “Mere Gook Rule” holds that life is less important, less valuable to an Oriental.

Laws that protect other human beings do not apply to “gooks.” One reporter noted before the verdict became known that the essence of the Calley case was to determine the validity of this rule. He described it as the “unspoken issue” at the trial.

The issue was not as unspoken as most would prefer to believe. The indictment drawn up by the Army against Lieutenant Calley stated in six separate charges that he did at My Lai murder four “Oriental human beings” . . . murder not less than thirty “Oriental human beings” . . . murder three “Oriental human beings” . . . murder an unknown number of “Oriental human beings” not less than seventy . . . and so on numbering 102. Thus, the Army did not charge him

with the murder of human beings as presumably would have been the case had Caucasians been involved, but instead charged the apparently lesser offense of killing mere “Oriental human beings.”

The Army’s definition of the crime is hardly surprising inasmuch as the Army itself could have been construed as on trial along with Calley for directing a genocide against the Vietnamese. Indeed, the Lieutenant pleaded he was only doing what he thought the Army wanted. It seems clear to me that the Army recognized the “Mere Gook Rule” officially by distinguishing between the murder of human beings and “Oriental human beings.” When Calley was convicted, the resulting thunder of criticism verified that many in the public also went along with the concept of differing scales of humanity.

Somehow, we must put into perspective Dean Rusk’s dread of the “yellow peril” expressed as justification for a massive antiballistics missile system on the one hand, and on the other, a quest for improved relations with Peking. This latter event could have a great meaning in our own lives as Japanese-Americans. We could help this country begin to deal with Asians as people. Just the other day in a beauty parlor, I heard a congressional secretary discuss China and say, “An Asian is different, you can never figure out what he’s really thinking. He has so little value for life!”

Instead of seeking refuge, we should seek to identify as Asians, and begin to serve America as the means by which she can come to understand the problems of the East. Our talents have not been used in American diplomacy, I suspect, largely because we are still not trusted enough.

We must teach our country that life is no less valuable, and human dignity no less precious, in Asia than elsewhere. Our detractors point to the large-scale killings that have occurred in China, Vietnam, Pakistan, and elsewhere in Asia, but we hear remarkably few references to the mass-slaughter of six million Jews in Nazi gas chambers in World War II—that was done by Aryans, not Asians, and the total far exceeds the loss of life in the Orient that has been used to justify the debasement of “mere gooks.” I am not trying to compare one group against another, but merely to point out that a lack of appreciation for the value of human life can occur wherever totalitarian government exists. This makes it more than vital for us to oppose such influences within our own country wherever they may occur. The war in Vietnam has lasted for seven years. If Americans believed there was the same worth in the life of an Asian, this war would have ended long ago. If Americans were willing to concede that the Asian mind was no different than his, a peace would have been forged in Paris long ago. I am convinced that racism is at the heart of this immoral policy.

I know that many of you are puzzled and even dismayed by actions of some of your sons and daughters who have insisted on a more aggressive role in combating the war and other evils that exist in our society. I plead with you for understanding of this Third World movement in which not only young Japanese-Americans but many minority groups are so deeply involved.

We are confronted with what seem to be many different revolutions taking place all over the world . . . the black revolution, the revolution of emerging nations, the youth revolution here and in other countries as well—and something that was even more unheard of, the priests challenging the Vatican on the most basic issues of celibacy and birth control. It is no accident that these things are all happening at the same time, for they all stem from the same great idea that has

somehow been rekindled in the world, and that is the idea that the individual is important.

All of the systems of the world today have this in common: for they are mainly concerned with industrialization, efficiency, and gross national product; the value of Man is forgotten.

The children of some of you here tonight are involved in the great protests of today—are they chronic malcontents and subversives? I think not—I think they are probably fairly well-educated, thoughtful people who see certain conditions they don't like and are trying to do something about it. I'm not sure they know exactly what they want to do. I do know they are clearly dissatisfied with the way their world has been run in the past.

So, the problem is not what to do about dissent among our young people—the problem is what to do about the causes of this dissent. The question is not “how to suppress the dissent” but how to make it meaningful . . . how to make it productive of a better society which truly places high value on individual human beings as human beings and not merely as so many cogs in the great, cold and impersonal machinery of an industrialized society.

I, for one, believe that the grievances of our youth are real and that they are important. Merely because the majority of students are not involved . . . merely because the dissidents are few . . . should not minimize the need for serious efforts to effectuate change. Our eighteen-year-olds now have the right to vote. Whether we like it or not, we will have to take better account of their wishes. Their acceptance as adults will bring into policy making eleven million new voters next year. Their cause for identity must be encouraged.

Our sons and daughters seek to establish a link with the past. They want to discover who they are, why they are here, and where their destinies are to take them. So many of our children are growing up in complete isolation in a society that places a premium on conformity, in middle-class homes where parents still want to play down their differences, and prefer to homogenize with society. Some of these children are rebelling and are seeking ways to preserve their uniqueness and their special heritage. I see pride and strength in this.

One of the most promising avenues for this renewed search for one's heritage is in our school systems—the logical place for instructing children in the knowledge they need. Programs of Ethnic Heritage Studies are needed in our schools. I feel that this would be particularly valuable in Hawaii, California, and other areas where there are large numbers of children of Oriental descent.

It seems to me that we as Asians have a large stake in encouraging and promoting such a program. We cannot and must not presume knowledge about Asia merely because we are Asians. This requires concentrated study and dedicated determination. Of course, we do not need to become scholars cloistered in the ivory tower of some campus. We need to become aware of the enormous history of Asia and through our daily lives, regardless of what our profession, translate it to all the people with whom we deal. We have not fully met our responsibility to educate the public about Asia and its people.

I hope that all Japanese-American organizations and others with strong beliefs in the magnificent history and culture of the Orient will now help lead the way to a more enlightened America. We have an immense story to tell, for as I have said the public at large too often assumes that all civilization is Western and

no worth is given to the human values of the East. As long as this belief persists, we will have future Vietnams. The way to counteract it is to build public knowledge, through school courses, travel, and dedicated emphasis on increased communications, so that our people will know and appreciate all that is Asian.

Last Thursday night in a display of utter ignorance and contempt for diversity, the House of Representatives killed the ethnic heritage studies program by a vote of 200 ayes to 159 noes. And so you see, I speak of an urgent matter. We are so few and they who do not care to understand us are so numerous.

It is fine for all citizens to pursue the good life and worldly goods on which our society places such emphasis, but there is increasing recognition that all will be ashes in our mouths unless our place as individuals is preserved. This is what the young are seeking—and I am among those who would rejoice in their goals.

They need the guidance and support of their parents to succeed, but in any event with or without us, they are trying. It behooves us to do all we can to accept their aspirations, if not all of their actions, in the hope that this new generation will be able to find a special role for themselves in America, to help build her character, to define her morality, to give her a depth in soul, and to make her realize the beauty of our diverse society with many races and cultures of which we are one small minority.

This address was delivered before the West Los Angeles Japanese-American Citizens League in Playa Del Rey, California, November 6, 1971. Reprinted by permission.

Getting Beyond Racism, Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun, 1993

Madam President, I really had not wanted to have to do this because in my remarks I believe that I was restrained and tempered. I talked about the committee procedure. I talked about the lack of germaneness of this amendment. I talked about how it was not necessary for this organization to receive the design patent extension, which was an extraordinary extension of an extraordinary act to begin with.

What I did not talk about and what I am constrained now to talk about with no small degree of emotion is the symbolism of what this vote . . . That is what this vote really means.

I started off—maybe—I do not know—it is just my day to get to talk about race. Maybe I am just lucky about that today.

I have to tell you this vote is about race. It is about racial symbolism. It is about racial symbols, the racial past, and the single most painful episode in American history.

I have just gone through—in fact in committee yesterday I leaned over to my colleague Dianne Feinstein and I said, “You know, Dianne, I am stunned about how often and how much race comes up in conversation and debate in this general assembly.” Did not I say that? . . .

So I turned to my colleague, Dianne Feinstein. You know, I am really stunned by how often and how much the issue of race, the subject of racism, comes up in this U.S. Senate, comes up in this body and how I have to, on many occasions, as the only African-American here, constrain myself to be calm, to be laid back, to talk about these issues in very intellectual, nonemotional terms, and that is what I do on a regular basis, Madam President. That is part and parcel of my daily existence.

But at the same time, when the issue of the design patent extension for the United Daughters of the Confederacy first came up, I looked at it. I did not make a big deal of it. It came as part of the work of the Judiciary Committee. I looked at it, and I said, well, I am not going to vote for that.

When I announced I was not going to vote for it, the chairman, as is his due, began to poll the members. We talked about it, and I found myself getting drawn into a debate that I frankly never expected.

Who would have expected a design patent for the Confederate flag? And there are those in this body who say this really is not the Confederate flag. The other thing we did know was a Confederate flag.

I did my research, and I looked it up as I am wont to do, and guess what? That is the real Confederate flag. The thing we see all the time and are accustomed to is the battle flag. In fact, there is some history on this issue. I would like to read the following quote from the *Flag Book of the United States*.

The real flower in the southern flag began in November 1860, when the election of Lincoln to the Presidency caused widespread fear the federal government will try to make changes in the institution of slavery. The winter of 1860 to 1861, rallies and speeches were held throughout the South and, frankly, the United States flag was replaced by a local banner.

This flag is the real flag of the Confederacy. If there is anybody in this chamber, anybody, indeed anybody in this world, that has a doubt that the Confederate effort was around preserving the institution of slavery, I am prepared and I believe history is prepared to dispute them to the nth. There is no question but that battle was fought to try to preserve our nation, to keep the states from separating themselves over the issue of whether or not my ancestors could be held as property, as chattel, as objects of commerce and trade in this country.

And people died. More Americans died in the Civil War than any war they have ever gone through since. People died over the proposition that indeed these United States stood for the proposition that every person was created equal without regard to race, that we are all American citizens.

I am sorry, Madam President. I will lower my voice. I am getting excited, because, quite frankly, that is the very issue. The issue is whether or not Americans, such as myself, who believe in the promise of this country, who feel strongly and who are patriots in this country, will have to suffer the indignity of being reminded time and time again, that at one point in this country's history we were human chattel. We were property. We could be traded, bought, and sold.

Now, to suggest as a matter of revisionist history that this flag is not about slavery flies in the face of history, Madam President.

I was not going to get inflammatory. In fact, my staff brought me this little thing earlier, and it has been sitting here. I do not know if you noticed it sitting here during the earlier debate in which I was dispassionate and tried my level best not to be emotional and lawyering about and not get into calling names and talking about race and racism. I did not use it to begin with. I do want to share it now. It is a speech by the Vice President of the Confederate States of America, March 21, 1861, in Savannah, GA.

“Slavery, the Cornerstone of the Confederacy.” And this man goes on to say:

“The new Confederate constitution has put to rest forever all agitating questions relating to our peculiar ‘institution,’ which is what they called it, African

slavery as it exists among us, the proper status of a negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution.

The prevailing ideas entertained by Thomas Jefferson and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature, that it was wrong in principle, socially; morally; and politically.”

And then he goes on to say:

“Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea. Its foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man, that slavery, subordination to the superior race is his natural and moral condition.”

This was a statement by the Vice President of the Confederate States of America.

Madam President, across the room on the other side is the flag. I say to you it is outrageous. It is an absolute outrage that this body would adopt as an amendment to this legislation a symbol of this point of view and, Madam President, I say to you that it is an important issue. It is a symbolic issue up there. There is no way you can get around it.

The reason for my emotion—I have been here almost 7 months now, and my colleagues will tell you there is not a more congenial, laid back, even person in this entire body who makes it a point to try to get along with everybody. I make it a point to try to talk to my colleagues and get beyond controversy and conflict, to try to find consensus on issues.

But I say to you, Madam President, on this issue there can be no consensus. It is an outrage. It is an insult. It is absolutely unacceptable to me and to millions of Americans, black or white, that we would put the imprimatur of the United States Senate on a symbol of this kind of idea. And that is what is at stake with this amendment, Madam President.

I am going to continue—I am going to continue because I am going to call it like I see it, as I always do. I was appalled, appalled at a segment of my own Democratic Party that would go take a walk and vote for something like this.

I am going to talk for a minute first about my brethren, my close-in brethren and then talk about the other side of the aisle and the responsibility of the Republican Party.

The reason the Republican Party got run out on a rail the last time is the American people sensed intolerance in that party. The American people, African-Americans sensed there was not room for them in that party. Folks took a look at the convention and said, “My God, what are these people standing for? This is not America.” And they turned around and voted for change. They elected Bill Clinton president and the rest of us to this chamber. The changes they were speaking out for was a change that said we have to get past racism, we have to get past sexism, the many issues that divide us as Americans, and come together as Americans so we can make this country be what it can be in the 21st century.

That is the real reason, Madam President, that I am here today. My state has less than 12 percent African-Americans in it, but the people of Illinois had no problem voting for a candidate that was African-American because they thought they were doing the same thing.

Similarly, the state of California sent two women, two women to the U.S.

Senate, breaking a gender barrier, as did the state of Washington. Why? Because they felt that it was time to get past the barriers that said that women had no place in the conduct of our business.

And so, just as our country is moving forward, Madam President, to have this kind of symbol shoved in your face, shoved in my face, shoved in the faces of all the Americans who want to see a change for us to get beyond racism, is singularly inappropriate.

I say to you, Madam President, that this is no small matter. This is not a matter of little old ladies walking around doing good deeds. There is no reason why these little old ladies cannot do good deeds anyway. If they choose to wave the Confederate flag, that certainly is their right. Because I care about the fact that this is a free country. Free speech is the cornerstone of democracy. People are supposed to be able to say what they want to say. They are supposed to be able to join associations and organizations that express their views.

But I daresay, Madam President, that following the Civil War, and following the victory of the United States and the coming together of our country, that that peculiar institution was put to rest for once and for all; that the division in our nation, the North versus the South, was put to rest once and for all. And the people of this country do not want to see a day in which flags like that are underwritten, underscored, adopted, approved by this U.S. Senate.

That is what this vote is about. That is what this vote is about.

I say to you, Madam President, I do not know—I do not want to yield the floor right now because I do not know what will happen next.

I will yield momentarily to my colleague from California, Madam President, because I think that this is an issue that I am not going—if I have to stand here until this room freezes over, I am not going to see this amendment put on this legislation which has to do with national service. . . . If I have to stand here until this room freezes over, Madam President, I am going to do so. Because I will tell you, this is something that has no place in our modern times. It has no place in this body. It has no place in the Senate. It has no place in our society.

And the fact is, Madam President, that I would encourage my colleagues on both sides of the aisle—Republican and Democrat; those who thought, “Well, we are just going to do this, you know, because it is no big deal”—to understand what a very big deal indeed it is—that the imprimatur that is being sought here today sends a sign out to the rest of this country that that peculiar institution has not been put to bed for once and for all; that, indeed, like Dracula, it has come back to haunt us time and time and time again; and that, in spite of the fact that we have made strides forward, the fact of the matter is that there are those who would keep us slipping back into the darkness of division, into the snake pit of racial hatred, of racial antagonism and of support for symbols—symbols of the struggle to keep African-Americans, Americans of African descent, in bondage.

Speech at the March on Washington, Urvashi Vaid, 1993

Hello lesbian and gay Americans. I am proud to stand before you as a lesbian today. With hearts full of love and the abiding faith in justice, we have come to Washington to speak to America. We have come to speak the truth of our lives and silence the liars. We have come to challenge the cowardly Congress to end its paralysis and exercise moral leadership. We have come to defend our honor and

win our equality. But most of all we have come in peace and with courage to say, “America, this day marks the end from exile of the gay and lesbian people. We are banished no more. We wander the wilderness of despair no more. We are afraid no more. For on this day, with love in our hearts, we have come out, and we have come out across America to build a bridge of understanding, a bridge of progress, a bridge as solid as steel, a bridge to a land where no one suffers prejudice because of their sexual orientation, their race, their gender, their religion, or their human difference.”

I have been asked by the March organizers to speak in five minutes about the far right, the far right which threatens the construction of that bridge. The extreme right which has targeted every one of you and me for extinction. The supremacist right which seeks to redefine the very meaning of democracy. Language itself fails in this task, my friends, for to call our opponents “The Right,” states a profound untruth. They are wrong—they are wrong morally, they are wrong spiritually, and they are wrong politically.

The Christian supremacists are wrong spiritually when they demonize us. They are wrong when they reduce the complexity and beauty of our spirit into a freak show. They are wrong spiritually, because, if we are the untouchables of America—if we are the untouchables—then we are, as Mahatma Gandhi said, children of God. And as God’s children we know that the gods of our understanding, the gods of goodness and love and righteousness, march right here with us today.

The supremacists who lead the anti-gay crusade are wrong morally. They are wrong because justice is moral, and prejudice is evil; because truth is moral and the lie of the closet is the real sin; because the claim of morality is a subtle sort of subterfuge, a stratagem which hides the real aim which is much more secular. Christian supremacist leaders like Bill Bennett and Pat Robertson, Lou Sheldon and Pat Buchanan, supremacists like Phyllis Schlafly, Ralph Reid, Bill Bristol, R.J. Rushoodie—the supremacists don’t care about morality, they care about power. They care about social control. And their goal, my friends, is the reconstruction of American Democracy into American Theocracy.

We who are gathered here today must prove the religious right wrong politically and we can do it. That is our challenge. You know they have made us into the communists of the nineties. And they say they have declared cultural war against us. It’s war all right. It’s a war about values. On one side are the values that everyone here stands for. Do you know what those values are? Traditional American values of democracy and pluralism. On the other side are those who want to turn the Christian church into government, those whose value is monotheism.

We believe in democracy, in many voices co-existing in peace, and people of all faiths living together in harmony under a common civil framework known as the United States Constitution. Our opponents believe in monotheism. One way, theirs. One god, theirs. One law, the Old Testament. One nation supreme, the Christian Right one. Let’s name it. Democracy battles theism in Oregon, in Colorado, in Florida, in Maine, in Arizona, in Michigan, in Ohio, in Idaho, in Washington, in Montana, in every state where my brothers and sisters are leading the fight to oppose the Right and to defend the United States Constitution. We won the anti-gay measure in Oregon, but today 33 counties—33 counties and municipalities face local versions of that ordinance today. The fight has just begun. We

lost the big fight in Colorado, but, thanks to the hard work of all the people of Colorado, the Boycott Colorado movement is working and we are strong. And we are going to win our freedom there eventually.

To defeat the Right politically, my friends, is our challenge when we leave this March. How can we do it? We've got to march from Washington into action at home. I challenge every one of you, straight or gay, who can hear my voice, to join the national gay and lesbian movement. I challenge you to join NGLTF to fight the Right. We have got to match the power of the Christian supremacists, member for member, vote for vote, dollar for dollar. I challenge each of you, not just buy a T-shirt, but get involved in your movement. Get involved! Volunteer! Volunteer! Every local organization in this country needs you. Every clinic, every hotline, every youth program needs you, needs your time and your love.

And I also challenge our straight liberal allies, liberals and libertarians, independent and conservative, republican or radical. I challenge and invite you to open your eyes and embrace us without fear. The gay rights movement is not a party. It is not lifestyle. It is not a hair style. It is not a fad or a fringe or a sickness. It is not about sin or salvation. The gay rights movement is an integral part of the American promise of freedom.

We, you and I, each of us, we are the descendants of a proud tradition of people asserting our dignity. It is fitting that the Holocaust Museum was dedicated the same weekend as this March, for not only were gay people persecuted by the Nazi state, but gay people are indebted to the struggle of the Jewish people against bigotry and intolerance. It is fitting that the NAACP marches with us, that feminist leaders march with us, because we are indebted to those movements.

When all of us who believe in freedom and diversity see this gathering, we see beauty and power. When our enemies see this gathering, they see the millennium. Perhaps the Right is right about something. We call for the end of the world as we know it. We call for the end of racism and sexism and bigotry as we know it. For the end of violence and discrimination and homophobia as we know it. For the end of sexism as we know it. We stand for freedom as we have yet to know it, and we will not be denied.

This speech was given at the march on Washington, April 25, 1993. Reprinted by permission.

Women's Reproductive Lives

A persistently controversial issue in the twentieth century has been women's reproductive lives. Initially, the issue was women's access to contraceptive methods, including information about birth control and methods and devices for it. The state and federal Comstock Laws, the first of which was passed in 1873, classified information about birth control as obscene material. Birth control leader Margaret Sanger began her crusade against the Comstock Laws in the 1910s. Sanger placed birth control in the context of women freeing themselves from the bondage of unwanted pregnancies that threatened their health or that reduced them to poverty.

*In 1965, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a Connecticut law prohibiting the dissemination and use of contraceptives. In deciding the case, *Griswold v. Connecticut*, the Court found that a right to privacy was implied in the Constitution, providing the basis for its 1973 decision in *Roe v. Wade*, the landmark case that legalized abortion in the United States. For the balance of the twentieth century, abortion, limitations on it, access to the procedure, and other nuances of the issue led to the creation of new organizations, stirred political debates, and played a significant role in deciding numerous elections.*

Faye Wattleton, president of Planned Parenthood Federation of America, in her speech to employees of the Esprit corporation in 1990, points to the importance of protecting and preserving the right to abortion and other liberties. Feminists have been among the most adamant groups to advocate reproductive freedom, often arguing that it is a matter of a woman being able to control her own life. Some feminists, however, disagree and have aligned themselves with Feminists for Life of America (FFLA), a prolife, feminist organization. Former vice president of FFLA Frederica Mathewes-Green's feminist beliefs led her to becoming a prolife activist.

*Since the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade*, prolife advocates have sought to limit access to abortion by requiring waiting periods, requiring minors to obtain their parents' permission, and other measures. In the 1990s, attempts to ban a specific abortion procedure known as partial-birth abortion became a volatile political issue. Rep. Helen Chenoweth (R-ID) supports the ban, as she explained to FFLA in 1997. Gloria Feldt, current president of Planned Parenthood Federation of America, discusses how some of those attempts to limit access to abortion impact women's health care in a larger context.*

Birth Control—A Parents' Problem or Woman's? Margaret Sanger, 1920

The problem of birth control has arisen directly from the effort of the feminine spirit to free itself from bondage. Woman herself has wrought that bondage through her reproductive powers and while enslaving herself has enslaved the world. The physical suffering to be relieved is chiefly woman's. Hers, too, is the love life that dies first under the blight of too prolific breeding. Within her is wrapped up the future of the race—it is hers to make or mar. All of these considerations point unmistakably to one fact—it is woman's duty as well as her privilege to lay hold of the means of freedom. Whatever men may do, she cannot escape the responsibility. For ages she has been deprived of the opportunity to meet this obligation. She is now emerging from her helplessness. Even as no one can share the suffering of the overburdened mother, so no one can do this work for her. Others may help, but she and she alone can free herself.

The basic freedom of the world is woman's freedom. A free race cannot be born of slave mothers. A woman enchained cannot choose but give a measure of that bondage to her sons and daughters. No woman can call herself free who does not own and control her body. No woman can call herself free until she can choose consciously whether she will or will not be a mother.

It does not greatly alter the case that some women call themselves free because they earn their own livings, while others profess freedom because they defy the conventions of sex relationship. She who earns her own living gains a sort of freedom that is not to be undervalued, but in quality and in quantity it is of little account beside the untrammled choice of mating or not mating, of being a mother or not being a mother. She gains food and clothing and shelter, at least, without submitting to the charity of her companion, but the earning of her own living does not give her the development of her inner sex urge, far deeper and more powerful in its outworkings than any of these externals. In order to have that development, she must still meet and solve the problem of motherhood.

With the so-called "free" woman, who chooses a mate in defiance of convention, freedom is largely a question of character and audacity. If she does attain to an unrestricted choice of a mate, she is still in a position to be enslaved through her reproductive powers. Indeed, the pressure of law and custom upon the woman not legally married is likely to make her more of a slave than the woman fortunate enough to marry the man of her choice.

Look at it from any standpoint you will, suggest any solution you will, conventional or unconventional, sanctioned by law or in defiance of law, woman is in the same position, fundamentally, until she is able to determine for herself whether she will be a mother and to fix the number of her offspring. This unavoidable situation is alone enough to make birth control, first of all, a woman's problem. On the very face of the matter, voluntary motherhood is chiefly the concern of the woman.

It is persistently urged, however, that since sex expression is the act of two, the responsibility of controlling the results should not be placed upon woman alone. Is it fair, it is asked, to give her, instead of the man, the task of protecting herself when she is, perhaps, less rugged in physique than her mate, and has, at all events, the normal, periodic inconveniences of her sex?

We must examine this phase of her problem in two lights—that of the ideal, and of the conditions working toward the ideal. In an ideal society, no doubt, birth control would become the concern of the man as well as the woman. The hard, inescapable fact which we encounter to-day is that man has not only refused any such responsibility, but has individually and collectively sought to prevent woman from obtaining knowledge by which she could assume this responsibility for herself. She is still in the position of a dependent to-day because her mate has refused to consider her as an individual apart from his needs. She is still bound because she has in the past left the solution of the problem to him. Having left it to him, she finds that instead of rights, she has only such privileges as she has gained by petitioning, coaxing and cozening. Having left it to him, she is exploited, driven and enslaved to his desires.

While it is true that he suffers many evils as the consequence of this situation, she suffers vastly more. While it is true that he should be awakened to the

cause of these evils, we know that they come home to her with crushing force every day. It is she who has the long burden of carrying, bearing and rearing the unwanted children. . . . It is her heart that the sight of the deformed, the sub-normal, the undernourished, the overworked child smites first and oftenest and hardest. It is *her* love life that dies first in the fear of undesired pregnancy. It is her opportunity for self expression that perishes first and most hopelessly because of it.

Conditions, rather than theories, facts, rather than dreams, govern the problem. They place it squarely upon the shoulders of woman. She has learned that whatever the moral responsibility of the man in this direction may be, he does not discharge it. She has learned that, lovable and considerate as the individual husband may be, she has nothing to expect from men in the mass, when they make laws and decree customs. She knows that regardless of what ought to be, the brutal, unavoidable fact is that she will never receive her freedom until she takes it for herself.

Having learned this much, she has yet something more to learn. Women are too much inclined to follow in the footsteps of men, to try to think as men think, to try to solve the general problems of life as men solve them. If after attaining their freedom, women accept conditions in the spheres of government, industry, art, morals and religion as they find them, they will be but taking a leaf out of man's book. The woman is not needed to do man's work. She is not needed to think man's thoughts. She need not fear that the masculine mind, almost universally dominant, will fail to take care of its own. Her mission is not to enhance the masculine spirit, but to express the feminine; hers is not to preserve a man-made world, but to create a human world by the infusion of the feminine element into all of its activities.

Woman must not accept; she must challenge. She must not be awed by that which has been built up around her; she must reverence that within her which struggles for expression. Her eyes must be less upon what is and more clearly upon what should be. She must listen only with a frankly questioning attitude to the dogmatized opinions of man-made society. When she chooses her new, free course of action, it must be in the light of her own opinion—of her own intuition. Only so can she give play to the feminine spirit. Only thus can she free her mate from the bondage which he wrought for himself when he wrought hers. Only thus can she restore to him that of which he robbed himself in restricting her. Only thus can she remake the world. . . .

Woman must have her freedom—the fundamental freedom of choosing whether or not she shall be a mother and how many children she will have. Regardless of what man's attitude may be, that problem is hers—and before it can be his, it is hers alone.

She goes through the vale of death alone, each time a babe is born. As it is the right neither of man nor the state to coerce her into this ordeal, so it is her right to decide whether she will endure it. That right to decide imposes upon her the duty of clearing the way to knowledge by which she may make and carry out the decision.

Birth control is woman's problem. The quicker she accepts it as hers and hers alone, the quicker will society respect motherhood. The quicker, too, will the world be made a fit place for her children to live.

From Margaret Sanger, Woman and the New Race (New York: Brentano, 1920), pp. 93–100.

Reproductive Freedom: Fundamental to All Human Rights, Faye Wattleton, 1990

I love to visit northern California, everyone here is so health-conscious and outdoorsy. I've heard that's especially true of Esprit people, so I think you'll appreciate a sports tidbit I read recently. *Bicycling* magazine polled its readers and learned that 84% daydream about sex while they're cycling. Somehow I wasn't surprised. But then I read that 20% daydream about cycling while they're having sex!

Well, I won't ask for a show of hands here, but I think it's safe to say that sex is important to most of us! Whatever our age or circumstances, we all make sexual decisions—and we cherish the freedom to make those decisions privately, without meddling or coercion.

The freedom to chart our reproductive destinies is a more recent acquisition than you might think. As late as 1965, contraception was still illegal in most of the U.S. Before then, biology was still destiny. Women were economically deprived and socially dependent. And men suffered too, saddled with children they could not feed or clothe.

In this day and age, control over our reproduction is a given. Women and men can plan our futures because we can plan our child-bearing. This dramatic advance is just one of the many steps forward our nation has made in recent decades, including enormous progress in human rights, women's rights, civil rights, children's rights.

But today we look down the road toward the future and we see warning signs: "Danger ahead!" The danger isn't limited to our reproductive liberty, either; we see threats to our very progress as a democratic, pluralistic society. A tyrannical minority is determined to reverse the changes that were achieved in my generation. They want to tell us which forms of speech are censored, which books we may read, which music and art we may enjoy, even which God to pray to. Armed with Puritanical moralism, they have set out to control everything they view as obscene.

This crackdown on free expression will have a cataclysmic impact on our fundamental rights. This is not the America I know and love!

Around the world, nations are steering toward greater freedom for all citizens, holding our constitutional ideals as their compass—while here at home, we fight not to lose ideals. Is this the America we want to see as we end the 20th century?

The framers of our Constitution established the ideal of fundamental freedoms, freedoms that would endure in an ever-changing society, freedoms far removed from the reach of politicians. The Bill of Rights plainly states that "the enumeration [in] the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." In plain talk, that is, the framers didn't want to spell out every one of our liberties. They didn't want to limit our freedoms to their day and age, with no room for expansion!

Given how different life was in those days, I'm glad! Let's remember that Washington and Jefferson owned slaves! Their wives didn't vote! For all we know, they weren't even convinced the world was really round!

With few exceptions, rights have been expanded for the disenfranchised: women, minorities, children, the disabled. Americans have come to take it for

granted that our right to decide when and if to reproduce is as fundamental as our right to free speech or to assemble in this room! Nine out of 10 Americans believe that right is constitutionally guaranteed. For 18 years, since the *Roe v. Wade* decision, we've counted on constitutional protection for our right to control our fertility.

But today, we are fighting to hold onto these most basic freedoms. The Reagan-dominated Supreme Court has thrown these rights into chaos.

First, women's access to abortion was restricted in the case called *Webster*, in July 1989. A year later, the court handed down the *Ohio* and *Hodgson* rulings, which allowed states to require parental notification for teens seeking abortions. All three rulings have created more restrictive standards by which all abortion laws will be judged. And though they target the most vulnerable women, the young and the poor, these rulings threaten all women.

I want to focus briefly on the teen cases, and the dangerous idea of legislating family communication. Parents should be involved in teens' important decisions, and their sexual decisions are no exception. I can personally identify with this. My daughter Felicia and I always discuss sexuality issues openly, only these days, *I'm* the one asking most of the questions! But compulsory communication is no joke. Besides, it doesn't work. It only disrupts families, forces young women to lie, and destroys young lives.

Instead of legislating family behavior, we should spend more time and resources on helping families communicate better. Laws should be aimed at giving our young people greater opportunities, not on treating them like property. If Felicia ever became pregnant and felt she couldn't involve me, I'd be hurt and saddened. But she's lived with me for 15 years. She knows me a little better than government regulators. If she couldn't come to me, the last thing I'd want is the government coming to her!

The government has no business telling any of us what to do with our private lives or our family lives! Teen or adult, rich or poor, black, brown, or white, any female able to become pregnant must be able to prevent pregnancy and to choose whether or not to end pregnancy. The government should stay out of it.

No human right is more basic than our right to reproductive freedom. And no human right is so gravely threatened. The late Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis once wrote that "the greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal—well-meaning, but without understanding." When it comes to the anti-choice extremists, that description may be overly charitable!

This isn't really a struggle over abortion. It's over controlling women and controlling our sexuality. Otherwise, why would the extremists be intent on eliminating sexuality education and contraception?

The most damaging evidence of their true agenda is their attack on Title X, the federal family planning program that helps prevent 516,000 abortions each year. This attack comes in the form of a so-called gag rule imposed by President Reagan in 1988. The gag rule says that publicly funded clinics can't give a pregnant woman any information on abortion, even if continuing the pregnancy threatens her health! If one of you were a patient in one of these clinics, the staff wouldn't be able to tell you abortion is an option! They couldn't refer you to someone who would tell you! They couldn't even lend you the "Yellow Pages" so you could look up an abortion provider on your own!

This is bald censorship. The gag rule turns doctors into indoctrinators, and patients into pawns. Planned Parenthood argued against the gag rule in the Supreme Court last month. It remains to be seen if the Court will show common sense and compassion, and overturn this obvious ploy to disrupt family planning programs.

It's frightening that the end of the 20th century so closely resembles the beginning. Seventy-five years ago, the founders of the family planning movement had to battle repressive crusades begun in the 19th century, crusades like that of Anthony Comstock, the one-man vice squad who, in 1873, persuaded Congress to label birth control "obscene." In the first year the Comstock statute was in effect, Comstock himself confiscated 200,000 pictures and photos, 100,000 books, 5,000 decks of playing cards, 30,000 boxes of aphrodisiacs, and more than 60,000 of what were then referred to as "rubber articles." I wonder how he fit all that into his night table drawer!

Today, 120 years after his heyday, Comstock is back to haunt us, in the form of Jesse Helms! In 18 years in the Senate, Mr. Helms has tried to erode personal privacy almost as the Comstock statute did in 92 years!

The Supreme Court encouraged busybodies like Senator Helms. When it handed down the *Webster* case, the court invited state legislators to make our private decisions for us. The court declared that it doesn't trust women with our own choices. But legislators soon found themselves facing an angry American majority, who want the government off the backs and out of the wombs of women! And in case some politicians were still missing the point, pro-choice America spelled it out for them last month on election day. Across the country, we remembered who our friends are! We remembered to promote our values by voting our values, the universal values of diversity, pluralism, and independence.

However proud we are of our election day victories, reproductive issues should never make it to the ballot box in the first place. Abortion, contraception, privacy, these are fundamental freedoms that should be off limits to lawmakers. And we, the pro-choice majority, have the power to turn this debate around, to remove it from the political arena. We must renew our determination to fight for permanent protection for our freedoms, whatever it takes, for as long as it takes.

Your activism can help make that goal a reality. In fact, you can be more influential than many people, because you're fortunate enough to work for a company that values activism. I was so impressed to learn about the policy on volunteerism here at Esprit. For an employer to take social change so seriously that they encourage you to be activists on company time, that is truly extraordinary.

So I urge you, become activists on behalf of reproductive freedom, for yourselves, for your loved ones, and for the millions of less fortunate women and men who have no one else to speak on their behalf.

Now is the time to improve family communication about sexuality. Start with your family! Now is the time to call for comprehensive sexuality education in the schools, to help teach young people how to live healthy, responsible lives. Now is the time to improve access to contraception for those who need it most, the young and poor. Now is the time to insist on expanded research for better birth control. The National Academy of Sciences reports that the U.S. lags decades behind other nations in this area, with fewer options available, and no concerted commitment to develop new ones.

Above all, now is the time to demand that our government leaders stay out of our private matters. We must not rest until they recognize that the right to make personal reproductive decisions is fundamental, inalienable, and non-negotiable. It is not contingent on age or circumstances or geography. It is not a “single issue.” And it is not open to partisan debate!

America’s lawmakers must stop meddling in the lives of women and families. Surely they have more important things to do, like housing the homeless, feeding the hungry, and educating the ignorant. Like showing concern and compassion for the children already born. And like waging war on the root causes of abortion, unintended pregnancy.

Reproductive freedom is in crisis. But realistic solutions are within our reach, if we all work together. I know you may sometimes wonder how much difference one person’s efforts can make. Consider the phenomenon that meteorologists call the “Butterfly Effect”: A single butterfly stirs, deep in a forest. The motion of its wings makes tiny air currents. At just that moment, a passing swirl of air happens to pick up those tiny currents, and they become a puff of breeze. Then a momentary gust picks up that breeze and it becomes a gentle wind—and so on, and so on, until, weeks later, the movement of that one butterfly at that one moment changed the course of a tornado on the other side of the globe!

All of us in the universe are linked, over time, and over distance. One butterfly, one person, can make a difference. A big difference. So take wing, today. And remember what Queen Victoria once said: “We are not interested in the possibilities of defeat!”

Delivered to an audience of 200–250 employees of Esprit de Corp, San Francisco, California, December 11, 1990. Reprinted by permission.

Abortion and Women’s Rights, Frederica Mathewes-Green

The abortion debate seems like an unresolvable conflict of rights: the right of women to control their own bodies, the right of children to be born. Can one both support women’s rights and oppose abortion?

Truly supporting women’s rights must involve telling the truth about abortion and working for it to cease. Many years ago I felt differently; in college I advocated the repeal of abortion laws, and supported my friends who traveled for out-of-state abortions. In those early days of feminism, women faced daunting obstacles. The typical woman was thought to be charmingly silly, prone to having parking lot fender-benders and then consoling herself with a new hat. Certainly not someone who should run a corporation—perhaps someone who should not even vote.

But the hurdles were not only political; we felt physically vulnerable, as rape statistics rose and women’s bodies were exploited in advertising and entertainment. The external world’s disparagement of our abilities was compounded by the extra cruelty that our bodies were at risk as well, from violence without and invasion within. For an unplanned pregnancy felt like an invader, an evil alien bent on colonizing one’s body and destroying one’s plans. The first right must be to keep one’s body safe, private, and healthy: without that, all other rights are meaningless.

It is because I still believe so strongly in the right of a woman to protect her body that I now oppose abortion. That right must begin when her body begins,

and it must be hers no matter where she lives—even if she lives in her mother’s womb. The same holds true for her brother.

The average woman does not gain, but loses, when she has an abortion. She loses, first, the hundreds of dollars in cash she must pay to receive the surgery. Secondly, she must undergo a humiliating procedure, an invasion deeper than rape, as the interior of her uterus is crudely vacuumed to remove every scrap of life. Thirdly, she can lose her health. A woman’s body is a delicately balanced ecology, not meant to have its natural, healthy processes disrupted by invasive machinery.

The most devastating loss of all is the loss of her own child. Abortion rhetoric paints the unborn as a parasite, a lump. But it is in fact her own child, as much like her as any child she will ever have, sharing her appearance, talents, and family tree. In abortion, she offers her own child as a sacrifice for the right to continue her life, and it is a sacrifice that will haunt her. Many women grieve silently after abortion, their sorrow ignored by a society that expects them to be grateful for the “freedom” to abort. A man who saw his wife gradually disintegrate after her abortion asks, “What kind of trade-off is that: gain control of your body, lose control of your mind?”

For all these losses, women gain nothing but the right to run in place. Abortion doesn’t cure any illness; it doesn’t win any woman a raise. But in a culture that treats pregnancy and child-rearing as impediments, it surgically adapts the woman to fit in. If women are an oppressed group, they are the only such group to require surgery in order to be equal. In Greek mythology, Procrustes was an exacting host: if you were the wrong size for his bed, he would stretch or chop you to fit. The abortion table is modern feminism’s Procrustean bed, one that, in a hideous twist, the victims actually march in the streets to demand.

If we were to imagine a society that supports and respects women, we would have to begin with preventing these unplanned pregnancies. Contraceptives fail, and half of all aborting women admit they weren’t using them anyway. Thus, preventing unplanned pregnancies will involve a return to sexual responsibility. This means either avoiding sex in situations where a child cannot be welcomed, or being willing to be responsible for lives unintentionally conceived, perhaps by making an adoption plan, entering a marriage, or making faithful child-support payments. Using contraceptives is no substitute for this responsibility, any more than wearing a seat belt entitles one to speed.

Secondly, we need to make continuing a pregnancy and raising a child less of a burden. Most agree that women should play a part in the public life of our society; their talents and abilities are as valuable as men’s, and there is no reason to restrict them from the employment sphere. But during the years that her children are young, mother and child usually prefer to be together. If women are to be free to take off these years in the middle of a career, they must have faithful, responsible men who will support them. Both parents can also benefit from more flexibility in the workplace: allowing parents of school-age children to set their hours to coincide with the school day, for example, or enabling more workers to escape the expenses of office, commute, and child care by working from home. We also must welcome women back into the work force when they want to return, accounting their years at home as valuable training in management, education, and negotiation skills.

Women's rights are not in conflict with their own children's rights; the appearance of such a conflict is a sign that something is wrong in society. When women have the sexual respect and employment flexibility they need, they will no longer seek as a substitute the bloody injustice of abortion.

From Sisterlife, the magazine of Feminists for Life. Reprinted by permission.

Statement to Feminists for Life of America, Rep. Helen Chenoweth, 1997

Thank you for inviting me to the 25th anniversary of Feminists for Life of America. This truly is a special evening.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate this group for their efforts to seek true equality for all human beings. Your mission has been clear and consistent and your voice is critical in our communities.

Twenty-three years ago, the Supreme Court removed a God-given, unalienable right from unborn babies, a right it has the duty to secure and protect. In doing so, it elevated a "judge-made" right, the right of a person's privacy, above the God-given right to life.

It has always been my belief that unborn children should be cherished, and abortion for the convenience of the mother is contrary to convictions that mean a great deal. I believe the life of an unborn child is to be respected as truly as the life of a new born.

As you know, our system of laws is based on the idea that people have certain God-given rights. Those rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Those rights existed before laws were established. We must never forget this.

I believe that if the Supreme Court continues to uphold the wrong decision made in *Roe v. Wade*, Congress should enact laws that would disallow abortion, except in very extreme circumstances. At the very least, Congress should prohibit the government from funding abortion. However, before we can pass laws forbidding abortion, we must change the dynamic of the debate by educating the American public to favor the protection of life at its natural beginning—the point of conception. I think that when all Americans, including many women who are confused about this issue, begin to realize the serious ramifications of abortion, they will strongly support the need to protect the sanctity of life.

I am happy to report that the House passed and I supported H.R. 1122, legislation to ban a specific abortion procedure used in the second and third trimesters of pregnancy. The vote to ban so-called partial-birth abortions was 295–136—more than the two-thirds needed to override a promised veto from President Clinton, and more than the bill garnered in three separate votes in 1995 and 1996. H.R. 1122 has exposed to the general public just what abortion is all about—the blatant disregard and brutal destruction of human life—and it's now up to the Senate.

Partial-birth abortion is cold, grizzly murder. This type of procedure has been used on babies who are four-and-a-half months in the womb.

Partial-birth is not a legitimate medical procedure. Doctors at the Metropolitan Medical clinic in New Jersey say that only a minuscule amount of the 1,500 partial-birth abortions they perform are for medical reasons.

As you may know leading abortion-rights advocates lied during debate over "partial-birth abortions." Ron Fitzsimmons, the executive director of the National Coalition of Abortion Providers, intentionally misled the public. He admittedly "lied through his teeth" in a November 1995 interview for ABC's "Night-

line.” Ron Fitzsimmons felt that the truth about this gruesome procedure would hinder the abortion rights campaign.

Since 1993, abortion supporters and opponents have been engaged in a vicious public relations war over the procedure, with abortion foes using grisly illustrations to tap Americans’ general discomfort with late term abortions.

My position in representing the people of Idaho has been guided by the conviction that abortion is wrong and should only be considered in cases of criminal rape, incest, or when the mother’s life is in imminent danger. I am committed to do all I can to protect our unborn children.

We must continue to stand firm and ensure justice and equality for all human beings.

Again, thank you for this opportunity. This truly is an honor for me to be here with you all this evening.

Address to the Feminists for Life of America 25th anniversary conference, April 26, 1997. Reprinted by permission.

So Much We Can Do: A Nation of Leaders, Gloria Feldt, 1998

“So much we can do” is today’s theme. I’ve subtitled my remarks: “A nation of leaders,” because leaders are what we must be. All of us.

What is a leader?

Years ago, when I was in my first grown-up leadership role, a mentor of mine defined the concept for me. She told me that a leader is anyone who gets things done. All of us are leaders—each in our own way—if we get things done. Of course, some leaders stand out.

Time magazine recently named Planned Parenthood founder Margaret Sanger one of the 20 revolutionary leaders of the century.¹ What made Sanger a revolutionary was her vision that women should have the opportunity to shape the course and quality of their lives by choosing when and if they become parents.

Some Americans weren’t ready for Sanger’s vision.

Philosopher Arnold Schopenhauer observed that all truth goes through three stages: First, it’s ridiculed, then it’s violently opposed, then it’s accepted as a given. Sound familiar?

Today, 90 percent of American voters support family planning—it has become one of our most cherished and supported ideals.² Sanger pioneered a revolution in reproductive health care. It’s time for the revolution to surge into the new millennium.

We must be the leaders who will raise awareness that reproductive health is fundamental to women’s health, and that women’s health is essential to the health of families, communities, even nations. I want to talk about barriers to that awareness, highlighting approaches that enhance women’s health in the U.S. and worldwide.

Why the emphasis on women’s health? Women are more than half the population; they’re the nation’s largest consumers of health care; and they spend 68 percent more in out-of-pocket health expenses than men do, primarily for reproductive health care—such as birth control—that isn’t covered by their insurance plans. Yet women traditionally have been marginalized by the legal, political, as well as medical mainstream.

Such institutional neglect poses significant health risks to women—and by

extension, to millions of children and families who rely on women as primary caregivers.

In contrast, Planned Parenthood and most institutional providers of reproductive health care have always taken a more holistic, patient-centered approach to women's health. We're guided by the belief that women's health is determined by the social, political, and economic context of their lives.

Certainly this belief was behind Sanger's initial efforts to legalize birth control. And we've all reaped the benefits—a sharp reduction in pregnancy related deaths in the U.S. and substantially lowered rates of maternal and infant mortality wherever people have access to family planning.

Moreover, the field of reproductive health has served as a harbinger of what would occur in health care. Indeed, today's vision of managed care—a system that would provide coordinated care and emphasize prevention, self-care, education, and consistent quality—is what reproductive health centers have been practicing since their inception.

In the search for new cost-effective health care, the lessons learned from Sanger and our movement can help us to identify the barriers to a better future and further define what we can do to overcome them.

Barrier 1: Politics

Put simply, women's health cannot be separated from its political context. Despite the legal right to make childbearing choices, women still confront legislative barriers to exercising that right. Mandatory delays, restrictions on minors' access—these restrictions are most devastating for those least able to fight back:

The young and the poor;

The geographically isolated;

Those uneducated about family planning;

And those whose local hospital just merged with the Catholic-run system and no longer provides family planning or abortion.

If health care leaders and elected officials are serious about improving women's health, they must become more public in their support of reproductive freedom. They must affirm—in unison and individually—the importance of family planning, sex education, and reproductive choice. Their mission statements, policies, and procedures must say so. Most of all, they must say so as professionals who know what they're talking about, and as responsible citizens.

Barrier 2: Censorship

The media bombards us with sex, yet most television stations refuse to air contraceptive advertisements. Legislators champion “abstinence-only” programs, but deny adequate funding for responsible, age-appropriate sex education. Even some health care providers are reluctant to openly discuss sexual health issues with their patients.

Young people, especially, suffer the consequences of these mixed messages. They learn from popular culture that it's glamorous to have sex. They aren't learning that it's smart to plan for sex. PPFA has developed a remarkable video kit for parents called “Talking About Sex.” It's won a dozen national and even international awards. But it's being subtly censored—not a single major catalogue or video store will carry it.

No wonder the U.S. has the highest rates of teen pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections in the developed world.

Educators, providers, and politicians need to take a leadership role in promoting open and honest discussions about sexual issues. We must stop censoring ourselves because we fear controversy. What are we afraid of? Honest, responsible sex education in schools is supported by 82 percent of American voters.³

We must help parents fulfill their role as the primary sex educators for their children. People of all ages who seek reproductive health care should be encouraged to ask questions and should expect honest answers.

Barrier 3: Access

For too many Americans, access to reproductive health options is subject to gender, age, income, and geography. Here too, there is so much we can do.

Through our services and our advocacy, we can ensure greater access to all reproductive health options. We can create and promote new options that will improve the health and well being of women, men, and their families. The health care community can demonstrate its unified support for the nation's family planning program, Title X, without debilitating amendments.

Each year, Title X funding helps to prevent 1.3 million pregnancies and more than 600,000 abortions.⁴ And it saves money to boot! But year after year, Title X is a favorite target of anti-choice forces that work relentlessly to eliminate it.

We can promote emergency contraception. Widespread use of emergency contraception could prevent up to 2.5 million unintended pregnancies and a million abortions each year.⁵ But many women don't know enough about emergency contraception to request it. Practitioners are unfamiliar with it and do not discuss it with their patients. Your committed advocacy and service provision can change that.

We can advocate for increased funding for reproductive health-related research and clinical trials, including those for new methods of contraception. Research funding for women's health is generally inadequate, but funding for reproductive health is abysmal. Indeed, despite bipartisan support in Congress for doubling funding to the National Institutes of Health, NIH funding for contraceptive research has remained flat, at \$8 million, for a decade. By way of comparison, of NIH's current budget of more than \$15 billion, more than \$300 million goes to diabetes research, more than \$850 million is allocated for research on heart disease, and \$50 million is being spent to study alternative medicine.⁶

We can educate health care providers about early medical and early surgical abortion procedures and encourage greater use of them. These procedures can give women more privacy and control over their decision, and they can be safer and less stress-inducing experiences for women who choose to terminate an unintended pregnancy.

But access to services depends on the availability of providers, which brings me to ...

Barrier 4: Training

Many primary caregivers do not receive adequate training in the prevention or management of unintended pregnancies and other reproductive health care needs:

Only 12 percent of ob/gyn residency programs routinely provide training for first-trimester abortions.⁷

86 percent of U.S. counties have no abortion services at all.⁸

As older abortion providers retire—the average age is 60—the pool of younger physicians to replace them becomes smaller and smaller.

The training gap extends to patient education services. One-third of women at risk for an unplanned pregnancy say that their doctors never mentioned birth control during their most recent visit. And half the women polled in a recent survey assume that they're screened for sexually transmitted infections, when in fact testing is optional and must be requested.

Clearly, what's needed is better training for practitioners, with curricula that emphasize all facets of reproductive health care. At the same time, practicing health care providers must have opportunities to update their skills.

Politics. Censorship. Access. Training. There's so much we can do to overcome each of these barriers. But there's a fifth barrier that encompasses all the others ... I alluded to it at the start of my talk.

Barrier 5

The stubborn perception of women as a “special population” when it comes to health care. This distinction only contributes to segregation and diminishment. It must be abandoned! Doing so will require a major attitude shift in the way the American people think about, treat, and value women and children.

The health care community can take the first step by acknowledging that women's leadership can improve the way we provide health care in this country, just as Sanger did so many years ago.

We need more women appointed to positions of authority. Women comprise more than 40 percent of all medical school students, less than 5 percent of academic chairs. And only one-fourth of all medical school faculty are women.⁹

We can further bolster women's empowerment by encouraging their full participation in decisions about their reproductive health. Providing girls especially with the information they need to make their own decisions and live their own lives will help develop the next generation of women leaders.

Each of you leaders can facilitate the process by working toward a world in which reproductive health care needs of all women and their families are met.

Together, we can overcome the five barriers. And we can use them as opportunities for building a world in which all women are acknowledged as moral decision-makers for their reproductive choices. A world in which all women and men have access to the reproductive health care they need to make healthy, responsible choices. And in which all children are welcomed joyfully by parents prepared to care for them.

This was the world that birth control revolutionary Margaret Sanger envisioned. The final transformation of that vision into reality is our challenge as a nation of leaders in reproductive health. Let it also be our destiny.

Thank you.

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¹Isaacson, W. “Our Century and the Next One.” *Time Magazine*, April 13, 1998. p.70.

²Lake Sosin Perry poll conducted for Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc. 1996.

³Lake Sosin Perry poll conducted for Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc. 1997.

⁴Kaeser, L. "Title X and the U.S. Family Planning Effort." *Issues in Brief*, The Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1997.

⁵Glasier, A. & Baird, D. "The Effects of Self-Administering Emergency Contraception." *The New England Journal of Medicine* 359, no. 1, July 2, 1998, p.1–4.

⁶Havemann, J., "Crusading for Cash; Patient Groups Compete for Bigger Shares of NIH's Research Funding." *Washington Post*, Dec. 15, 1998, p.Z10; Recer, Z. "Which Diseases Get Studied? Report Suggests Vocal Interest Groups Get Funding." *Houston Chronicle*, July 9, 1998. p. 4.

⁷MacKay, H.T. & Mackay, A.P. "Abortion Training in Obstetrics and Gynecology Residency Programs, in the United States." *Family Planning Perspectives* 27, no. 3, May/June 1995, pp.112–115.

⁸Henshaw, S.K. "Abortion Incidence and Services in the United States." *Family Planning Perspectives* 30, no. 6, Nov./Dec. 1998, pp.263–270 & 287.

⁹American Academy of Medical Colleges. "Increasing Women's Leadership in Academic Medicine." *Academic Medicine* 71, no. 7, 1996, pp.799–811.

Perspectives on Family and Community

*Women's roles as wives and mothers and the limits those roles placed on pursuing careers and other opportunities emerged as one of the issues that women began questioning in the 1960s. Betty Friedan identified the frustration many women felt and labeled it "The Problem That Has No Name" in her 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique*. Many women, including Friedan, argued that women should not have to choose between having a family and having a career and that married partners could share parenting responsibilities and support each other as they developed their work lives.*

Some women have not had the luxury of making the choices that suburban housewives have had. Instead, cultural, economic, or other constraints have limited their options and have demanded other decisions. The workshop resolutions of the first National Chicana Conference articulate the limits that have been placed on Chicanas by religious dogma and by the roles assigned to Chicana women within their families and their communities. The resolutions call for a greater recognition of Chicana's full humanity as sexual beings, as partners in marriage, and as participants in the community.

African American Marian Wright Edelman, founder of the Children's Defense Fund, has been one of the most outspoken and respected advocates for children since the 1970s. Her leadership has contributed to the passage of federal legislation to benefit children and to the development of private programs for them. She believes that the African American community must support its families and children, as she explained in her 1987 speech to the Congressional Black Caucus.

For the balance of the twentieth century, women's roles in their families have been an issue for both feminists and conservatives. Conservative leaders in the 1980s and 1990s sought to define the American family as a married man and woman and their children, assigning responsibility for the family's financial support to the husband and the sustenance of the family to the wife. As the result of divorce, economic necessity, and other factors, fewer and fewer families fit conservatives' definition of family. One group of families in particular does not conform to the definition: same sex partnerships with children. Gay couples and lesbian couples with children seek to have their partnerships and the families they create recognized, respected, and honored in the same ways that other kinds of families are. Kate Kendall explains the ways her family and others like it are changing the definition of family.

The Problem That Has No Name, Betty Friedan, 1963

The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night—she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—"Is this all?"

For over fifteen years there was no word of this yearning in the millions of words written about women, for women, in all the columns, books and articles by experts telling women their role was to seek fulfillment as wives and mothers.

Over and over women heard in voices of tradition and of Freudian sophistication that they could desire no greater destiny than to glory in their own femininity. Experts told them how to catch a man and keep him, how to breastfeed children and handle their toilet training, how to cope with sibling rivalry and adolescent rebellion; how to buy a dishwasher, bake bread, cook gourmet snails, and build a swimming pool with their own hands; how to dress, look, and act more feminine and make marriage more exciting; how to keep their husbands from dying young and their sons from growing into delinquents. They were taught to pity the neurotic, unfeminine, unhappy women who wanted to be poets or physicists or presidents. They learned that truly feminine women do not want careers, higher education, political rights—the independence and the opportunities that the old-fashioned feminists fought for. Some women, in their forties and fifties, still remembered painfully giving up those dreams, but most of the younger women no longer even thought about them. A thousand expert voices applauded their femininity, their adjustment, their new maturity. All they had to do was devote their lives from earliest girlhood to finding a husband and bearing children.

By the end of the nineteen-fifties the average marriage age of women in America dropped to 20, and was still dropping, into the teens. Fourteen million girls were engaged by 17. The proportion of women attending college in comparison with men dropped from 47 per cent in 1920 to 35 per cent in 1958. A century earlier, women had fought for higher education; now girls went to college to get a husband. By the mid-fifties, 60 per cent dropped out of college to marry, or because they were afraid too much education would be a marriage bar. Colleges built dormitories for “married students,” but the students were almost always the husbands. A new degree was instituted for the wives—“Ph.T.” (Putting Husband Through).

Then American girls began getting married in high school. And the women’s magazines, deploring the unhappy statistics about these young marriages, urged that courses on marriage, and marriage counselors, be installed in the high schools. Girls started going steady at twelve and thirteen, in junior high. Manufacturers put out brassieres with false bosoms of foam rubber for little girls of ten. And an advertisement for a child’s dress, size 3–6x, in the *New York Times* in the fall of 1960, said: “She Too Can Join the Man-Trap Set.”

By the end of the fifties, the United States birthrate was overtaking India’s. The birth-control movement, renamed Planned Parenthood, was asked to find a method whereby women who had been advised that a third or fourth baby would be born dead or defective might have it anyhow. Statisticians were especially astounded at the fantastic increase in the number of babies among college women. Where once they had two children, now they had four, five, six. Women who had once wanted careers were now making careers out of having babies. So rejoiced *Life* magazine in a 1956 paean to the movement of American women back to the home.

In a New York hospital, a woman had a nervous breakdown when she found she could not breastfeed her baby. In other hospitals, women dying of cancer refused a drug which research had proved might save their lives: its side effects were said to be unfeminine. “If I have only one life, let me live it as a blonde,” a larger-than-life-sized picture of a pretty, vacuous woman proclaimed from newspaper, magazine, and drugstore ads. And across America, three out of every ten women

died their hair blonde. They ate a chalk called Metrecal, instead of food, to shrink to the size of the thin young models. Department store buyers reported that American women, since 1939, had become three and four sizes smaller. "Women are out to fit the clothes, instead of vice-versa," one buyer said.

Interior decorators were designing kitchens with mosaic murals and original paintings, for kitchens were once again the center of women's lives. Home sewing became a million-dollar industry. Many women no longer left their homes, except to shop, chauffeur their children, or attend a social engagement with their husbands. Girls were growing up in America without ever having jobs outside the home. In the late fifties, a sociological phenomenon was suddenly remarked: a third of American women now worked, but most were no longer young and very few were pursuing careers. They were married women who held part-time jobs, selling or secretarial, to put their husbands through school, their sons through college, or to help pay the mortgage. Or they were widows supporting families. Fewer and fewer women were entering professional work. The shortages in the nursing, social work, and teaching professions caused crises in almost every American city. Concerned over the Soviet Union's lead in the space race, scientists noted that America's greatest source of unused brainpower was women. But girls would not study physics: it was "unfeminine." A girl refused a science fellowship at Johns Hopkins to take a job in a real-estate office. All she wanted, she said, was what every other American girl wanted—to get married, have four children and live in a nice house in a nice suburb.

The suburban housewife—she was the dream image of the young American women and the envy, it was said, of women all over the world. The American housewife—freed by science and labor-saving appliances from the drudgery, the dangers of childbirth and the illnesses of her grandmother. She was healthy, beautiful, educated, concerned only about her husband, her children, her home. She had found true feminine fulfillment. As a housewife and mother, she was respected as a full and equal partner to man in his world. She was free to choose automobiles, clothes, appliances, supermarkets; she had everything that women ever dreamed of.

In the fifteen years after World War II, this mystique of feminine fulfillment became the cherished and self-perpetuating core of contemporary American culture. Millions of women lived their lives in the image of those pretty pictures of the American suburban housewife, kissing their husbands goodbye in front of the picture window, depositing their station-wagonsful of children at school, and smiling as they ran the new electric waxer over the spotless kitchen floor. They baked their own bread, sewed their own and their children's clothes, kept their new washing machines and dryers running all day. They changed the sheets on the beds twice a week instead of once, took the rug-hooking class in adult education, and pitied their poor frustrated mothers, who had dreamed of having a career. Their only dream was to be perfect wives and mothers; their highest ambition to have five children and a beautiful house, their only fight to get and keep their husbands. They had no thought for the unfeminine problems of the world outside the home; they wanted the men to make the major decisions. They gloried in their role as women, and wrote proudly on the census blank: "Occupation: housewife."

For over fifteen years, the words written for women, and the words women used when they talked to each other, while their husbands sat on the other side of the room and talked shop or politics or septic tanks, were about problems with

their children, or how to keep their husbands happy, or improve their children's school, or cook chicken or make slipcovers. Nobody argued whether women were inferior or superior to men; they were simply different. Words like "emancipation" and "career" sounded strange and embarrassing; no one had used them for years. When a Frenchwoman named Simone de Beauvoir wrote a book called *The Second Sex*, an American critic commented that she obviously "didn't know what life was all about," and besides she was talking about French women. The "woman problem" in America no longer existed.

If a woman had a problem in the 1950's and 1960's she knew that something must be wrong with her marriage, or with herself. Other women were satisfied with their lives, she thought. What kind of a woman was she if she did not feel this mysterious fulfillment waxing the kitchen floor? She was so ashamed to admit her dissatisfaction that she never knew how many other women shared it. If she tried to tell her husband, he didn't understand what she was talking about. She did not really understand it herself. For over fifteen years women in America found it harder to talk about this problem than about sex. Even the psychoanalysts had no name for it. When a woman went to a psychiatrist for help, as many women did, she would say, "I'm so ashamed," or "I must be hopelessly neurotic." "I don't know what's wrong with women today," a suburban psychiatrist said uneasily. "I only know something is wrong because most of my patients happen to be women. And their problem isn't sexual." Most women with this problem did not go to see a psychoanalyst, however. "There's nothing wrong really," they kept telling themselves. "There isn't any problem."

. . . It is no longer possible to ignore that voice, to dismiss the desperation of so many American women. This is not what being a woman means, no matter what the experts say. For human suffering there is a reason; perhaps the reason has not been found because the right questions have not been asked, or pressed far enough. I do not accept the answer that there is no problem because American women have luxuries that women in other times and lands never dreamed of; part of the strange newness of the problem is that it cannot be understood in terms of the age-old material problems of man: poverty, sickness, hunger, cold. The women who suffer this problem have a hunger that food cannot fill.

. . . 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 husband and children, and puzzling their doctors and educators for years. It may well be the key to our future as 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."

From The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan. Copyright © 1983, 1974, 1973, 1963 by Betty Friedan. Reprinted by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Workshop Resolutions—First National Chicana Conference, 1971 **Sex and the Chicana**

We feel that in order to provide an effective measure to correct the many sexual hangups facing the Chicano community the following resolutions should be implemented:

I. Sex is good and healthy for both Chicanos and Chicanas and we must develop this attitude.

II. We should destroy the myth that religion and culture control our sexual lives.

III. We recognize that we have been oppressed by religion and that the religious writing was done by *men* and interpreted by *men*. Therefore, for those who desire religion, they should interpret their Bible, or Catholic rulings according to their own feelings, what they think is right, without any guilt complexes.

IV. Mothers should teach their sons to respect women as human beings who are equal in every respect. *No double standard.*

V. Women should go back to the communities and form discussion and action groups concerning sex education.

VI. Free, legal abortions and birth control for the Chicano community, controlled by *Chicanas*. As Chicanas we have the right to control our own bodies.

VII. Make use of church centers, neighborhood centers and any other place available.

“Liberate your mind and the body will follow. . . .”

“*A quitarnos todos nuestros complejos sexuales para tener una vida mejor y feliz*” (Let’s cast off all our sexual complexes to have a better and happier life).

Marriage—Chicana Style

Reaffirmation that Chicano marriages are the beginnings of Chicano families which perpetuate our culture and are the foundation of the movement.

Points brought up in the workshop:

1. Chicano marriages are individual and intimate and solutions to problems must be primarily handled on an individual basis.

2. A woman must educate and acquaint herself with outside issues and personal problems (sexual hangups, etc.).

3. It is the responsibility of Chicanas with families to educate their sons and thus change the attitudes of future generations.

4. Chicanas should understand that Chicanos face oppression and discrimination, but this does not mean that the Chicana should be a scapegoat for the man’s frustrations.

5. With involvement in the movement, marriages must change. Traditional roles for Chicanas are not acceptable or applicable.

Resolutions:

I. We, as *mujeres de La Raza*, recognize the Catholic Church as an oppressive institution and do hereby resolve to break away and not go to it to bless our unions.

II. Whereas: Unwanted pregnancies are the basis of many social problems, and

Whereas: The role of Mexican-American women has traditionally been limited to the home, and

Whereas: The need for self-determination and the right to govern their own bodies is a necessity for the freedom of all people, therefore,

Be It Resolved: That the National Chicana Conference go on record as supporting free family planning and free and legal abortions for all women who want or need them.

III. Whereas: Due to socio-economic and cultural conditions, Chicanas are

often heads of households, i.e., widows, divorcees, unwed mothers, or deserted mothers, or must work to supplement family income, and

Whereas: Chicana motherhood should not preclude educational, political, social, and economic advancement, and

Whereas: There is a critical need for a 24-hour child-care center in Chicano communities, therefore,

Be It Resolved: That the National Chicana Conference go on record as recommending that every Chicano community promote and set up 24-hour day-care facilities, and that it be further resolved that these facilities will reflect the concept of La Raza as the united family, and on the basis of brotherhood (La Raza), so that men, women, young and old assume the responsibility for the love, care, education, and orientation of all the children of Aztlan.

IV. Whereas: Dr. Goldzieher of SWRF has conducted an experiment on Chicana women of westside San Antonio, Texas, using a new birth control drug, and

Whereas: No human being should be used for experimental purposes, therefore,

Be It Resolved: That this Conference send telegrams to the American Medical Association condemning this act. Let it also be resolved that each Chicana women's group and each Chicana present at the conference begin a letter writing campaign to:

Dr. Joseph Goldzieher c/o SW Foundation for Research and Education, San Antonio, Texas, and Director, SW Foundation for Research and Education, San Antonio, Texas.

Religion

I. Recognize the *Plan de Aztlan*

II. Take over already existing Church resources for community use, i.e., health, Chicano awareness-public information of its resources, etc.

III. Oppose any institutionalized religion.

IV. Revolutionary change of Catholic Church or for it to get out of the way.

V. Establish communication with the barrio and implement programs of awareness to the Chicano movement.

From Chicanas Speak Out. Women: New Voices of La Raza by Mirta Vidal (1971). Copyright © 1971 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

Educating the Black Child: Our Past and Our Future, Marian Wright Edelman, 1987

For many of you sitting in this room, it is the best of times. Black per capita income is at an all-time high and many of you have moved up the corporate ladder even if the ladders you are on frequently don't reach towards the pinnacle of corporate power. Black purchasing power, now at \$200 billion, exceeds the gross national product of Australia and New Zealand combined. But it has not yet been translated into commensurate black economic influence and benefit. Black elected officials are more numerous than ever (6,681 in 1987, a 350 percent increase since 1970). But white economic power still controls our city tax bases. The amassing of committee and subcommittee chairmanships (8 full House Committee chairs including the Select Committee, and 18 Subcommittee chairs) by members of this Congressional Black Caucus is impressive by any standard, although the main political game in town is cutting the budget deficit. Spelman

College, my alma mater, looks towards its future with a stronger endowment and student body than ever before while many other black colleges are struggling mightily to survive.

Bill Cosby is America's favorite Daddy and Michael Jackson and Whitney Houston dot the top ten charts. Black leadership has permeated a range of mainstream institutions. Bill Gray chairs the House Budget Committee, Frank Thomas heads the Ford Foundation, and Cliff Wharton heads TIAA-CREF. A. Barry Rand is in charge of marketing at Xerox. Anita De Frantz is America's representative to the Olympic Committee, and Richard Knight is the city manager of Dallas.

I am proud of these and many similar accomplishments and applaud the black middle class for whom the times are good tonight. We've worked hard to get where we are. However, we have to work harder still to stay there and to move ahead.

But there is another black community that is not riding high tonight and that is going down and under. If you and I don't build a bridge back to them and throw out some strong lifelines to our children and youths and families whom poverty and unemployment and hopelessness are engulfing, they're going to drown, pull many of us down with them, and undermine the black future that our forebears dreamed, struggled, and died for.

I am grateful, therefore, that the Congressional Black Caucus has focused attention this year on Educating the Black Child. Just as Martin Luther King, Jr., and others accepted the challenge of their time, so the challenge of our time is educating all of our children in mind, in body, and in soul if we are to preserve and strengthen the black future.

It is the worst of times for poor black babies born within a mile of this hotel and in many inner cities around the country who have less of a chance of living to the first year of life than a baby born in Costa Rica. Black babies are still twice as likely to die in the first year of life than white babies.

It is the worst of times for black youth and young adults trying to form families without decent skills or jobs and without a strong value base. Young marriages have essentially stopped in the black community. Sixty percent of all black babies today are born to never married single mothers; 90 percent of those born to black teens are born to unmarried mothers. One out of two children in a female-headed household is poor. Two out of three (67.1 percent) children in black female-headed households are poor. If that household is headed by a mother younger than 25, three out of four are poor. Even when teen pregnancy results in marriage, young two-parent families are almost three times as likely to be poor as those with parents 25 to 44 years of age.

A significant cause of this black family problem lies in young black men's eroding employment and wage base. Only 26.5 percent of all black male teens were employed in 1986 and 61.3 percent of those 20 to 24 years old. And even when they are lucky enough to work they frequently can't earn enough to lift a family out of poverty. Between 1973 and 1984, the average real (inflation-adjusted) annual earnings among males ages 20 through 24 fell by nearly 30 percent (from \$11,572 to \$8,072 in 1984 dollars). This sharp drop affected virtually all groups of young adult males—whether white, black, or Hispanic although young black men suffered the most severe losses (nearly 50 percent). So the links between teen pregnancy and poverty are related not just to age and single parent-

hood but also to the poor skills and employment experience young parents seek to bring to the work force and to the lower wages young workers are paid.

To combat the poverty which is engulfing half of the black babies born today—half of our future as a black community—we must all work to prevent too early sexual activity and pregnancy and encourage our boys and girls to wait until they have the education and economic stability to form lasting families. If the share of single births in the black community grows at the rate of the last decade, by the year 2000, only one black baby in five will be born to a married woman. And if you don't care about these babies unselfishly you'd better care selfishly, for the future black voting and economic base upon which much of our leadership status rests resides in the health and education of the black child and the strength of the black family.

Not only are too many black babies and youths fighting poverty and sickness and homelessness and too little early childhood stimulation and weak basic skills preparation, they are also fighting AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases; drug, tobacco, and alcohol addiction and crime which hopelessness and the absence of constructive alternatives and support systems in their lives leave them prey to. A black baby is seven or eight times more likely to be an AIDS victim than a white baby and minority teens (15 to 19) are the highest risk group for a range of sexually transmitted diseases. A black youth is five times more likely than a white youth to end up in an institution and is nearly as likely to be in prison as he is to be in college. Between 1979 and 1985 the number of black youth in juvenile detention facilities rose by 40 percent while the number of black youth entering college immediately after high school graduation fell by four percent. More black males go to prison each year than go to college. There are more black drug addicts than there are black doctors or lawyers.

Now some of you sitting here will ask what this has to do with you. You struggled and beat the odds and those folks who haven't made it could do the same. Others of you will rightfully say you're already doing your bit for the race by achieving yourself and by contributing to black organizations. Still others place the blame for growing black family poverty and weakening community bonds and support systems on urbanization and the continuing racial discrimination in national life which devalues black talent and curbs black opportunity.

As many nuggets of truth as each of these views may contain, I will simply say that unless the black middle class begins to exert more effective and sustained leadership with and without the black community on behalf of black children and families both as personal role models and value instillers and as persistent advocates for national, state and local policies—funded policies—that assure our children the health and child care, education, housing, and jobs they need to grow up into self sufficient adults, to form healthy families, and to carry on the black tradition of achievement, then all of our Mercedes and Halston frocks will not hide our essential failure as a generation of black haves who did not protect the black future during our watch.

Just as our nation is committing moral and economic suicide by permitting one in four of its preschool children to be poor, one in five to be at risk of being a teen parent, one in six to have no health insurance, and one in seven to face dropping out of school at a time when the pool of available young people to support an aging population and form a strong workforce is shrinking, so we are

committing racial suicide by not sounding the alarm and protecting our own children from the poverty that ravages their dreams. For America will not treat our children fairly unless we make it.

We must recapture and care about our lost children and help them gain the confidence, self-esteem, values, and real world opportunities—education, jobs, and higher education which they need to be strong future guardians of the black community's heritage.

How do we do this? There are nine steps we must take if we are to help our children.

The first step is to remember and teach them that black folk have never been able to take anything for granted in America and we had better not start in these waning Reagan years of budget deficits and looming economic recession. Frederick Douglass put it bluntly: "Men may not get all they pay for in this world, but they must certainly pay for all they get." So you make sure that you are ready to do your part to help yourself and black children and to hold public and private sector officials accountable for doing their part in fostering health, education, and fair employment policies that are essential to black family survival.

Tell our children they're not going to jive their way up the career ladder. They've got to work their way up—hard and continuously. Too many young people want a fast elevator straight to the top floor and resist walking up the stairs or stopping on the floors of achievement between the bottom and the top. Tell them do their homework, pay attention to detail, and take care and pride in their work. People who are sloppy in little things tend to be sloppy in big things. Tell them to be reliable, to stick with something until they finish and resist jumping from pillar to post. And tell them to take the initiative in creating their own opportunity. They can't wait around for other people to discover them or to do them a favor.

The second step is to teach them the importance of getting a good education. While not a guarantee of success, education is a precondition to survival in America today. At a time when a smaller proportion of black high school graduates go on to college than ten years ago, we need to tell all of our children that college pays. In 1986, the average unemployment rate among black college graduates under 25 was 13.2 percent—more than one in every eight. Among young black high school graduates, it was 26.6 percent—more than one in four. College doubles their chance of getting a job. And we need to insist that they get a liberal education and learn how to think so that they can navigate an ever changing job market.

The third step is to tell them that forming families is serious business and requires a measure of thoughtful planning and economic stability. In 1986, one in every five black families with children under 18 had someone unemployed. Of those 44 percent were single parents with no one at work. Among black married couples with children, only 18 percent had no one working.

That is the crucial point. Education alone, although of enormous value in itself, cannot guarantee a young black adult the income needed to raise children in economic safety today. But two black adults, both working, have the safety net of the second income when unemployment strikes. Remember, that's the only safety net President Reagan hasn't found a way to cut yet.

All these figures are from 1986, the fourth year of a long period of economic recovery. When the next recession arrives—and it will—the black unemployment rates will soar. Since this recession will come at a time when we have an extraor-

dinary budget deficit, there is a great danger that the American voters will buy the argument that we must cut government spending in order to reduce interest rates and stimulate the economy. If this happens, there will be many unemployed teachers, nurses, employment counselors, and government workers of all sorts.

There is a warning here that relates to steps one and two. Just as black penetration into civil and social service professional jobs occurs, the growth and security of such jobs fall. Just as blacks rise to senior ranks in industrial and industrial union jobs, steel and auto manufacturing industries enter a steep decline. The economic goal posts keep shifting. How, then, do we work towards a full share in the power to set the goals in place, and not just the right to run the race?

The fourth step is to set goals and work quietly and systematically towards them. So often we feel we have to talk loud rather than act effectively. So often we get bogged down in our ego needs and lose sight of our broader community goals. T. S. Eliot in his play "The Cocktail Party" said that "half the harm that is done in this world is due to people who want to feel important." Wanting to feel important is good, but not at the expense of *doing* important deeds—even if we don't get the credit. You can get a mighty lot done in this world if you don't mind doing the work and letting other people take the credit. You know what you do and the Lord knows what you do and that's all that matters.

The fifth step is knowing the difference between substance and style. Too many of us think success is a Saks Fifth Avenue charge card or a "bad" set of wheels or coming to this Black Caucus dinner. Now these are things to enjoy, but they are *not* life goals. I was watching one of President Johnson's inaugural balls on television with a black college president's wife in Mississippi when Mrs. Hamer, that great lady of the Mississippi civil rights movement who lacked a college degree, but certainly not intelligence or clear purpose, came onto the screen. The college president's wife moaned: "Oh my, there's Miz Hamer at the President's ball and she doesn't even have a long dress." My response was: "That's alright. Mrs. Hamer with no long gown is there and you and I with our long gowns are not." So often we miss the real point—we buy BMWs and fur coats before we think about whether where we're going to drive and wear them is worthwhile. Nobody ever asks about what kind of car Ralph Bunche drove or designer suit Martin Luther King, Jr., bought. Don't confuse style with meaning. Get your insides in order and your direction clear first and then worry about your clothes and your wheels. You may need them less.

The sixth step is valuing family life. We must build on the strong black tradition of family and teach our children to delay family formation until they are economically and emotionally stable and ready to raise the new generation of black children and leaders. Black and white men must support their children as best they can and not have them until they are ready to take responsibility for them. We must strengthen family rituals: prayers if we are religious, regular family meals, and participation in school work and in non-school activities. Our children need constructive alternatives to the street. We must *do* things with our children. Listen to them. Be moral examples for them. If we cut corners, they will too. If we lie, they will too. If we spend all our money on our backs and wheels and tithing no portion of it for our colleges, churches, and civic causes, they won't either.

We must join together as an entire community to establish an ethic of achievement and self-esteem in poor and middle class black children. They can do science and math as well as basketball and football, computers as well as cotillions,

reading along with reggae. If we expect these accomplishments of them, support them in their learning processes, and help them in setting priorities. They need strong consistent adult buffers to withstand the negative messages of the external world that values them less than white or middle class children.

When I, like many of you, was growing up in my small segregated southern town, the whole outside world, the law of the land, local officials, the media, almost everybody outside our own community told black children we weren't worth much or were second rate. But we didn't believe it because our parents said it wasn't so. Our preachers said it wasn't so. Our caring teachers said it wasn't so. And they nurtured us as a community, shielded us against the constant psychological battery of our daily environment and made us understand that we could make it—had to make it—but in order to do so, we had to struggle to make our own opportunities in order to help change America. And we went on to college—poor and black—and tried to carry out their other lesson to give some of what they gave us back in service to others left behind. Service, they taught, is the rent you pay for living. Where is our buffer today for the black and poor children who are daily wounded by a national administration who would rather judge than help the poor? Where are the strong local officials and community voices and hands shielding and fighting for the poor children in our city streets against the ravages of drugs and crime? Where are the role modelling, mentoring, and tutoring programs that help black children overcome the pernicious undercurrents of many, even our purported friends, who really think black children lack the potential of other children? What activities are your churches and sororities and fraternities sponsoring to keep children busy and off the streets?

The seventh step is to vote and use our political and economic power. Only 51 percent of all voting age blacks voted in the 1980 election and only 56 percent in the 1984 election. Seventy percent of 18- to 25-year-old black youths did not vote in the last election. People who do not vote have no line of credit with people who are elected and pose no threat to those who act against our interests. Don't even pretend that you care about the black community, about poor children, about your nation, even about your own future, if you don't exercise the political leverage Medgar Evers and others died to make sure we had. And run for political office. And when you win don't forget that you are the means to serve others well and not the end.

No one running for president or any office should get black community support unless they have a well thought-out set of policies designed to lift the black child and family. Similarly, we need to use our economic power for the benefit of black families, particularly in industries where we constitute a large market share.

Two last steps and I'm done.

Remember your roots, your history, and the forebears' shoulders on which you stand. And pass them on to your children and to other black children whose parents may not be able to. As a black community today there is no greater priority than assuring the rootedness of all our children—poor, middle class, and Ivy League. Young people who do not know where they come from and the struggle it took to get them where they are now will not know where they are going or what to do for anyone besides themselves if and when they finally arrive somewhere. And if they run into bad weather on the way, they will not have the pro-

tective clothing to withstand the wind and the rain, lightning and thunder that have characterized the black sojourn in America. They need the anchor and rightful pride of a great people that produced a Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass from slavery, a Benjamin Mays and Martin Luther King, Jr., and Fannie Lou Hamer from segregation, people second to none in helping transform America from a theoretical to a more living democracy.

The last step is to keep dreaming and aiming high. At a time when so many in public and private life seem to be seeking the lowest common denominator of public and personal conduct, I hope you will dream and set new examples of service and courage.

Dr. Benjamin Mays, a former president of Morehouse College and role model for me said: "It must be borne in mind that the tragedy of life doesn't lie in not reaching your goal. The tragedy lies in having no goal to reach. It is not a calamity to die with dreams unfulfilled, but it is a calamity not to dream. It is not a disaster to be unable to capture your ideal, but it is a disaster to have no ideal to capture. It is not a disgrace not to reach the stars, but it is a disgrace to have no stars to reach for. Not failure, but low aim, is sin." We must aim high for our children and teach them to aim high.

Address to the Congressional Black Caucus 17th annual legislative weekend banquet at the Washington Hilton Hotel, September 26, 1987. Reprinted by permission.

It's the Family, Stupid! Kate Kendall, 1999

My life experienced a significant intersection in the past few weeks. On June 27 1996, my partner Sandy, gave birth to our son, Julian Lucas. And, as first Legal Director and now Executive Director at the National Center for Lesbian Rights I have the honor of working daily on ground-breaking litigation on behalf of families of lesbians and gay men. The personal is political.

After years of being marginalized, raving, fringe dwelling, sex addicts, lesbians and gay men are finally emerging in an image which embodies the Radical Right's worst nightmare: family. Yes, after being seen as only uniformly depraved we are now increasingly portrayed as what many of us are—fine, tax-paying citizens, pushing baby strollers or park swings. I am convinced that as long as we could be successfully characterized as the "other," we posed little threat to middle America and her so-called "family values." But what is a gay-baiting, homophobe to do when we look like him? When our kids attend school with hers? We hit too close for comfort. For if we, the disgusting, are so much like she, the pious, maybe she could be we? No wonder we have become the universal symbol for evil.

Now of course this is not to say that we all should get married and have children. In fact many of us should never do either. But after years of the existence of our families being denied or ignored it now is impossible to do either, and that has our enemies apoplectic with fear. The high ground on "family values" becomes decidedly more crowded when we stand there as well and, in fact, teach them a thing or two about true values, such as acceptance, tolerance, diversity and self-empowerment.

It is no coincidence that issues of lesbian and gay equality have hit their zenith at the same time more lesbians and gay men are having children, creating families and fighting for equal marriage rights. These are mainstream issues

coming from a community that for decades has been viewed as a bunch of pedophiles incapable of commitment. Many of us who bought into that image as well have altered our own perceptions and recognized that being a lesbian or gay parent is not an oxymoron. Family is in. From Children of Lesbians and Gays Everywhere (COLAGE), to Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG), to the Alternative Family Project to the National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR)—the family is the thing, we all came from one and we can have one of our own creation if we so choose.

For me perhaps the most exciting growing trend I observe is the increasing number of gay men who are choosing to parent. Who are overcoming substantial biological obstacles in order to make real their desire to have and raise children. I love the gay male parents I know. They blast sex roles, they dismantle patriarchy, and they really do a mind trip on our enemies. To those enemies gay fathers are seen as predatory child abusers, lesbian mothers as castigating, man-hating child manipulators. Yet with each family, with each child, with each parent, those myths are dying, slowly but surely from sheer lack of credibility or any shred of truth. We are changing perceptions because we are not, nor have we ever been, guilty as stereotyped. We didn't believe the hype and in fact have defied the hype.

It is clear that our families are making their mark. Not only are we more visible and our opposition more vitriolic, but we are now in court more often—fighting each other. Now it may be odd of me to celebrate this fact, which I don't, but the fact is when we are in court as a family, fighting among ourselves for custody or visitation or paternity, we force the courts to deal with us—to see us. As disheartening to me as inter-community battles are, they do send the clear message that we are here. Such battles do force the legal system—often our foe—to adjust, even imperceptibly, to our needs. Real change happens in maddeningly slow increments.

The best news is that a generation is now being raised by us in numbers sufficient to make a difference—to force change. These kids, our kids, will know the truth, and will be able to unmask the lies and fear-mongering perpetuated by the Radical Right. We will raise our families, we will fight the good fight, we will continue to do battle, and just when we are too weary to continue we will prevail. I pray for my family, and yours, that this will be so.

From the National Center for Lesbian Rights website. Reprinted by permission.

Women and Work

Women have endured unsafe workplaces, discrimination, low pay, and sexual harassment. For more than a century, women have identified, challenged, and sought to change these and other conditions. In the 1890s, social reformers began seeking ways to end employment practices that kept laborers in poverty and required workers to labor for long hours. They also fought to require employers to provide safe and healthy work environments. One of the more notable crusaders was Florence Kelley whose reform efforts included ending child labor. In her 1905 speech to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, she argued that voting rights would allow women to end child labor.

Dolores Huerta has dedicated her life to improving the working conditions of Mexican-American agricultural laborers. A cofounder with César Chávez of the United Farm Workers of America, she has led grape and strawberry boycotts, organized laborers, picketed growers, and negotiated labor contracts. Her dedication to agricultural laborers has helped end some of the worst abuses of workers and has helped improve their lives through increased wages, by implementing safeguards against exposure to agricultural chemicals, and by insisting on educational opportunities for laborers' children. Her narrative provides perspectives on her work and the work of the laborers she has served since the late 1950s.

Sexual harassment has long plagued women's work lives, but it only gained wide public attention in 1991, when law professor Anita Hill accused Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexually harassing her. Hill's allegations led to the Senate Judiciary Committee reopening Thomas's confirmation hearings and to a national debate on the topic. Thomas was confirmed, but the debate continued.

Until passage of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, it was legal to pay women less than men holding the same job with the same responsibilities. After passage of the measure, however, women continued to earn less than men. AFL-CIO vice president Linda Chavez-Thompson focused on the enduring problem of the wage gap between women earners and men earners in her statement on Equal Pay Day in 1998.

Child Labor and Woman Suffrage, Florence Kelley, 1905

We have, in this country, two million children under the age of sixteen years who are earning their bread. They vary in age from six and seven years (in the cotton mills of Georgia) and eight, nine and ten years (in the coal-breakers of Pennsylvania), to fourteen, fifteen and sixteen years in more enlightened States.

No other portion of the wage earning class increased so rapidly from decade to decade as the young girls from fourteen to twenty years. Men increase, women increase, youth increase, boys increase in the ranks of the breadwinners; but no contingent so doubles from census period to census period (both by percent and by count of heads), as does the contingent of girls between twelve and twenty years of age. They are in commerce, in offices, in manufacture.

To-night while we sleep, several thousand little girls will be working in textile mills, all the night through, in the deafening noise of the spindles and the looms spinning and weaving cotton and woolen, silks and ribbons for us to buy.

In Alabama the law provides that a child under sixteen years of age shall not work in a cotton mill at night longer than eight hours, and Alabama does better in this respect than any other Southern State. North and South Carolina and

Georgia place no restriction upon the work of children at night; and while we sleep little white girls will be working to-night in the mills in those States, working eleven hours at night.

In Georgia there is no restriction whatever! A girl of six or seven years, just tall enough to reach the bobbins, may work eleven hours by day or by night. And they will do so to-night, while we sleep.

Nor is it only in the South that these things occur. Alabama does better than New Jersey. For Alabama limits the children's work at night to eight hours, while New Jersey permits it all night long. Last year New Jersey took a long backward step. A good law was repealed which had required women and [children] to stop work at six in the evening and at noon on Friday. Now, therefore, in New Jersey, boys and girls, after the 14th birthday, enjoy the pitiful privilege of working all night long.

In Pennsylvania, until last May it was lawful for children, 13 years of age, to work twelve hours at night. A little girl, on her thirteenth birthday, could start away from her home at half past five in the afternoon, carrying her pail of midnight luncheon as happier people carry their midday luncheon, and could work in the mill from six at night until six in the morning, without violating any law of the Commonwealth.

If the mothers and the teachers in Georgia could vote, would the Georgia Legislature have refused at every session for the last three years to stop the work in the mills of children under twelve years of age?

Would the New Jersey Legislature have passed that shameful repeal bill enabling girls of fourteen years to work all night, if the mothers in New Jersey were enfranchised? Until the mothers in the great industrial States are enfranchised, we shall none of us be able to free our consciences from participation in this great evil. No one in this room to-night can feel free from such participation. The children make our shoes in the shoe factories; they knit our stockings, our knitted underwear in the knitting factories. They spin and weave our cotton underwear in the cotton mills. Children braid straw for our hats, they spin and weave the silk and velvet wherewith we trim our hats. They stamp buckles and metal ornaments of all kinds, as well as pins and hat-pins. Under the sweating system, tiny children make artificial flowers and neckwear for us to buy. They carry bundles of garments from the factories to the tenements, little beasts of burden, robbed of school life that they may work for us.

We do not wish this. We prefer to have our work done by men and women. But we are almost powerless. Not wholly powerless, however, are citizens who enjoy the right of petition. For myself, I shall use this power in every possible way until the right to the ballot is granted, and then I shall continue to use both.

What can we do to free our consciences? There is one line of action by which we can do much. We can enlist the workingmen on behalf of our enfranchisement just in proportion as we strive with them to free the children. No labor organization in this country ever fails to respond to an appeal for help in the freeing of the children.

For the sake of the children, for the Republic in which these children will vote after we are dead, and for the sake of our cause, we should enlist the workingmen voters, with us, in this task of freeing the children from toil.

Dolores Huerta Talks, Dolores Huerta, 1972

My family goes way back to the 1600s in New Mexico. My father was a migrant worker who used to travel from New Mexico to Wyoming, following the work, living in little shacks. My mother was a very ambitious woman. She got a little lunch counter together, then she got a bigger restaurant, and when the war came she got a hotel. That's how I was able to go to school and how I got a more affluent background than the other kids.

When my dad and my mom divorced, he stayed in New Mexico and she came to California. I would beg my mother to let me go to the fields when I was little, but she would not let me. My brothers used to go pick tomatoes in Stockton, but my mother wasn't going to let *her* daughter go work in any field. So when I was fourteen, I went to work in the packing sheds instead, which were just as bad.

I was a little bit luckier than most Chicanos because I was raised in an integrated neighborhood. All the Chicanos who went to school where I did are all making it. We grew up in Stockton but we weren't in a ghetto. In our school, there was the Mexican, black, white, Indian, Italian; we were all thrown in together. We had all of the old-guard teachers who treated everybody very mean. But they didn't discriminate against one or the other. They treated us all equally mean. So we all hated the teachers, but we didn't hate each other. We didn't have a whole bunch of hang-ups, like hating Anglos, or hating blacks.

When I got into high school, then it was really segregated. There was the real rich and the real poor. We were poor too, and I got hit with a lot of racial discrimination. My four years in high school hit me very hard and it took me a long time to get over it.

When I was in high school I got straight A's in all of my compositions. I can't write any more, but I used to be able to write really nice, poetry and everything. But the teacher told me at the end of the year that she couldn't give me an A because she knew that somebody was writing my papers for me. That really discouraged me, because I used to stay up all night and think, and try to make every paper different, and try to put words in there that I thought were nice. Well, it just kind of crushed me.

I couldn't be active in college though, because it was just too early. I was the only Chicano at Stockton Junior College. At that time, there was just a handful of us that you might call liberals.

I was frustrated. I had a fantastic complex because I seemed to be out of step with everybody and everything. You're trying to go to school and yet you see all of these injustices. It was just such a complex!

Then my mother took me to Mexico City when I was about seventeen. She had never been there either. It was our first trip. But that opened my eyes to the fact that there was nothing wrong with Chicanos. I felt inside that [in the United States] everybody was wrong and I was right. They were wrong in beating the people up in the streets and all of the things they did to people. I felt I had all of these frustrations inside of me, so I started joining different Chicano organizations—E1 Comité Honorífico, Women's Club, all of these organizations that didn't do anything but give dances and celebrate the Fiestas Patrias.

By the time I was twenty-five years old, I had been married and gotten a divorce. I was still living in Stockton when Fred Ross came into town and he started telling us about forming this organization, the Community Service Organization.

And he told us about how in Los Angeles they had sent these policemen to San Quentin and Fred had organized it.

When Fred started telling us that if we got together we could register voters, elect Spanish-speaking representatives, and turn everything around, I just didn't believe it. He showed us how they had gotten these clinics in San Jose and he told us about César Chávez. He showed me all these pictures of big meetings with one hundred to two hundred people together. Well, I thought he was telling me a fairy tale.

I thought he was a Communist, so I went to the FBI and had him checked out. I really did that. I used to work for the Sheriff's Department. See how middle-class I was. In fact, I was a registered Republican at the time. I don't think I was ever a real cop-out, though, because I had always been real close to a lot of the people. My mother even used to tell me all the time that all my friends were either ex-cons or pachucos [zoot-suiters].

But I always thank the day that I met Fred. I always hated injustice and I always wanted to do something to change things. Fred opened a door for me. He changed my whole life. If it weren't for Fred, I'd probably just be in some stupid suburb somewhere.

Anyway, I started my first job getting people to register to vote. Eventually, some of the people started paying attention to us. So then we started fighting the Police Department and we got them to stop searching and harassing people arbitrarily. Then we had a big fight with the County Hospital and we turned that around. But it was just like magic. You start registering people to vote and all of these things start happening.

I was actually in the organization for two years before I got to talk to César [Chávez]. I met him once, but he was very shy. He wouldn't talk to anybody except the people he was organizing. But I heard him speak one time at a board meeting and I was really impressed. Well, after a big voter registration drive in 1960 where we registered one hundred and fifty thousand people, César got this bright idea to send me to Sacramento.

So I went to Sacramento and we got all these bills passed. I headed up the legislative program in 1961 when we fought for the old-age pension for the noncitizens, for *los viejitos* [the little old people]. I lobbied the welfare bill through so that the parents could stay in the home. César and I and the rest of us worked to get the right to register voters door to door, and the right for people to take their driver's license exams in Spanish, and disability insurance for farm workers, and the right for people to get surplus commodities. And, of course, we were the ones who ended the bracero program. I have a lot of experience in legislation, and I guess I've become sort of a trouble-shooter in the union.

I guess because I'm articulate, I came to the forefront. A lot of people who do a lot of hard work in the union are not mentioned anywhere. "Son los soldados razos del movimiento" [We are the common soldiers of the movement]. And that's what I consider myself—just a person working at what I'm supposed to be doing. The fact that I get publicity is sort of a by-product of the union. But there's an awful lot of people who have worked continuously since the union started, a lot of women, for example, who nobody even knows.

There's been no reaction from the farm workers to my role as a woman within the union. They will appreciate anybody who will come in to help them.

In terms of the leadership itself I get very little friction from anybody, really. Anyone who can do the job is welcome to come in and share the suffering.

There are a lot of other women in the union besides me and they share some of my problems. But I think it's mostly a personal conflict and it depends how much you let it hang you up in terms of what you're doing. If you let it bug you when people say that you're not being a good mother because you're not with your kids twenty-four hours a day, well then of course it will deter you from what you're doing. In the union, you know, everybody cooperates to take care of your kids.

The idea of the communal family is not new and progressive. It's really kind of old-fashioned. Remember when you were little you always had your uncles, your aunts, your grandmother, and your comrades around. As a child in the Mexican culture you identified with a lot of people, not just your mother and father like they do in the middle-class homes. When people are poor their main interest is family relationships. A baptism or a wedding is a big thing. In middle-class homes you start getting away from that and people become more materialistic. When you have relatives come to visit it's a nuisance instead of a great big occasion.

While I was in jail some of my kids came down to Delano to see me, but my little girl, Angela, didn't come. She wrote me a little note which said, "Dear Mom. I love you very much, but I can't come because the people need me. I've got to go door-knocking this weekend and I can't leave my job." I think that's really great because she puts her priorities on the work she has to do instead of coming down to see me.

The time I spend with my kids is very limited. This year I was in Washington, D.C., for almost two months, then I was in Arizona for another six weeks, then I was in Los Angeles working on the McGovern campaign for another two weeks. So this year I've spent very little time with my children. Since August twenty-seventh I've seen them twice for visits for about an hour.

Sure, it's a hardship for me, but I know that my kids are all working in the union itself. They have to grow up with the responsibility of their work, but they have fun too. Probably the problems they have is like the kind of schools that they go to which are very reactionary.

I think it's important for the children to be fed and clothed, which they are. When I first started working with César I had this problem worrying about whether my kids were going to eat or not, because at the time I started working for the union I was making pretty good money, and I knew I was going to start working without any money, and I wondered how I could do it. But the kids have never gone hungry. We've had some rough times, particularly in Delano during the strike, because my kids went without fresh milk for two years. They just had powdered milk we got through donations. It's made them understand what hardship is, and this is good because you can't really relate to suffering unless you've had a little bit of it yourself. But the main thing is that they have their dignity and identity.

My family used to criticize me a lot. They thought that I was a traitor to my Raza, to my family and to everybody else. But I think they finally realized that what I'm doing is important and they're starting to appreciate it now. They thought that I was just neglecting my children and that what I was doing was just for selfish reasons.

The criticism came mostly from my dad and other relatives, but my brothers are very understanding. My mother was a very active woman, and I just followed her. She's dead now, but she always got the prizes for registering the most voters, and she raised us without any hang-ups about things like that.

You could expect that I would get a lot of criticisms from the farm workers themselves, but it mostly comes from middle-class people. They're more hung-up about these things than the poor people are, because the poor people have to haul their kids around from school to school, and the women have to go out and work and they've got to either leave their kids or take them out to the fields with them. So they sympathize a lot more with my problem in terms of my children. Sometimes I think it's bad for people to shelter their kids too much. Giving kids clothes and food is one thing, you know, but it's much more important to teach them that other people besides themselves are important, and that the best thing they can do with their lives is to use it in the service of other people. So my kids know that the way that we live is poor, materially speaking, but it's rich in a lot of other ways. They get to meet a lot of people and their experiences are varied.

I know people who work like fools just to give their kids more material goods. They're depriving their family of themselves, for what? At least my kids know why I'm not home. They know that I'm doing this for something in which we're all working—it makes a whole different thing. My children don't have a lot of material things but they work hard for what they do get, just like everybody else, and that makes them really self-sufficient. They make their own arrangements when they go places. They all have a lot of friends and they don't get all hung-up about having a lot of goodies. I think my kids are very healthy both mentally and physically. All the women in the union have similar problems. They don't have to leave their families for as long as I do. But everybody shares everything, we share the work.

The way we do the work is we do whatever is needed regardless of what we'd really like to do. You have a problem when you develop into a kind of personality like César because that really takes you away from the work that has to be done with the farm workers in education and development of leadership. That's what I'd really like to do. I'd just like to keep working down there with the ranch committees and the farm workers themselves because they have to take over the union. I can put my experience there. César would much rather be organizing than anything. He loves to organize because it's really creative. But he can't do it because right now he has to go around speaking, as I am doing also. I'd rather be working on the strike.

It's hard when you learn how to do something but you have to do something else. But they've kept us on the run. We had been successful in organizing farm workers so in order to try to stop the union they introduced this bill, AB-964. This bill was just exactly like Proposition 22 and they thought they could get it through the legislature. Well, we mobilized and were able to stop it. Thousands of farm workers' supporters went to Sacramento to stop it. That was 1971. They tried it again in 1972 but the bill didn't really go very far. We had been involved with the lettuce negotiation all of last year, after we stopped the boycott. Then they got the bright idea in the Nixon administration to try to take the boycott away from us in the federal courts. What they were using as an argument was that we were covered by the National Labor Relations Law (NLRB) so that we couldn't boycott.

They took us to federal court in Fresno saying we were part of the NLRB. Well, this is ridiculous because we've never been part of it. So what this means is that it's strictly a political issue and logic and justice, none of these factors, have anything to do with it.

We went to Washington and started putting heat on the Republican party all over the country. We picketed people like Bañuelos [U.S. Treasurer Romana Bañuelos] and Senators Tower, Percy, and Hatfield. I was in Washington talking to the Republicans and the Democrats trying to stop this thing, kind of coordinating it.

In a way they might win by keeping us on the run but in a way they lose. Arizona is a good example, I was there for about two months before César went out there. They passed a proposition in the legislature similar to Proposition 22 here. So I called César up to ask him to come to a rally. I said "The governor's going to sign the bill but maybe if you come we can at least make a good protest." So we called the governor's office to tell him that César was going to be coming, and would he please give us the courtesy of meeting with us before he signed it. We thought we still might have a chance to stop it. Well, the governor knew that we were having this noon-time rally so he signed the bill at nine o'clock in the morning without even meeting with us. So what's happening now is we're getting everybody registered to vote, we're going to recall the governor and turn the state upside down. We organized the whole state just because the governor signed the stupid bill. So you might say that they win because they make us come out to the cities, but maybe while we're here, we're organizing too. Every time they try to do something against the union it works in our favor.

The main thing they keep us from doing is working with the farm workers. We'd be going after other growers and going to other states but we can't do that right now. But maybe that's the way it's supposed to happen. It's like this letter that this farm worker wrote me. "Dice que parece que estamos siguiendo un mandamiento de Dios" [They say that it seems that we are following a command from God]. We see these things as bad things that are happening to us right now but maybe they're good things and we can't see them that way because God wants us to do them. Every time we had some problem that kept us from ending the grape strike, I'd always tell César it's because God wants us to organize something else before the grape strike is over.

We've been working more and more with the Democratic party, because it's been the more liberal of the two parties. We depended on the Democrats to pass all those bills I told you about. You hardly ever get Republicans to vote for you. We live in a practical world, in a world of survival. And when the Democrats do us dirt, "también los atacamos a ellos" [we'll attack them also], although on an individual basis. So we maintain a certain amount of independence because our first responsibility is to the farm workers.

It's not true that both parties are just as bad for Chicanos, because the few benefits that we have gotten have come through the Democratic party. The only thing I have to say to people who attack the Democrats is that they should attack the Republicans. They should be going after Nixon, after Secretary of Agriculture Butz, after Reagan and all of these Republicans in the valley who vote against us every single time. That's who they should be going after, not after the guys who are trying to help us.

On the other hand, if anybody needs straightening up in the Democratic

party, we straighten them up. We went after certain guys, like Alex García who's a Mexican, and we almost got him defeated. He won by two hundred votes, and if it wouldn't have been for the fast in Arizona and our work on the McGovern campaign, we would have beaten Alex García, and Alex knows it.

I think that if people are dissatisfied with the Democratic party they should get involved and take it over. I've told Assemblyman Moretti that he can make a decision either for or against the poor people, and that if he's against us we're going to fight him. But you can't go saying this to Reagan. He won't even meet with us.

There were some problems at the Democratic Convention. It was really unfortunate because there was a little clique that was trying to put down McGovern. The rumor was going around that McGovern wouldn't talk to Chicanos. Well, this was ridiculous because in East Los Angeles McGovern would go to every little place Chicanos wanted him to go, and speak to them. But there were people who were spreading this rumor around. I think they were part of the Nixon sabotage squad! . . .

I know that the farm worker issue is not the only Chicano issue. But in terms of the visibility of the Chicano issues, I think first of all there wasn't an agreement among the Chicanos themselves on what the issues were. Some people talked about bilingual education, other people talked about something else. I don't know, there just wasn't that much of a consensus on what we wanted to make public. So, I talked to Senator McGovern's staff, Frank Mankiewicz and some other people, and I told them that Chicanos wanted more visibility there. Naturally, they turned to me and said they wanted me to make a seconding speech for Eagleton or somebody. And I told them that I didn't want to be in the limelight, that other Chicanos wanted the focus. So that's when they had Mondragón make the speech he made.

I would say the Chicanos were disorganized. They had a platform with a lot of Chicano issues which they wanted to submit. But it was put together kind of fast, I think. You didn't have a kind of cohesiveness. But that's not unusual, you see, because in the black caucus you had the same kind of divisions.

Understanding that Chicanos have to come from all walks of life, from different experiences and different communities, you're not always going to get everybody to think the same. I think the Chicano caucus they had in San Jose is a good idea, where you can get Chicanos to decide the two or three priorities we want for California and get everybody to push together on them. But again, you got too many factions going. Everybody wants their own thing.

We're just now reaching a level where we can get mature political participation. We're going to get it as people get more interested in politics and make it a life-long thing, like Art Flores who ran against Alex García in East Los Angeles. Art really likes politics and he wants to do the right thing and he's not afraid to tell a guy he's an s.o.b. Then there's Peter Chacón, who's an assemblyman, "pero es muy cobarde" [but he is very cowardly]. When people are doing something against Chicanos he's afraid to tell them so, because he says he has to rely on a lot of white votes. So he lets them tell *him* what to do. But if we would have had fifteen Chicanos in California who were really involved in politics, "pero que no fueran miedosos" [but who were not afraid], the whole McGovern campaign would have been run by Chicanos. But we didn't have enough guys who had the political savvy.

But that's all going to change. If you ever get a chance, go down to Parlier. Chicanos turned around the whole city council there. So when the farm workers set up a picket line in Parlier, the cops wouldn't even come near us. There's a whole change in the picture because those people exercised their political power, they participated in democracy.

The worst thing that I see is guys who say, "Man, they don't have no Chicanos up there and they're not doing this or that for Chicanos." But the "vatos" are just criticizing and they're not in there working to make sure that it happens. We criticize and separate ourselves from the process. We've got to jump right in there with both feet.

Most of the people doing the work for us are *gabachillos* [nice Anglos]. When we get Chicano volunteers it's really great. But the Chicanos who come down to work with the farm workers have some hang-ups, especially the guys that come out of college. "En primer lugar, le tienen miedo a la gente" [in the first place, they are afraid of the people]. Unless they come out of the farm worker communities themselves, they get down there and they're afraid of the people. I don't know why it happens, but they're afraid to deal with them. But you have to deal with them like people, not like they were saints. The Chicano guys who come down here have a very tough time adjusting. They don't want to relate to the poor farm workers anymore. They tried so hard to get away from that scene and they don't want to go back to it.

We have a lot of wonderful people working with us. But we need a lot more because we have a whole country to organize. If the people can learn to organize within the union, they can go back to their own communities and organize. We have to organize La Raza in East Los Angeles. We have to do it. We have one thousand farm workers in there right now organizing for the boycott. In the future, we would very much like to organize around an issue that isn't a farm worker issue. But we just can't because we just don't have the time.

Maybe some day we can finish organizing the farm workers, but it's going so slow because of all the fights we have to get into. We'll have a better idea of where we're at once the lettuce boycott is won. See, there's about two hundred to three hundred growers involved in the lettuce boycott. The same growers who grow lettuce grow vegetables like artichokes and broccoli. So if we get that out of the way we'll have about one third of the state of California organized. That's a big chunk. From there, hopefully, we can move on to the citrus and get that out of the way. We have to move into other states, like we did into Arizona.

It would seem that with the Republicans in for another four years, though, we'll have a lot of obstacles. Their strategy was to get Chicanos into the Republican party. But we refuse to meet with, for example, Henry Ramírez [chairman of the President's Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish-Speaking]. He went around and said a lot of terrible things about us at the campuses back east. He thought that we didn't have any friends back there. But we do, and they wrote us back and told us that he was saying that the farm workers didn't want the union, that César was a Communist, and just a lot of stupid things. This is supposed to be a responsible man.

Then there is Philip Sánchez [National director of the Office of Economic Opportunity]. I went to his home in Fresno once when a labor contractor shot this farm worker. I was trying to get the D.A.'s office to file a complaint against the la-

bor contractor. So I went to see Philip Sánchez to see if he could help me. But the guy wouldn't help me. Later when the growers got this group of labor contractors together to form a company union against us, Sánchez went and spoke to their meeting. It came out in the paper that he was supporting their organization. As far as I'm concerned, Philip Sánchez has already come out against the farm workers.

It's really funny. Some of the *Puerto Riqueños* who are in the President's Committee for the Spanish-speaking, man, they *tell* the administration what the Puerto Ricans need. "Se pelean con ellos" [They fight with them]. But the Chicanos don't. They're caught. They just become captives.

I spoke to a lot of the guys in Washington who were in these different poverty programs. Some of the Chicanos had been dropped in their positions of leadership. They put [other] guys over [the Chicanos]. . . . they put watchdogs on them to make sure that they don't do anything that really helps the farm workers. The guys are really afraid because there's just a few jobs and they can be easily replaced. They're worse off than the farm workers, you see. The farm workers at least have the will to fight. They're not afraid to go out on strike and lose their jobs. But the guy who has a nice fat job and is afraid to go out and fight, well, they've made him a worse slave than the farm worker.

An ex-priest told me one time that César should really be afraid somebody might write a book to expose him. I said, "Don't even kid yourself that César is afraid of anybody because he's not. The only ones who might scare him are God and his wife, Helen. But besides them he's not afraid of anyone."

He's got so much damn courage, "y así come es él" [and he is as he is]. That's the way the farm workers are. They have this incredible strength. I feel like a big phony because I'm over here talking and they're out there in the streets right now, walking around in the rain getting people to vote. "Son tan dispuestos a sufrir" [They are so ready to suffer], and they take whatever they have to take because they have no escape hatch.

Being poor and not having anything just gives an incredible strength to people. The farm workers seem to be able to see around the corner, and César has that quality because he comes out of that environment. César's family were migrant workers. It was kind of the reverse of mine because they started with a farm in Yuma but lost it during the depression. They had to migrate all over the state to earn a living, and they had some really horrible times, worse than anything we ever suffered. So there was a lot more hardship in his background. But his family had a lot of luck. His mom and dad were really together all the time.

César always teases me. He says I'm a liberal. When he wants to get me mad he says, "You're not a Mexican," because he says I have a lot of liberal hang-ups in my head. And I know it's true. I am a logical person. I went to school and you learn that you have to weigh both sides and look at things objectively. But the farm workers know that wrong is wrong. They know that there's evil in the world and that you have to fight evil. They call it like it is.

When I first went to work in the fields after I had met Fred Ross, the first thing that happened was that I was propositioned by a farmer. People who work in the fields have to take this every day of their lives, but I didn't know how to handle it. So I wondered if I should be there at all, because I had gone to college. I had gone to college to get out of hard labor. Then all of a sudden there I was doing it again.

I feel glad now that I was able to do it. It's good my kids have done field work now, too, because they understand what it all means. I feel very humble with the farm workers. I think I've learned more from them than they would ever learn from me.

From La Voz del Pueblo (November–December 1972). Reprinted by permission.

Sexual Harassment: The Nature of the Beast, Anita Hill, 1992

The response to my Senate Judiciary Committee testimony has been at once heartwarming and heart-wrenching. In learning that I am not alone in experiencing harassment, I am also learning that there are far too many women who have experienced a range of inexcusable and illegal activities—from sexist jokes to sexual assault—on the job.

“The Nature of the Beast” describes the existence of sexual harassment, which is alive and well. A harmful, dangerous thing that can confront a woman at any time.

What we know about harassment, sizing up the beast:

Sexual harassment is pervasive . . .

1. It occurs today at an alarming rate. Statistics show that anywhere from 42% to 90% of women will experience some form of harassment during their employed lives.

2. It has been occurring for years.

3. Harassment crosses lines of race and class.

We know that harassment all too often goes unreported for a variety of reasons . . .

1. Unwillingness (for good reason) to deal with the expected consequences.

2. Self-blame.

3. Threats or blackmail by co-workers or employers.

4. What it boils down to in many cases is a sense of powerlessness that we experience in the workplace, and our acceptance of a certain level of inability to control our careers and professional destinies.

That harassment is treated like a woman's “dirty secret” is well known. We also know what happens when we “tell.” We know that when harassment is reported the common reaction is disbelief or worse . . .

1. Women who “tell” lose their jobs.

2. Women who “tell” become emotionally wasted.

3. Women who “tell” are not always supported by other women.

What we are learning about harassment requires recognizing this beast when we encounter it, and more. It requires looking the beast in the eye.

We are learning painfully that simply having laws against harassment on the books is not enough. The law, as it was conceived, was to provide a shield of protection for us. Yet the shield is failing us: many fear reporting, others feel it would do no good. The result is that less than 5% of women victims file claims of harassment.

As we are learning, enforcing the law alone won't terminate the problem. What we are seeking is equality of treatment in the workplace. Equality requires an expansion of our attitudes toward workers. Sexual harassment denies our treatment as equals and replaces it with treatment of women as objects of ego or power gratification.

We are learning that women are angry. The reasons for the anger are various and perhaps all too obvious . . .

1. We are angry because this awful thing called harassment exists in terribly harsh, ugly, demeaning, and even debilitating ways.

2. We are angry because for a brief moment we believed that if the law allowed for women to be hired in the workplace, and if we worked hard for our educations and on the job, equality would be achieved. We believed we would be respected as equals. Now we are realizing this is not true. The reality is that this powerful beast is used to perpetuate a sense of inequality, to keep women in their place, notwithstanding our increasing presence in the workplace.

What we have yet to explore about harassment is vast. It is what will enable us to slay the beast.

How do we capture the rage and turn it into positive energy? Through the power of women working together, whether it be in the political arena, or in the context of a lawsuit, or in community service. This issue goes well beyond partisan politics. Making the workplace a safer, more productive place for ourselves and our daughters should be on the agenda for each of us. It is something we can do for ourselves. It is a tribute, as well, to our mothers—and indeed a contribution we can make to the entire population.

I wish that I could take each of you on the journey that I've been on during all these weeks since the hearing. I wish that every one of you could experience the heartache and triumphs of each of those who have shared with me their experiences. I leave you with but a brief glimpse of what I've seen. I hope it is enough to encourage you to begin—or continue and persist with—your own exploration.

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Statement on Equal Pay Day, Linda Chavez-Thompson, 1998

Last September, the AFL-CIO—which with 5 1/2 million women members is the largest organization of working women in the country—asked working women in every kind of job—in every part of the country—to tell us about the biggest problem they face at work.

Ninety-nine percent said a top concern is equal pay.

And most women told us that despite the economic good times, it is just as hard now as it was five years ago to make ends meet. . . . or it's become even harder.

The truth is that working women need and deserve equal pay.

The wage gap between women and men is huge.

If it is not changed, the average 25-year-old working woman can expect to lose \$523,000 over the course of her work life.

That's enough to make a world of difference for most working families.

It can mean decent health care . . . a college education for the kids . . . a secure retirement . . . and simply being able to pay the monthly bills on time.

That is what the wage gap now takes from working women.

It's the price of unequal pay.

Patricia Hoersten knows what that's about.

Pat served lunch and dinner at a diner in Lima, Ohio. She got paid half of what the male servers got paid—because her supervisor thought she only needed extra money, not money to live on.

The tragedy is that there are millions of women who are experiencing the very same injustice.

Is this a women's issue?

It is—but it's also a family issue, because women's wages are essential to their families.

Most working women contribute half or more of their household's income. So when working women lose out, working families lose out.

The good news is that working women are joining together to fight for equal pay.

I've been able to hear from many of them.

One is Maria Olivas. She's a clerical worker at Columbia University.

Maria worked with her union to make sure that her employer disclosed how much it paid men and women for the same job. They found out that men were paid \$1,500 more than women for the same job. After a long struggle, they were able to win equal pay.

There are lots more like her.

Grocery store clerks at Publix Supermarkets won \$80 million in back pay because they were not getting equal pay and promotions.

But no woman should have to fight by herself for equal pay.

That's why the AFL-CIO has launched a nationwide grassroots campaign to fight for women's wages.

That's why the union movement is making equal pay one of the main goals of our 1998 Agenda for Working Families.

And that's why the AFL-CIO applauds, supports, and will work to enact the legislation being introduced by Senator Tom Daschle and Representative Rosa DeLauro.

This legislation will give women an important weapon to battle wage discrimination and to help close the wage gap. It's about time.

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Appendix 2: Facts and Statistics

Table A.1 Number of Women in Congress^A

Congress	House of Representatives	Senate
65th (1917–1919)	1 (0D, 1R)	0 (0D, 0R)
66th (1919–1921)	0 (0D, 0R)	0 (0D, 0R)
67th (1921–1923)	3 (0D, 3R)	1 (1D, 0R)
68th (1923–1925)	1 (0D, 1R)	0 (0D, 0R)
69th (1925–1927)	3 (1D, 2R)	0 (0D, 0R)
70th (1927–1929)	5 (2D, 3R)	0 (0D, 0R)
71st (1929–1931)	9 (5D, 4R)	0 (0D, 0R)
72nd (1931–1933)	7 (5D, 2R)	1 (1D, 0R)
73rd (1933–1935)	7 (4D, 3R)	1 (1D, 0R)
74th (1935–1937)	6 (4D, 2R)	2 (2D, 0R)
75th (1937–1939)	6 (5D, 1R)	2 (1D, 1R)
76th (1939–1941)	8 (4D, 4R)	1 (1D, 0R)
77th (1941–1943)	9 (4D, 5R)	1 (1D, 0R)
78th (1943–1945)	8 (2D, 6R)	1 (1D, 0R)
79th (1945–1947)	11 (6D, 5R)	0 (0D, 0R)
80th (1947–1949)	7 (3D, 4R)	1 (0D, 1R)
81st (1949–1951)	9 (5D, 4R)	1 (0D, 1R)
82nd (1951–1953)	10 (4D, 6R)	1 (0D, 1R)
83rd (1953–1955)	11 (5D, 6R)	2 (0D, 2R)
84th (1955–1957)	16 (10D, 6R)	1 (0D, 1R)
85th (1957–1959)	15 (9D, 6R)	1 (0D, 1R)
86th (1959–1961)	17 (9D, 8R)	2 (1D, 1R)
87th (1961–1963)	18 (11D, 7R)	2 (1D, 1R)
88th (1963–1965)	12 (6D, 6R)	2 (1D, 1R)
89th (1965–1967)	11 (7D, 4R)	2 (1D, 1R)
90th (1967–1969)	11 (6D, 5R)	1 (0D, 1R)

Table A.1 Number of Women in Congress (continued)

Congress	House of Representatives	Senate
91st (1969–1971)	10 (6D, 4R)	1 (0D, 1R)
92nd (1971–1973)	13 (10D, 3R)	2 (1D, 1R)
93rd (1973–1975)	16 (14D, 2R)	0 (0D, 0R)
94th (1975–1977)	19 (14D, 5R)	0 (0D, 0R)
95th (1977–1979)	18 (13D, 5R)	2 (2D, 0R)
96th (1979–1981)	16 (11D, 5R)	1 (0D, 1R)
97th (1981–1983)	21 (11D, 10R)	2 (0D, 2R)
98th (1983–1985)	22 (13D, 9R)	2 (0D, 2R)
99th (1985–1987)	23 (12D, 11R)	2 (0D, 2R)
100th (1987–1989)	23 (12D, 11R)	2 (1D, 1R)
101st (1989–1991)	29 (16D, 13R)	2 (1D, 1R)
102nd (1991–1993)	28 (19D, 9R)	4 (3D, 1R)
103rd (1993–1995)	47 (35D, 12R)	7 (5D, 2R)
104th (1995–1997)	47 (30D, 17R)	8 (5D, 3R)
105th (1997–1999)	51 (35D, 16R)	9 (6D, 3R)
106th (1999–2001)	56 (39D, 17R)	9 (6D, 3R)

Note: A. This table shows the maximum number of women serving at one time. It does not include delegates from territories or Washington, D.C. Some of the women filled unexpired terms and others were not sworn into office.

Source: Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

Table A.2 Women of Color in Congress

Congressmember	Heritage	Years Served
Patsy Takemoto Mink (D-HI)	Japanese American	1965–
Shirley Chisholm (D-NY)	African American	1969–1983
Yvonne Burke (D-CA)	African American	1973–1979
Barbara Jordan (D-TX)	African American	1973–1979
Cardiss Collins (D-IL)	African American	1973–1997
Katie Hall (D-IN)	African American	1982–1985
Patricia F. Saiki (D-HI)	Japanese American	1987–1991
Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL)	Cuban American	1989–
Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC)	African American	1991–
Barbara-Rose Collins (D-MI)	African American	1991–1997
Maxine Waters (D-CA)	African American	1991–
Carol Moseley Braun (D-IL)	African American	1993–1999
Corrine Brown (D-FL)	African American	1993–
Carrie Meek (D-FL)	African American	1993–
Cynthia McKinney (D-GA)	African American	1993–
Eva Clayton (D-NC)	African American	1993–
Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX)	African American	1993–
Lucille Roybal-Allard (D-CA)	Mexican American	1993–
Nydia Velasquez (D-NY)	Puerto Rican American	1993–
Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX)	African American	1995–
Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA)	African American	1996–
Julia Carson (D-IN)	African American	1997–
Donna Christian-Green (D-VI)	African American	1997–
Carolyn C. Kilpatrick (D-MI)	African American	1997–
Loretta Sanchez (D-CA)	Mexican American	1997–
Barbara Lee (D-CA)	African American	1998–
Stephanie Tubbs-Jones (D-OH)	African American	1998–
Grace Napolitano (D-CA)	Mexican American	1998–

Note: Eleanor Holmes Norton and Donna Christian-Green are delegates from the District of Columbia and the Virgin Islands, respectively.

Source: Martin, *Almanac of Women and Minorities in American Politics* (1999) and Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

Table A.3 Women in Congressional Leadership Roles

U.S. Senate

106th Congress 1999–2001

Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA), Deputy Minority Whip
Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX), Senate Deputy Majority Whip
Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), Secretary of the Senate Democratic
Conference
Senator Olympia Snowe (R-ME), Secretary of the Senate Republican Conference

105th Congress 1997–1999

Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX), Senate Deputy Majority Whip
Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), Secretary of the Senate Democratic
Conference
Senator Olympia Snowe (R-ME), Secretary of the Senate Republican
Conference

104th Congress 1995–1997

Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX), Senate Deputy Whip
Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), Secretary of the Senate Democratic
Conference

103rd Congress 1993–1995

Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA), Deputy Majority Whip
Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), Assistant Senate Democratic Floor Leader

U.S. House of Representatives

106th Congress 1999–2001

Representative Barbara Cubin (R-WY), House Deputy Majority Whip
Representative Diana DeGette (D-CO), House Deputy Minority Whip
Representative Rosa DeLauro (D-CT), Assistant to the Democratic Leader
Representative Tillie Fowler (R-FL), Vice Chairman of the House Republican
Conference
Representative Kay Granger (R-TX), Assistant Majority Whip
Representative Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX), Democratic Deputy Whip
Representative Nita Lowey (D-NY), Minority Whip At-Large
Representative Deborah Pryce (R-OH), House Republican Conference Secretary
Representative Louise Slaughter (D-NY), Minority Whip-At-Large
Representative Lynn Woolsey (D-CA), House Deputy Minority Whip

105th Congress 1997–1999

Representative Eva Clayton (D-NC), Co-chair of the House Democratic Policy
Committee
Representative Barbara Cubin (R-WY), House Deputy Majority Whip
Representative Rosa DeLauro (D-CT), House Chief Deputy Minority Whip
Representative Jennifer Dunn (R-WA), Vice Chair of the House Republican
Conference
Representative Tillie Fowler (R-FL), House Deputy Majority Whip
Representative Kay Granger (R-TX), Assistant Majority Whip
Representative Barbara Kennelly (D-CT), Vice Chair of the Democratic Caucus
Representative Nita Lowey (D-NY), Minority Whip At-Large
Representative Susan Molinari (R-NY), Vice Chair of the House Republican
Conference

104th Congress 1995–1997

Representative Eva Clayton (D-NC), Co-chair of the House Democratic Policy Committee

Representative Barbara Cubin (R-WY), House Deputy Majority Whip

Representative Rosa DeLauro (D-CT), House Chief Deputy Minority Whip

Representative Tillie Fowler (R-FL), House Deputy Majority Whip

Representative Barbara Kennelly (D-CT), Vice Chair of the Democratic Caucus

Representative Nita Lowey (D-NY), Minority Whip At-Large

Representative Susan Molinari (R-NY), Vice Chair of the House Republican Conference

Representative Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV), Secretary of the House Republican Conference

103rd Congress 1993–1995

Representative Nancy L. Johnson (R-CT), Secretary of the Republican Conference

Representative Barbara Kennelly (D-CT), House Democratic Chief Deputy Whip

102nd Congress 1991–1993

Representative Barbara Kennelly (D-CT), House Democratic Chief Deputy Whip

100th Congress 1987–1989

Representative Lynn Martin (R-IL), Vice Chairman of the House Republican Conference

Representative Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH), Vice Chair of the House Democratic Caucus

99th Congress 1985–1987

Representative Lynn Martin (R-IL), Vice Chairman of the House Republican Conference

Representative Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH), Secretary of the House Democratic Caucus

98th Congress 1983–1985

Representative Geraldine Ferraro (D-NY), Secretary of the House Democratic Caucus

97th Congress 1981–1983

Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-NY), Secretary of the House Democratic Caucus

86th to 93rd Congresses 1959–1975

Representative Leonor K. Sullivan (D-MO), Secretary of the Democratic Caucus

83rd, 84th and 88th Congresses 1953–1957 and 1963–1965

Representative Edna F. Kelly (D-NY), Secretary of the Democratic Caucus

81st Congress 1949–1951

Representative Chase G. Woodhouse (D-CT), Secretary of the Democratic Caucus

Note: Additional information from Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989, U.S. Government Printing Office, Women in the United States Congress, Congressional Research Service and Congressional Women's Websites.

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Table A.4 Women Appointed to Cabinet Positions¹

Appointee	Position	Appointed By	Dates
Frances Perkins	Secretary of Labor	F. D. Roosevelt (D)	1933–1945
Oveta Culp Hobby	Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare	Eisenhower (R)	1953–1955
Carla Anderson Hills	Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	Ford (R)	1975–1977
Juanita A. Kreps	Secretary of Commerce	Carter (D)	1977–1979
Patricia R. Harris	Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	Carter (D)	1977–1979
Patricia R. Harris	Secretary of Health and Human Services	Carter (D)	1979–1981
Shirley M. Hufstedler	Secretary of Education	Carter (D)	1979–1981
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	U.N. Ambassador ²	Reagan (R)	1981–1985
Margaret M. Heckler	Secretary of Health and Human Services	Reagan (R)	1983–1985
Elizabeth Hanford Dole	Secretary of Transportation	Reagan (R)	1983–1987
Ann Dore McLaughlin	Secretary of Labor	Reagan (R)	1987–1989
Elizabeth Hanford Dole	Secretary of Labor	Bush (R)	1989–1991
Carla Anderson Hills	Special Trade Representative ³	Bush (R)	1989–1993
Lynn Morley Martin	Secretary of Labor	Bush (R)	1991–1993
Barbara H. Franklin	Secretary of Commerce	Bush (R)	1992–1993
Madeleine K. Albright	U. N. Ambassador ²	Clinton (D)	1993–1997
Hazel R. O’Leary	Secretary of Energy	Clinton (D)	1993–1997
Alice M. Rivlin	Director, Office of Management and Budget	Clinton (D)	1994–1996
Laura D’Andrea Tyson	Chair, National Economic Council ⁴	Clinton (D)	1995–1997
Carol M. Browner	Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency ⁵	Clinton (D)	1993–
Janet Reno	Attorney General	Clinton (D)	1993–
Donna E. Shalala	Secretary of Health and Human Services	Clinton (D)	1993–
Madeleine K. Albright	Secretary of State	Clinton (D)	1997–
Aida Alvarez	Administrator, Small Business Administration ⁶	Clinton (D)	1997–

Charlene Barshefsky	U.S. Trade Representative ³	Clinton (D)	1997–
Alexis Herman	Secretary of Labor	Clinton (D)	1997–
Janet Yellen	Chair, Council of Economic Advisors	Clinton (D)	1997–

Notes: ¹Because each president defines cabinet-level differently, a combined figure for cabinet and cabinet-level positions is unavailable.

²The position of U.N. Ambassador was considered cabinet-level during the Reagan and Clinton administrations.

³The position of Special Trade Representative was considered cabinet-level during the Bush Administration, as is the U.S. Trade Representative in the Clinton administration.

⁴The position of Chair of the National Economic Council is a cabinet-level in the Clinton administration.

⁵The position of Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency is a cabinet-level position in the Clinton administration.

⁶The position of Administrator of the Small Business Administration is a cabinet-level position in the Clinton administration.

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Table A.5 Women in State Legislatures, 1895 to 1999

Year	Number of Women Legislators	Percentage of Total Legislators
1895	3	1.9
1897	6	2.7
1899	8	2.8
1901	1	0.3
1903	2	0.7
1905	0	0
1907	0	0
1909	2	0.6
1911	5	1.5
1913	11	1.9
1915	9	1.0
1917	12	1.1
1919	25	1.9
1921	39	1.0
1923	99	1.4
1925	141	1.9
1927	128	1.7
1929	150	2.0
1931	152	2.0
1933	136	1.8
1935	139	1.8
1937	147	2.0
1939	150	2.0
1941	154	2.1
1943	200	2.7
1945	236	3.2
1947	216	2.9
1949	220	2.9
1951	242	3.2
1953	299	4.0
1955	312	4.1
1957	317	4.2
1959	341	4.4
1961	325	4.2
1963	344	4.4
1965	377	4.8
1967	320	4.2
1969	315	4.1
1971	346	4.5
1973	444	5.9
1975	609	8.1
1977	703	9.3
1979	776	10.4
1981	912	12.2
1983	992	13.3

1985	1,101	14.8
1987	1,171	15.7
1989	1,268	17.0
1991	1,359	18.2
1993	1,527	20.6
1995	1,535	20.7
1997	1,605	21.6
1999	1,652	22.3

Note: Of the women state legislators currently serving, 248 (239D, 9R) or 15 percent are women of color: 171 African American, 48 Latina, 17 Asian American, and 12 Native American. Women of color constitute 3.4 percent of all state legislators.

Source: Cox, *Women State and Territorial Legislators* (1996); Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

Table A.6 Statewide Elective Executive Women, 1969–1999

Year	Total Women ^A	Total Women Party Breakdown ^{B,C}	Total Positions	Percent Women
1999	89	45D, 41R, 1RP, 2NP	323	27.6
1998	82	34D, 45R, 3NP	323	25.4
1997	82 ^D	34D, 45R, 3NP	323	25.4
1996	80 ^{E, F}	33D, 44R, 3NP	324	25.6
1995	84	36D, 45R, 3NP	324	25.9
1994	73	40D, 30R, 2NP, 1I	324	22.5
1993	72 ^G	42D, 27R, 2NP, 1I	324	22.2
1992	60 ^H	35D, 22R, 2NP, 1I	324	18.5
1991	59 ^{I, J, K}	34D, 22R, 2NP, 1I	324	18.2
1990	47 ^L	34D, 11R, 2NP	323	14.6
1989	46 ^M	34D, 11R, 1NP	322	14.3
1988	41 ^{N, O}	32D, 9R	322	12.7
1987	45 ^{P, Q, R}	36D, 9R	323	13.9
1986	45 ^S	34D, 11R	323	13.9
1985	43	32D, 11R	323	13.3
1984	38 ^T	26D, 12R	323	11.8
1983	34	24D, 10R	324	10.5
1982	34 ^{U, V}	25D, 9R	324	10.5
1981	34 ^W	25D, 9R	324	10.5
1980	34 ^{X, Y}	26D, 7R, 1NP	N/A	N/A
1979	35 ^Z	28D, 6R, 1NP	327	10.7
1978	32 ^{AA, BB, CC}	25D, 6R, 1NP	N/A	N/A
1977	33 ^{DD}	25D, 7R, 1NP	333	9.9
1976	32	24D, 7R, 1NP	N/A	N/A
1975	33	25D, 7R, 1NP	337	9.8
1974	26	18D, 7R, 1NP	N/A	N/A
1973	26	18D, 7R, 1NP	342	7.6
1972	24	18D, 6R	N/A	N/A
1971	24	18D, 6R	343	7.0
1970	24	15D, 9R	N/A	N/A
1969	23 ^{EE}	14D, 9R	346	6.6

Notes: ^AThese figures do not include: officials in appointive state cabinet-level positions (unless the appointment is to an elected position); officials elected to executive posts by the legislature; members of the judicial branch; or elected members of university Boards of Trustees or Boards of Education.

^B“NP” indicates an officeholder elected in a nonpartisan race; “I” indicates an independent; “RP” indicates Reform Party.

^CThe Minnesota Democratic Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party is included in the Democratic (D) figures; the Minnesota Independent Republican (IR) Party is included in the Republican (R) figures.

^DIncludes Jane Dee Hull (R-AZ), elected as Secretary of State who became governor in 9/97 through constitutional succession; as well as Betsey Bayless (R-AZ) who Hull appointed as Secretary of State in 9/97, and Denise Bode (R-OK) who was appointed to the Public Service Commission in 10/97. Does not include Gloria Tristani (D-NM), who resigned to take a post with the Federal Communications Commission in 11/97.

^EDoes not include Frances Jones Mills (D-KY), who died in office 1/15/96 while serving as State Treasurer.

^FDoes not include Martha Whitehead (D-TX), who abolished her office of State Treasurer 10/20/96, thereby fulfilling a campaign promise.

^GDoes not include Mary Sue Terry (D-VA), who resigned as Attorney General 1/28/93 to run for governor, or Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX), who resigned as State Treasurer 6/14/93 after she won a special election to the U.S. Senate. Does include Martha Whitehead (D-TX), who was appointed State Treasurer and took office 7/6/93; and Kim Robak (D-NE), who was appointed Lieutenant Governor and took office on 10/4/93.

^HDoes not include Lena Guerrero (D-TX), who resigned as Railroad Commissioner 9/25/92.

^IIncludes Lena Guerrero (D-TX), who was appointed to the Railroad Commission and took office 1/23/91.

^JIncludes Susan Loving (D-OK), who was appointed Attorney General and took office 6/21/91.

^KDoes not include Mary Stallcup (D-AR), who was appointed Attorney General 1/1/91 and, who left office 1/14/91.

^LIncludes Norma Paulus (NP-OR), who was appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction 10/1/90.

^MIncludes Clarine Nardie Riddle (D-CT), who was appointed Attorney General and took office 10/27/89.

^NDoes not include Clarine Nardie Riddle (D-CT), who was appointed acting Attorney General 12/22/88.

^OIncludes Rose Mofford (D-AZ), who became Governor 4/5/88 following the impeachment and conviction of Governor Evan Mecham (R). She had been serving as Secretary of State when she became Governor by constitutional succession.

^PIncludes Mary Landrieu (D-LA), who was elected State Treasurer in November 1987. Voters cast two ballots; one to finish an unexpired term for which she took office 11/30/87; the other for her own four year term which began 3/14/88.

^QDoes not include Mary Evelyn Parker (D-LA), who retired as State Treasurer 1/15/87.

^RDoes not include Ruth Meiers (D-ND), who died in office 3/19/87 while serving as Lieutenant Governor.

^SIncludes M. K. Heidi Heitkamp (D-ND), who was appointed Tax Commissioner and took office 2/2/86.

^TIncludes Margaret Kelly (R-MO), who was appointed State Auditor and took office 5/30/84.

^UDoes not include Barbara Kennelly (D-CT), who left her position as Secretary of State 1/12/82 to assume her seat in the U.S. House of Representatives.

^VIncludes Maura Melley (D-CT), who was appointed Secretary of State and took office 1/29/82.

^WIncludes Kay Orr (R-NE), who was appointed State Treasurer and took office 6/15/81.

^XDoes not include Juanita McDaniel (D-AL), who resigned as Public Service Commissioner 2/80.

^YIncludes Mary Jane Odell (R-IA), who was appointed Secretary of State 11/3/80.

^ZDoes not include Paula Hawkins (R-FL), who resigned as Public Service Commissioner 3/21/79.

^{AA}Does not include Elwill Shanahan (R-KS), who retired as Secretary of State 5/10/78.

^{BB}Does not include Melba Till Allen (D-AL), who left office as State Treasurer 6/78.

^{CC}Includes Annie Laurie Gunter (D-AL), who was appointed State Treasurer 6/78.

^{DD}Includes Rose Mofford (D-AZ), who was appointed Secretary of State and took office 10/20/77.

^{EE}Does not include Sarah Folsom (R-AZ), who died in office 6/11/69 while serving as Superintendent of Public Instruction.

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Fact Sheet 1 The Gender Gap
Voting Choices, Party Identification, and Presidential Performance Ratings

The “gender gap” refers to differences between women and men in political attitudes and voting choices. Although the gender gap has historical roots, political differences between women and men have increased in scope and shown greater persistence in recent years. A gender gap has been apparent in voting behavior, party identification, evaluations of performances of recent presidents, and attitudes toward various public policy issues.

Voting Choices in Recent Presidential Elections

The 1996 presidential election was marked by an 11 point gender gap, the largest ever recorded, with women favoring Bill Clinton and men preferring Bob Dole. In 1992, the gender gap was 4 points. In both 1996 and 1992, women were less likely than men to vote for Ross Perot. All three presidential elections held during the 1980s showed notable gender gaps. In each of these elections, fewer women than men voted for the victorious Republican candidate (by 6–9 percentage points).

Presidential Candidates	<i>Voter News Service*</i>	
	Women	Men
1996		
Bill Clinton	54%	43%
Bob Dole	38%	44%
Ross Perot	7%	10%
1992		
Bill Clinton	45%	41%
George Bush	37%	38%
Ross Perot	17%	21%

* *Voter News Service* is the service which was known as *Voter Research and Surveys* until 1993. It is referred to on this fact sheet by the newer name.

	<i>ABC News/ CBS News/ Washington Post</i>		<i>New York Times</i>		<i>NBC News</i>	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
1988						
George Bush	50%	57%	50%	57%	51%	57%
Michael Dukakis	49%	42%	49%	41%	49%	43%
1984						
Ronald Reagan	54%	62%	56%	62%	55%	64%
Walter Mondale	46%	38%	44%	37%	45%	36%
1980						
Ronald Reagan	47%	53%	46%	54%	47%	56%
Jimmy Carter	42%	35%	45%	37%	45%	36%
John Anderson	9%	9%	7%	7%	8%	8%

Voting Choices in U.S. House Races

In recent elections, women more often than men have voted Democratic in U.S. House races.

Voted for Democrat for U.S. House			
	Women	Men	Source
1996	53%	44%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
1994	54%	43%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
1992	55%	52%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
1990	52%	48%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
1988	48%	45%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
1986	54%	51%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
1984	49%	45%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
1982	57%	54%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>

Gender Gap a Factor in a Majority of Races

Elections in the 1990s show that the gender gap, which was evident throughout the 1980s in races around the country at various levels of office, continues to be a factor in a majority of races.

- In 1996, in 38 of the 49 races (78%) where *Voter News Service* (VNS) conducted exit polls on election day, there were gender gaps of at least four percentage points. There were gaps of this magnitude in 6 of 11 gubernatorial races, and in three of four at-large House races studied by VNS. In all but one of the 38 races with gender gaps, female voters were more supportive of Democratic candidates than were male voters.
- In 1994, in 51, or 81% of the 63 races where *Voter News Service* conducted exit polls on election day, there were gender gaps of at least four percentage points. In 49 of the 51 races with gender gaps, female voters were more supportive of the Democratic candidates than were male voters. In one of the two exceptions (the Ohio attorney general’s race), women voters supported a female Republican at a greater rate than did male voters.
- Similarly in 1992, in 34, or 67% of the 51 races where *Voter News Service* conducted exit polls on election day, there was a gender gap of at least four percentage points. In 30 of the 34 races, women voters supported Democratic candidates in larger numbers than did male voters. In one of the four exceptions, women voters supported a female Republican candidate at a greater rate than did male voters.
- Likewise in 1990, in 43, or 61% of the 70 races where *Voter News Service* conducted exit polls there was a gender gap of at least four percentage points. In all but four of the 43 races with a gender gap, women voters supported the Democratic candidates in larger numbers than did male voters. In three of the four exceptions, women voters supported Republican women candidates at a greater rate than did male voters.

Races with the Largest Gender Gaps

In 1996, the races with the largest gender gaps (over 12 percentage points) were senatorial races; two were won by Democratic men and one by a Republican woman. In the 1994 election, the races with the largest gender gaps (14 percentage

points in each case) were gubernatorial races with male candidates. In the 1992 and 1990 elections, the races with the largest gender gaps (14 to 16 percentage points) tended to be those with Democratic women candidates.

			<i>Voter News Service</i>		
			Women	Men	Results
1996					
GA	Senate	Max Cleland (D)	56%	41%	Won
		Guy Miller (R)	40%	55%	Lost
ME	Senate	John Brennan (D)	48%	39%	Lost
		Susan Collins (R)	43%	56%	Won
SD	Senate	Tim Johnson (D)	57%	45%	Won
		Larry Pressler (R)	42%	54%	Lost
1994					
AR	Governor	Jim Guy Tucker (D)	66%	52%	Won
		Sheffield Nelson (R)	34%	48%	Lost
KS	Governor	Jim Slattery (D)	43%	29%	Lost
		Bill Graves (R)	57%	71%	Won
MI	Governor	Howard Wolpe (D)	46%	32%	Lost
		John Engler (R)	54%	68%	Won
1992					
CA	Senate	Barbara Boxer (D)	57%	43%	Won
		Bruce Herschensohn (R)	37%	51%	Lost
CA	Senate	Dianne Feinstein (D)	64%	50%	Won
		John Seymour (R)	33%	46%	Lost
OR	Senate	Les AuCoin (D)	56%	40%	Lost
		Bob Packwood (R)	44%	60%	Won
1990					
CA	Governor	Dianne Feinstein (D)	58%	42%	Lost
		Pete Wilson (R)	42%	58%	Won
OR	Governor	Barbara Roberts (D)	56%	40%	Won
		Dave Frohnmayer (R)	29%	45%	Lost
TX	Governor	Ann Richards (D)	59%	44%	Won
		Clayton Williams (R)	41%	56%	Lost

Senate and Gubernatorial Races Where Women's Votes Provided the Margin of Victory

Below are U.S. Senate and gubernatorial winners from the past seven election cycles where election day voter polls indicated that women provided the margin of victory for winning candidates. In all but one of these races, women more often than men voted for the Democratic candidate. (In the 1990 Connecticut gubernatorial race, women favored the third party candidate.) In the races marked with an asterisk, men's votes were about evenly divided (within the margin of sampling error), while the women voters showed a clear preference for the Democratic candidate.

			Women	Men	Source
1996					
GA	Senate	Max Cleland (D)	56%	41%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
LA	Senate	Mary Landrieu (D)	54%	45%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
MT	Senate	Max Baucus (D)	52%	46%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
SD	Senate	Tim Johnson (D)	57%	45%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
IA*	Senate	Tom Harkin (D)	55%	49%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
MA*	Senate	John Kerry (D)	56%	47%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
MN*	Senate	Paul Wellstone (D)	55%	46%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
NC*	Senate	James H. Hunt (D)	61%	50%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
1994					
CA	Senate	Dianne Feinstein (D)	52%	41%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
NE*	Senate	Bob Kerrey (D)	59%	51%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
NJ	Senate	Frank Lautenberg (D)	55%	44%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
NM*	Senate	Jeff Bingaman (D)	59%	50%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
NV*	Senate	Richard H. Bryan (D)	54%	48%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
VA	Senate	Charles S. Robb (D)	50%	40%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
FL	Governor	Lawton Chiles (D)	55%	46%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
MD	Governor	Parris N. Glendening (D)	57%	44%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
OR*	Governor	John Kitzhaber (D)	57%	47%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
1992					
CA	Senate	Barbara Boxer (D)	57%	43%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
IL*	Senate	Carol Moseley-Braun (D)	58%	51%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
WA*	Senate	Patty Murray (D)	58%	51%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
WA	Governor	Mike Lowry (D)	57%	50%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
1990					
MN	Senate	Paul Wellstone (D)	52%	46%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
NJ	Senate	Bill Bradley (D)	54%	49%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
CT	Governor	Lowell Weicker (ACP)	42%	38%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
OR	Governor	Barbara Roberts (D)	56%	40%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
TX	Governor	Ann Richards (D)	59%	44%	<i>Voter News Service</i>
1988					
CT	Senate	Joseph Lieberman (D)	51%	48%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
NJ	Senate	Frank Lautenberg (D)	51%	44%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
NV	Senate	Richard Bryan (D)	56%	43%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
WI	Senate	Herbert Kohl (D)	54%	50%	<i>NBC News</i>
1986					
AL	Senate	Richard Shelby* (D)	50%	47%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
CA	Senate	Alan Cranston (D)	53%	47%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
CO	Senate	Timothy Wirth (D)	53%	48%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
GA	Senate	Wyche Fowler, Jr. (D)	50%	46%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
LA	Senate	John Breaux (D)	56%	49%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
NV	Senate	Harry Reid (D)	54%	45%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
NC	Senate	Terry Sanford (D)	53%	49%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
ND	Senate	Kent Conrad (D)	53%	45%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
WA	Senate	Brock Adams (D)	52%	47%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
PA	Governor	Bob Casey (D)	52%	48%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>

*Senator Shelby won his 1986 and 1992 races as a Democrat; he switched parties to become a Republican in 1994.

			Women	Men	Source
1984					
IL	Senate	Paul Simon (D)	55%	46%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
IA	Senate	Tom Harkin (D)	53%	49%	<i>ABC News/ Washington Post</i>
MI	Senate	Carl Levin (D)	52%	47%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
VT	Governor	Madeleine Kunin (D)	1%	42%	<i>CBS News/NY Times</i>
1982					
MI	Governor	James Blanchard (D)	56%	47%	<i>NBC News</i>
NY	Governor	Mario Cuomo (D)	56%	48%	<i>NBC News</i>
TX	Governor	Mark White (D)	57%	50%	<i>NBC News</i>

Party Identification

Larger proportions of women than of men are Democrats.

	Democrats		Republicans		Source
	Women	Men	Women	Men	
April 1997	36%	26%	26%	31%	<i>Gallup Report/CNN</i>
June 1996	44%	33%	26%	29%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
June 1995	31%	25%	29%	36%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
June 1994	38%	34%	25%	29%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
June 1993	38%	30%	28%	30%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
June 1992	36%	29%	32%	34%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
May 1991	38%	26%	28%	31%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
May 1990	38%	28%	30%	32%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
June 1989	36%	32%	31%	31%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
May 1988	41%	32%	29%	31%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
May 1987	44%	35%	30%	31%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
June 1986	40%	35%	29%	28%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
May 1985	38%	30%	31%	28%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
April 1984	40%	37%	28%	31%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>
June 1983	43%	32%	21%	25%	<i>CBS News/New York Times</i>

A significant gender gap is also evident among the youngest voters (ages 18-24). Among those voters who identify with a party, a larger proportion of women identify themselves as Democrats and a larger proportion of men identify themselves as Republicans.

Democrats		Republicans		Independents	
Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
38%	23%	24%	35%	35%	39%

Source: The Public Perspective, June/July 1996 (drawn from Gallup)

Presidential Performance Ratings

Throughout Bill Clinton's term in office, a gender gap has sometimes been apparent, with women more likely than men to support Clinton. At other times no gender gap has been evident.

Approve of the way Clinton is handling his job as President

	Women	Men	Source
April 1997	59%	50%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
March 1996	57%	47%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
December 1995	53%	49%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
May 1995	53%	48%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
January 1995	51%	43%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
July 1994	43%	42%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
June 1994	49%	42%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
April 1994	48%	48%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
November 1993	49%	46%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
July 1993	45%	38%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
February 1993	61%	57%	<i>Gallup Report</i>

Women were less likely to approve of George Bush's and Ronald Reagan's performances as President.

Approve of the way Bush is handling his job as President

	Women	Men	Source
July 1992	30%	33%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
July 1991	69%	72%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
July 1990	61%	66%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
July 1989	61%	72%	<i>Gallup Report</i>

Approve of the way Reagan is handling his job as President

	Women	Men	Source
July 1988	43%	59%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
July 1987	44%	54%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
July 1986	58%	69%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
July 1985	60%	65%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
July 1984	49%	59%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
July 1983	34%	51%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
July 1982	38%	48%	<i>Gallup Report</i>
July 1981	55%	63%	<i>Gallup Report</i>

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Fact Sheet 2 Gender Gap Evident in Numerous 1998 Races*

In 72% (47 of 65) races where Voter News Service (VNS) conducted exit polls on election day, there were gender gaps of at least four percentage points - that is, a difference of at least four percentage points between the proportion of women's and men's votes garnered by the winner. There were gender gaps of this magnitude in 70% (23 of 33) gubernatorial races and in 75% (24 of 32) senatorial races. (See table entitled "Election 1998: Exit Poll Results by Gender in Races Where Voter News Service Conducted Exit Polls.") In all but 3 of the 47 races with gender gaps, female voters were more supportive of Democratic candidates than were male voters.

Outcomes Affected by Gender Gaps

There were thirteen races where a majority of women voted for a different candidate than did the majority of men. Five Democratic candidates owe their victories to women and eight victorious Republicans to men. (See table entitled "1998 Races Where Female and Male Voters Made a Different Voting Choices.")

VNS reports an average margin of error of four percentage points for its statewide polls. Using this standard, there are an additional six races where the votes of one sex were about evenly divided between the candidates while the votes of the other sex more clearly favored one candidate over the other. Among those races, there were four where men were about evenly divided and the Democratic candidates preferred by women won; there were two races where women were about evenly divided and the Republican candidates preferred by men won. (See table entitled "1998 Races Where Female and Male Voters May Have Made Different Voting Choices.")

Races with the Largest Gender Gaps

In fourteen races, the gender gaps exceeded ten percentage points. In three of those races, women's votes determined the winners: Senate races in New York and North Carolina where Charles Schumer (D) and John Edwards (D) won, and the gubernatorial race in Maryland, where Parris Glendening (D) won. In four gubernatorial races with large gender gaps, men's votes determined the winners: Bill Owens (R-CO); Jeb Bush (R-FL); A. Paul Cellucci (R-MA); and Robert Taft (R-OH). In the other seven races with gender gaps larger than ten percentage points, majorities of women and men favored the same candidates but by widely divergent margins. Those contests included the Senate races of: John Breaux (D-LA); Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-CO); Christopher Dodd (D-CT); Byron Dorgan (D-ND); Barbara Mikulski (D-MD); and two gubernatorial races: John Kitzhaber (D-OR); Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH).

Women Candidates

VNS conducted exit polls in nine of the ten Senate races involving women candidates. (VNS did not poll in Hawaii.) In eight of these races, there were gender gaps. Women voters were more supportive of Democratic women candidates in five races: Barbara Boxer (D-CA); Blanche Lincoln (D-AR); Barbara Mikulski (D-MD); Carol Moseley-Braun (D-IL); and Patty Murray (D-WA). All of these candidates except Moseley-Braun won their Senate races. In two races with Republi-

can women candidates (ND and WA), women voters were more likely than men to support the Democratic candidates.

VNS conducted exit polls in nine of the ten gubernatorial races involving women candidates. There were gender gaps in six of those races: Colorado, Connecticut, Maryland, Nevada, New Hampshire and Oklahoma. Women voted for women gubernatorial nominees in Arizona, Colorado, Nevada and New Hampshire. In three races, the majority of women voters favored the Democratic male candidate: Maryland, Rhode Island and Vermont.

*The data used for this article are from Voter News Service (VNS) which conducted exit polls in 65 races. VNS reports an average margin of error of four percentage points for its statewide polls; the margin of error for part of the sample (e.g. female or male voters) may be greater.

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Chronology

- 1638 The General Court of Massachusetts Bay banishes Anne Hutchinson.
- 1648 Margaret Brent unsuccessfully seeks to have two votes in the Maryland Assembly.
- 1769 The Daughters of Liberty begin supporting the Nonimportation Agreement.
- 1776 Abigail Adams tells John Adams to remember the ladies and limit their husbands' power over them.
New Jersey grants women the right to vote in its state constitution.
- 1777 New York defines voters as free, white, male citizens.
- 1780 Massachusetts defines voters as free, white, male citizens.
- 1783 New Jersey grants women suffrage rights.
- 1784 New Hampshire defines voters as free, white, male citizens.
- 1792 *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* by Mary Wollstonecraft is published in the United States.
- 1807 The New Jersey legislature disenfranchises women.
- 1821 Connecticut makes abortion after quickening illegal.
The first women's college-level institution, Troy Female Seminary, opens.
- 1826 The American Society for the Promotion of Temperance is founded.
- 1829 Fanny Wright becomes the first female speaker in the United States.
- 1833 Lydia Maria Child publishes *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of*

- 1833 *Americans Called Africans*, the first antislavery book by a northern abolitionist calling for the immediate emancipation of the nation's 2 million slaves.
- The Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia is founded.
- 1834 Lowell mill girls strike.
- 1839 Mississippi passes the first married women's property law in the nation.
- 1848 The first women's rights convention is held in Seneca Falls, New York.
- 1849 Amelia Bloomer starts publishing the *Lily*, a temperance newspaper and the first newspaper in the United States owned, edited, and published by a woman.
- 1850 Harriet Tubman begins leading slaves to freedom.
- The first national women's rights convention is held in Worcester, Massachusetts.
- 1851 Sojourner Truth addresses a women's rights convention in Akron, Ohio, making what becomes known as her "Ain't I a Woman" speech.
- 1853 Lucy Stone keeps her own name after marriage; other women who keep their names are known as Lucy Stoners.
- 1859 The American Medical Association announces its opposition to abortion.
- Kansas territory grants women the right to vote in school elections.
- 1860 Connecticut becomes the first state to prohibit all abortions.
- 1866 The Fourteenth Amendment is passed by Congress, defining citizens as male for the first time.
- The American Equal Rights Association is founded. It is the first organization in the United States to advocate national woman suffrage.
- Elizabeth Cady Stanton is the first woman to run for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, running as an independent. No woman, including herself, could vote for her.
- 1868 Sorosis, the first professional women's club, is founded.
- Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton begin publishing *The Revolution*.
- 1869 The National Woman Suffrage Association is founded.
- The American Woman Suffrage Association is founded.
- Wyoming Territory grants women the rights to vote and to hold public office.
- 1870 The American Woman Suffrage Association begins publishing *The Woman's Journal*.

- The Fifteenth Amendment is added to the Constitution. It does not specifically exclude women from voting, and several women attempt to vote.
- Utah Territory grants women suffrage.
- 1872 Victoria Claflin Woodhull becomes the first woman presidential candidate.
- Susan B. Anthony and fourteen other women register and vote, testing whether or not the Fourteenth Amendment can be interpreted as protecting women's rights.
- Congress passes a law to give female federal employees equal pay for equal work.
- 1873 In *Bradwell v. Illinois*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that states can restrict women from practicing any profession in the interest of "preserv[ing] family harmony and uphold[ing] the law of the Creator."
- Congress passes the Comstock law, defining contraceptive information as obscene material.
- 1874 The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is founded.
- 1875 In *Minor v. Happersett*, the U.S. Supreme Court rejects the argument that the Fourteenth Amendment grants women voting rights.
- 1878 The woman suffrage amendment, known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, is introduced in the U.S. Congress for the first time.
- 1879 Belva Lockwood successfully lobbies Congress to pass legislation permitting women to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court. She becomes the first woman admitted to practice before the Court.
- 1884 Belva Lockwood, presidential candidate of the National Equal Rights Party, becomes the first woman to receive votes in a presidential election.
- 1887 The U.S. Senate debates and defeats the woman suffrage amendment.
- Utah women lose the suffrage rights granted them in 1870.
- 1889 Jane Addams opens Hull House in Chicago.
- 1890 The National American Woman Suffrage Association is formed by the merger of the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association.
- The General Federation of Women's Clubs is founded.
- Wyoming becomes a state with woman suffrage.
- 1893 The National Council of Jewish Women is founded.
- Colorado women gain suffrage rights.
- Mary Elizabeth Lease is the first female candidate for the U.S. Senate, running on the Populist Party ticket.

- 1893 *cont.* Laura J. Eisenhuth becomes the first woman elected to statewide office by male and female voters when she is elected North Dakota's superintendent of public instruction.
- 1894 Clara Cressingham, Carrie C. Holly, and Frances Klock, all Republican, are elected to serve in the Colorado House of Representatives, the first women elected to serve in a state legislature.
- 1895 The National Federation of Afro-American Women is founded.
- 1896 The National Association of Colored Women is founded.
- Idaho women gain suffrage rights.
- Utah reinstates woman suffrage.
- The first woman state senator in the nation, Martha Hughes, is elected to the Utah legislature.
- 1899 The National Consumers League is founded.
- 1900 The first official women delegates (one each) attend the Democratic National Convention and Republican National Convention.
- 1907 The Women's Trade Union League is founded.
- Kate Barnard is the first woman elected to statewide office by male-only voters when she becomes commissioner of charities and collections in Oklahoma.
- 1908 The Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority is founded.
- The U.S. Supreme Court decides that "sex is a valid basis for classification" in employment and that protective legislation is constitutional in *Muller v. Oregon*.
- 1909 The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is founded.
- 1910 Washington state grants women suffrage.
- 1911 The Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire in New York City takes 145 women employees' lives and leads to the state legislature limiting the workweek to fifty-four hours and enacting a new industrial code.
- California grants women suffrage.
- 1912 Congress creates the Children's Bureau, and as its first director, Julia C. Lathrop is the first woman to head a major federal bureau.
- Tye Leung is the first Asian American woman to vote in a presidential election, in California, which granted women the right to vote in 1911.
- Kansas, Oregon, and Arizona grant women suffrage.
- The Progressive Party supports woman suffrage.

- 1913 Alice Paul and Lucy Burns form the Congressional Union, which later becomes the National Woman's Party.
- More than 3,000 suffragists parade in Washington, D.C., on the day of Woodrow Wilson's presidential inauguration, drawing attention away from his arrival. The marchers are mobbed by spectators.
- Ida B. Wells-Barnett founds the Alpha Suffrage Club.
- Illinois women gain presidential suffrage by legislative action.
- Women in the Alaska Territory gain suffrage rights.
- Delta Sigma Theta Sorority is founded.
- 1914 Annette Abbott Adams is appointed U.S. attorney for the Northern District of California, the highest judicial position ever held by any woman in the world.
- Women in Montana and Nevada gain suffrage rights.
- 1915 The National Birth Control League is founded.
- The Woman's Peace Party is founded.
- The U.S. House of Representatives votes on woman suffrage for the first time and defeats the measure.
- 1916 Margaret Sanger and Ethel Byrne open the first American birth control clinic and are arrested ten days after the opening.
- Republicans add support for woman suffrage to their platform.
- 1917 Jeannette Rankin (R-MT) becomes the first woman to serve in the U.S. Congress.
- Women in New York gain suffrage rights.
- Women in North Dakota, Nebraska, and Rhode Island gain presidential suffrage by legislative action.
- Women in Arkansas gain primary suffrage by legislative action.
- 1918 Kathryn Sellers becomes the first woman in the U.S. to hold a judgeship as she is named a judge in the juvenile court of Washington, D.C.
- The U.S. House of Representatives passes the federal suffrage amendment.
- The U.S. Senate rejects the federal suffrage amendment by two votes.
- President Woodrow Wilson declares his support for woman suffrage.
- Women in Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota gain suffrage rights.
- Women in Texas gain presidential suffrage by legislative action.
- 1919 The Democratic National Committee creates the position of associate member for women.

- 1919 *cont.* The U.S. Senate again rejects the federal suffrage amendment. President Woodrow Wilson pressures the Senate into passing the amendment. On 4 June, the federal suffrage amendment passes and goes to states for ratification.
- The League of Women Voters is founded.
- The National Federation of Business and Professional Women is founded.
- Women in Indiana, Maine, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Tennessee gain presidential suffrage by legislative acts.
- 1920 Congress establishes the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, and Mary Anderson becomes its first director.
- Annette Abbott Adams is appointed the first female U.S. assistant attorney general.
- The Democratic National Committee adopts the fifty-fifty plan and replaces associate members with national committeewomen.
- The Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, granting women full suffrage rights, is ratified on 18 August and signed on 26 August.
- 1921 Margaret Sanger organizes the American Birth Control League.
- Representative Alice Mary Robertson (R-OK) becomes the first woman to preside over a session of the U.S. House of Representatives.
- The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is founded.
- The American Association of University Women is formed.
- The Sheppard-Towner bill for maternal and infant health education is passed by Congress.
- 1922 Emily Newell Blair becomes the first woman vice chair of the Democratic National Committee.
- Rebecca Latimer Felton (D-GA) becomes the first woman sworn in to the U.S. Senate, an appointment that lasts only two days.
- Florence Ellinwood Allen becomes the first woman to serve on a state supreme court when she is elected associate justice in Ohio.
- Alice Brown Davis becomes the first woman tribal chief when she is appointed chief of the Seminole Nation by President Warren G. Harding.
- The first Cable Act passes, giving married women citizenship independent of their husband's citizenship.
- 1923 Representative Mae E. Nolan becomes the first woman to chair a standing congressional committee, the House Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department.

- The U.S. Supreme Court decides in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* that a minimum wage for women and children is unconstitutional.
- The first congressional hearings are held on a federal Equal Rights Amendment.
- 1924 Cora Reynolds Anderson is the first Native American woman elected to a state legislature when she enters Michigan's House of Representatives.
- The National League of Colored Republican Women is founded.
- 1925 Democrat Nellie Tayloe Ross becomes governor of Wyoming, the first woman sworn in as a governor in the nation.
- Fifteen days after Governor Ross is sworn in, Democrat Miriam Ferguson becomes governor of Texas.
- Republican Cora Belle Reynolds Anderson, a La Pointe Band Chippewa, enters the Michigan House of Representatives, the first Native American woman elected to a state legislature.
- 1926 Bertha Knight Landes is the first woman elected mayor of a large city, in Seattle, Washington.
- Gertrude Bonnin organizes the National Council of American Indians and becomes its founding president.
- 1927 Minnie Buckingham-Harper becomes the first African American woman to serve in a state legislature when she is appointed by the West Virginia governor to fill her deceased husband's seat.
- 1928 Republican Minnie Buckingham Harper becomes the first African American woman to serve in a state legislature when West Virginia's governor appoints her to the state's House of Delegates.
- Genevieve Cline of Ohio becomes the first female federal judge as a judge for the U.S. Customs Court.
- 1930 The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching is founded.
- 1931 Democrat Fedelina Lucero Gallegos and Republican Porfirria H. Saiz enter the New Mexico House of Representatives, the first Hispanic American women elected to a state legislature.
- Jane Addams becomes the first woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.
- 1932 Senator Hattie Wyatt Caraway, appointed to the U.S. Senate in 1931, becomes the first woman elected to serve in the body.
- The National Recovery Act includes a provision that allows only one family member to hold a government job. Many women lose their jobs.
- 1933 Frances Perkins becomes the first woman to serve in a president's cabinet, when Franklin D. Roosevelt appoints her secretary of labor.

- 1933 Democrat Miriam Ferguson begins her second term as governor of Texas.
cont. Republican Minnie D. Craig of North Dakota becomes the first woman speaker of a state House of Representatives.
- Ruth Bryan Owen (Rohde) is appointed head of a U.S. diplomatic mission to Denmark, making her the first woman to hold the position of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.
- 1935 Sadie Tanner Mosell Alexander helps write Pennsylvania's 1935 public accommodations law prohibiting racial segregation.
- Mary McLeod Bethune becomes director of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration, appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, making her the first African American woman to hold a major federal appointment. She also founds the National Council of Negro Women.
- 1936 A court case, *United States v. One Package of Japanese Pessaries*, finds that birth control information is not obscene and that contraceptive devices can be legally imported into the United States.
- 1937 Representative Mary Teresa Norton becomes the first woman to chair a major congressional committee, the Labor Committee.
- 1938 Democrat Crystal Bird Fauset becomes the first African American woman elected to a state legislature, the Pennsylvania legislature.
- The National Federation of Republican Women is founded.
- 1939 Marian Anderson sings at the Lincoln Memorial.
- Jane M. Brodin becomes the first African American woman to hold a judgeship in the United States when she is appointed to New York City's Court of Domestic Relations.
- The Birth Control Federation of America, which later becomes Planned Parenthood Federation of America, is founded.
- 1940 The Republican Party is the first major party to include the Equal Rights Amendment in its platform.
- 1941 Concha Ortiz y Pino becomes the first Hispanic woman to hold a leadership position in a state legislature as the house majority whip in New Mexico.
- 1944 The National Committee to Defeat the UnEqual Rights Amendment is organized.
- 1946 Eleanor Roosevelt is the first female delegate to the United Nations, appointed by President Harry S. Truman.
- 1948 In *Goesaert v. Cleary*, the U.S. Supreme Court concludes that state laws can allow discrimination in employment on the basis of sex.
- 1949 Eugenie Moore Anderson is appointed the first female U.S. ambassador.

- Georgia Neese Clark becomes the first woman treasurer of the United States and the first woman whose signature appears on U.S. currency.
- Senator Margaret Chase Smith becomes the first woman elected to the U.S. Senate for a six-year term whose husband did not precede her in the Senate.
- 1951 Ambassador Eugenie Moore Anderson becomes the first woman to sign a treaty between the United States and another nation.
- 1952 Progressive Party vice presidential nominee Charlotta Spears Bass becomes the first African American woman to have her name appear on the national presidential ballot.
- Cora M. Brown becomes the first African American woman elected to a state Senate, the Michigan Senate.
- 1953 Oveta Culp Hobby is appointed secretary of health, education, and welfare by President Dwight Eisenhower.
- The Second Sex* by French feminist Simone de Beauvoir is published in the United States.
- 1955 African American Rosa Parks refuses to relinquish her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama, city bus, is arrested, and launches a boycott of the city's buses.
- The Daughters of Bilitis is founded by Del Martin, Phyllis Lyons, and six other women.
- 1957 Patsy Takemoto Mink enters Hawaii's territorial legislature, the first Asian American woman elected to a territorial or state legislature.
- Daisy Bates helps integrate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.
- 1960 Ella Baker helps organize the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.
- 1961 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn becomes the first woman chair of the Communist Party/USA.
- Women Strike for Peace is founded.
- In *Hoyt v. Florida*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that an all-male jury does not violate an accused woman's Fourteenth Amendment rights.
- President John F. Kennedy creates the President's Commission on the Status of Women.
- 1962 Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez found the United Farm Workers of America.
- Rachel Carson publishes *Silent Spring* and helps launch the environmental movement.
- 1963 Betty Friedan publishes *The Feminine Mystique* and launches the modern feminist movement.

- 1963 *cont.* The Equal Pay Act of 1963 makes it illegal to have different rates of pay for women and men who do the same work.
- The President's Commission on the Status of Women issues its report, *American Women*.
- 1964 Congress passes the 1964 Civil Rights Act, including Title VII, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, race, creed, and national origin in employment.
- Republican Margaret Chase Smith becomes the first woman to run for the presidential nomination of a major party.
- Fannie Lou Hamer founds the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.
- 1965 In *Griswold v. Connecticut*, the U.S. Supreme Court overturns state laws prohibiting the prescription and use of contraceptives by married couples.
- Representative Patsy Mink (D-HI) becomes the first Asian American woman to serve in the U.S. Congress.
- Patricia Roberts Harris becomes the first African American woman appointed as a U.S. ambassador.
- Lorna Lockwood is the first female chief justice of a state supreme court, in Arizona.
- President Lyndon Johnson's Executive Order 11246 requires federal agencies and federal contractors to take affirmative action to overcome employment discrimination. The measure does not include women.
- 1966 Constance Baker Motley becomes the first African American woman appointed as a federal judge.
- Olga Madar becomes the first woman member of the International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers.
- The National Organization for Women is founded.
- 1967 Democrat Lurleen Wallace becomes governor of Alabama.
- The Chicago Women's Liberation Group organizes.
- The Day Care Council of American is founded.
- New York Radical Women is founded.
- The National Welfare Rights Organization is founded.
- Executive Order 11375 amends Executive Order 11246 and prohibits sex discrimination in employment by the federal government and its contractors.
- The federal Civil Service Commission creates the Federal Women's Program.
- California becomes the first state to legalize abortion.

- 1968 Barbara Watson becomes the first woman and the first African American appointed to an undersecretary position in the Department of State when President Lyndon Johnson names her assistant secretary of state.
- Federally Employed Women is founded.
- The first national Women's Liberation Conference is held.
- The Women's Equity Action League is founded.
- New York Radical Women gains media attention for the women's movement when its members protest the Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City, New Jersey. The group also begins using consciousness raising as a tool.
- The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission rules that sex-segregated, help-wanted newspaper advertising is illegal unless there is a bona fide occupational qualification.
- 1969 Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) becomes the first African American woman to serve in Congress.
- In *Bowe v. Colgate-Palmolive Company* the U.S. Supreme Court rules that women meeting the physical requirements can work in many jobs that had been for men only.
- A federal appeals court finds that sex is not a bona fide occupational qualification for the job of switchman in *Weeks v. Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company*.
- The National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League is founded.
- The National Association of Commissions for Women is founded.
- 1970 LaDonna Harris founds Americans for Indian Opportunity.
- Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional is founded.
- Betty Friedan organizes the first Women's Equality Day in recognition of the fiftieth anniversary of woman suffrage.
- The Equal Rights Amendment is reintroduced in Congress.
- California passes the first no-fault divorce law in the nation.
- 1971 Anne L. Armstrong becomes the first woman national cochair of the Republican National Committee.
- Romana Acosta Banuelos becomes the first Hispanic American U.S. treasurer.
- The National Women's Political Caucus is founded.
- Ms. magazine is founded.
- The Center for the American Woman and Politics is founded.

- 1971 *cont.* New York Radical Feminists hold speak-outs and a conference on rape and women's treatment by the criminal justice system.
- In *Phillips v. Martin Marietta*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides its first gender discrimination case under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- In *Reed v. Reed*, the U.S. Supreme Court creates an intermediate level of scrutiny that applies only to sex discrimination cases.
- A federal appeals court finds that being female is not a bona fide occupational qualification for a flight attendant in *Diaz v. Pan American World Airways, Inc.*
- 1972 Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) becomes the first African American woman to run for president and has her name formally placed in nomination at the Democratic National Convention.
- Patsy Mink is the first Asian American woman to run for the Democratic presidential nomination, in the Oregon primary.
- Jean Westwood becomes chair of the Democratic National Committee, the first woman to chair either of the two major parties.
- Republican Anne L. Armstrong becomes the first woman to deliver a keynote address at a major party national convention.
- Stop ERA is founded by Phyllis Schlafly.
- Feminists for Life of America is founded.
- The Ms. Foundation for Women is founded.
- Ms.* magazine begins publication.
- In *Eisenstadt v. Baird* the U.S. Supreme Court rules that the right to privacy includes an unmarried person's right to use contraceptives.
- Congress passes Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, outlawing sex discrimination in education in programs receiving federal financial assistance.
- Congress passes the Equal Opportunity Act, giving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authority to take legal action to enforce its rulings.
- On 22 March, Congress passes the federal Equal Rights Amendment and sends it to the states for ratification. By the end of the year, twenty-two of the necessary thirty-eight states ratify it.
- 1973 Anne Armstrong becomes the first woman counselor to the president, appointed by President Richard M. Nixon.
- Representative Leonor K. Sullivan (D-MO) becomes chair of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.
- 9to5, National Association of Working Women is founded.

The Children's Defense Fund is founded.

Catholics for a Free Choice is founded.

The National Right to Life Committee is founded.

The Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice is founded.

Congress passes the Women's Educational Equity Act.

In *Roe v. Wade*, the U.S. Supreme Court establishes a woman's right to abortion. *Doe v. Bolton* is decided at the same time.

The U.S. Supreme Court decides that family members of females in the armed services have the same rights to benefits as family members of males in the armed services in *Frontiero v. Richardson*.

Eight more states ratify the federal Equal Rights Amendment.

1974 Mary Louise Smith becomes chair of the Republican National Committee, the first woman to hold the post.

The first Filipina American women are elected to a state legislature, Democrat Thelma Garcia Buchholdt to the Alaska legislature and Republican Velma M. Santos to the Hawaii legislature.

March Fong becomes the first Asian American woman elected to a statewide position when she is elected California's secretary of state.

Lilai Smith becomes the first African American woman to be elected mayor, in Taft, Oklahoma.

Elaine Brown becomes the first woman chair of the Black Panther Party.

Elaine Noble becomes the first open lesbian elected to a state office when she wins her race for a seat in the Massachusetts legislature.

The Women's Campaign Fund is founded.

The Alliance of Displaced Homemakers is founded.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women is founded.

In *Cleveland Board of Education v. LaFleur*, the U.S. Supreme Court finds that some mandatory maternity leave policies violate the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The U.S. Supreme Court decides the first equal pay case, *Corning Glass v. Brennan*.

In *Geduldig v. Aiello*, the U.S. Supreme Court rejects an employed woman's claim that her Fourteenth Amendment rights have been violated because California's disability insurance program does not cover pregnancy.

The Fair Housing Act of 1968 is extended to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex.

- 1974 *cont.* The Equal Credit Opportunity Act prohibits sex discrimination in all consumer credit practices.
- The Women's Educational Equity Act funds the development of nonsexist teaching materials and model programs, nondiscriminatory career counseling, sports education, and related programs.
- Three more states ratify the federal Equal Rights Amendment.
- 1975 Carla Hills is appointed secretary of housing and urban development by President Gerald Ford.
- Democrat Ella Grasso becomes governor of Connecticut.
- Susan Brownmiller publishes *Against Our Will*, a book that contributes to changes in rape legislation.
- The Eagle Forum is founded.
- MANA, a National Latina Organization, is founded.
- The National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year is established.
- In *Taylor v. Louisiana*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that Louisiana's exemptions from jury service violate the Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments.
- In *Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that denying Social Security benefits to a widower and the children of a deceased worker that would have been available to a widow and the children of a deceased worker violates the due process clause.
- California passes the nation's first Displaced Homemaker Act.
- One more state ratifies the federal Equal Rights Amendment.
- 1976 Representative Barbara Jordan (D-TX) becomes the first woman and first African American to deliver a keynote speech at a Democratic National Convention.
- Representative Corinne Claiborne (Lindy) Boggs (D-LA) becomes the first woman chair of a Democratic National Convention.
- ERAmerica is founded to serve as a national bipartisan political organization to coordinate ratification of the federal Equal Rights Amendment.
- In *Craig v. Boren*, the U.S. Supreme Court finds unconstitutional Oklahoma's law establishing different ages for men and women to legally purchase beer.
- In *Planned Parenthood of Central Missouri v. Danforth*, the U.S. Supreme Court rejects parts and accepts parts of a Missouri abortion law.
- The U.S. Supreme Court decides in *Bellotti v. Baird* that in some circumstances states may require a minor woman to obtain parental consent before having an abortion.

The U.S. Supreme Court finds in *General Electric v. Gilbert* that excluding pregnancy from a disability plan does not violate Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

1977 Patricia Roberts Harris is appointed secretary of housing and urban development and becomes the first African American woman to hold a federal cabinet position.

Juanita Kreps is appointed secretary of commerce by President Jimmy Carter.

Democrat Dixy Lee Ray becomes governor of Washington.

Margaret (Midge) Costanza becomes the first woman assistant to the president.

Eleanor Holmes Norton becomes the first woman to chair the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Mari-Luci Jaramillo is the first Hispanic American woman to serve as a U.S. ambassador, appointed by President Jimmy Carter.

Patsy Takemoto Mink becomes the first Asian American woman to serve as assistant secretary of state, appointed by President Jimmy Carter.

The Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues is founded as the Congresswomen's Caucus.

The National Women's Conference is held in Houston, Texas.

In *Dothard v. Rawlinson*, the U.S. Supreme Court considers bona fide occupational qualifications and applies the disparate impact standard to sex discrimination.

In *Nashville Gas Company v. Satty*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that denying seniority to women returning to work after a forced pregnancy leave violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In *Beal v. Doe*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that Pennsylvania's Medicaid program does not have to pay for nontherapeutic abortions.

In *Poelker v. Doe*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that hospitals owned by cities have no constitutional obligation to perform nontherapeutic abortions.

In *Carey v. Population Services International*, the U.S. Supreme Court rejects New York's law limiting access to contraceptives.

The U.S. Supreme Court finds constitutional a Connecticut regulation limiting Medicaid payments for first-trimester abortions to those considered medically necessary, in *Maher v. Roe*.

One more state ratifies the federal Equal Rights Amendment.

1978 Carolyn Robertson Payton becomes the first woman and first African American to head the U.S. Peace Corps, appointed by President Jimmy Carter.

- 1978 *cont.* Jean Sadako King becomes the first Asian American woman elected lieutenant governor in the United States.
- The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence is founded.
- The Older Women's League is founded.
- The National Women's Conference Committee is organized.
- Concerned Women for America is founded.
- In *Bakke v. Regents of the University of California*, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of affirmative action plans.
- Congress passes the Pregnancy Discrimination Act.
- President Jimmy Carter establishes the National Advisory Committee for Women.
- An extension for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment passes Congress.
- Concerned Women for America is founded.
- 1979 Patricia Roberts Harris is appointed secretary of health and human services by President Jimmy Carter.
- The American Life League is founded.
- Polly Baca becomes the first Hispanic American woman to serve in a state Senate when she is elected in Colorado.
- Suffragist Susan B. Anthony becomes the first woman depicted on an American coin.
- In *Orr v. Orr*, the U.S. Supreme Court finds that Alabama divorce laws providing that husbands, but not wives, may be required to pay alimony are unconstitutional.
- In *Personnel Administrator of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. Feeney*, the U.S. Supreme Court finds Massachusetts's veterans preference law constitutional.
- In *Colautti v. Franklin*, the U.S. Supreme Court finds unconstitutionally vague a Pennsylvania law requiring physicians performing abortions to use the method most likely to preserve the life and health of a fetus thought to be viable.
- 1980 Shirley Hufstedler is appointed secretary of education by President Jimmy Carter.
- Eunice Sato becomes the first Asian American woman elected mayor of a large city, Long Beach, California.
- The gender gap appears in presidential elections when fewer women than men vote for Republican Ronald Reagan.
- In *Harris v. McRae* the U.S. Supreme Court decides that states are not required to pay for medically necessary abortions under their Medicaid plans.

- In *Williams v. Zbaraz*, the U.S. Supreme Court finds that states are not required to pay for medically necessary abortions that are not covered by Medicaid.
- In *McCarty v. McCarty*, the U.S. Supreme Court finds that military retirement pay is the personal entitlement of the retiree and that states cannot allocate it to former spouses as part of a divorce settlement.
- 1981 Jeane J. Kirkpatrick is appointed ambassador to the United Nations by President Ronald Reagan.
- Sandra Day O'Connor is appointed to the United States Supreme Court by President Ronald Reagan and becomes the first woman appointed to the Court.
- Katherine D. Ortega becomes U.S. treasurer.
- The National Coalition of 100 Black Women is founded.
- In *Kirchberg v. Feenstra*, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidates a Louisiana law designating a husband head and master having unilateral control of property jointly owned with his wife.
- In *Washington County, Oregon v. Gunther*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that workers can make claims of undercompensation, even though the jobs are not the same.
- The U.S. Supreme Court decides in *County of Washington, Oregon v. Gunther* that employees can claim they have been undercompensated when compared to other employees, even though they do not do the same work.
- The Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues introduces the Economic Equity Act.
- 1982 Roy M. Vesta serves as governor of New Hampshire from 29 December 1982 to 6 January 1983.
- Loretta Glickman becomes the first African American woman elected mayor of a large city, Pasadena, California.
- In *Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that a state law excluding men from a state-supported nursing school violates the Fourteenth Amendment.
- The extension for ratification of the federal Equal Rights Amendment expires. Three more states were needed for the amendment to be included in the U.S. Constitution.
- 1983 Margaret Heckler is appointed secretary of health and human services and Elizabeth Dole is appointed secretary of transportation.
- In *Planned Parenthood Association of Kansas City, Mo. v. Ashcroft*, the U.S. Supreme Court rejects some parts and accepts some parts of a Missouri abortion law.
- In *Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*, the U.S. Supreme

- 1983 *cont.* Court finds unconstitutional the several provisions of a city ordinance related to abortion, including the requirements that physicians tell patients seeking an abortion that life begins at conception, and that minor women seeking abortions had to obtain parental consent.
- 1984 Democrat Geraldine Ferraro becomes the first woman nominated by a major party for vice president.
- Democrat Martha Layne Collins becomes governor of Kentucky.
- Katherine D. Ortega, U.S. treasurer, becomes the first Hispanic American to keynote a national convention of a major political party at the Republican National Convention.
- Valerie Terrigno becomes the first openly lesbian mayor in the United States when she is elected in West Hollywood, California.
- The National Political Congress of Black Women is founded by Shirley Chisholm.
- In *Grove City v. Bell*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 applies only to the program within an educational institution receiving federal funds and not to the entire institution.
- In *Hishon v. King and Spalding*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 covers partners in a partnership.
- In *H. L. v. Matheson*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that a Utah law requiring a minor woman to notify her parents before obtaining an abortion is constitutional.
- 1985 Democrat Madeleine Kunin becomes governor of Vermont.
- Wilma Mankiller becomes the first woman elected principal chief of a major Native American tribe.
- The Council of Presidents is formed.
- The National Organization of Black Elected Legislative Women is founded.
- EMILY's List is founded to elect prochoice Democratic women candidates.
- 1986 In *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, the U.S. Supreme Court makes its first decision regarding sexual harassment and concurs with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's definition of a hostile work environment and that sexual harassment is a form of sexual discrimination.
- In *Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology*, the U.S. Supreme Court rejects provisions of a Pennsylvania abortion law.
- The U.S. Supreme Court finds constitutional a Georgia law categorizing sodomy as a criminal act in *Bowers v. Hardwick*.

- Operation Rescue is founded.
- 1987 Ann Dore McLaughlin is appointed secretary of labor by President Ronald Reagan.
- Republican Kay Orr becomes governor of Nebraska, the first Republican woman governor in the nation.
- Dorothy Comstock Rile of Michigan becomes the first Hispanic female chief justice of a state supreme court.
- Joy Cherian becomes the first Asian American to sit on the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, appointed by President Ronald Reagan.
- The Feminist Majority is founded.
- Susan Estrich is the first woman to head a major presidential campaign, for Democrat Michael Dukakis.
- In *California Savings and Loan v. Guerra*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that California's law for disability leave for pregnant workers does not conflict with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- In *Johnson v. Transportation Agency, Santa Clara County*, the U.S. Supreme Court finds constitutional an affirmative action plan for women.
- An appeals court finds constitutional the Democratic Party's equal division rule, designed to promote greater representation of women and minorities in state delegations to national party conventions, in *Bachur v. Democratic National Committee*.
- 1988 Democrat Rose Mofford becomes governor of Arizona.
- Susan Estrich becomes the first woman to head a major presidential campaign when Democratic presidential nominee Michael Dukakis chooses her for the position.
- Lenora Fulani of New York is the first African American woman to appear on the presidential ballot in all fifty states, on the National Alliance Party ticket.
- Elaine Chao becomes the first Asian American woman to chair a federal commission, the Federal Maritime Commission, appointed by President Ronald Reagan.
- Juanita Kidd Stout of Pennsylvania becomes the first African American woman appointed to a state supreme court.
- National Gender Balance Project USA is founded.
- The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988 overturns the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Grove City v. Bell*.
- 1989 Carla Anderson Hills is appointed special trade representative, and Elizabeth Hanford Dole is appointed secretary of labor, by President George Bush.

- 1989
cont. Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) becomes the first Hispanic American woman to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives.
- Joyce Kennard becomes the first Asian American woman to sit on a state supreme court when she is appointed in California.
- Julia Chang Bloch becomes the first Asian American woman U.S. ambassador, appointed by President George Bush.
- The Christian Coalition is founded.
- In a sex discrimination case, *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that when an employer considers sex in employment, it is not in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, if the employer would make the same decision without considering the employee's sex.
- In *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, the U.S. Supreme Court affirms the rights of states to deny public funding for abortions and to prohibit public hospitals from performing abortions.
- 1990 Antonia Novello becomes the first woman and the first Hispanic American U.S. surgeon general.
- In *Hodgson v. Minnesota* the U.S. Supreme Court upholds the requirement that a minor woman notify both of her parents or obtain a judicial waiver before having an abortion.
- In *Ohio v. Akron Center*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that an Ohio law requiring a physician to notify the parents of a minor woman before performing an abortion is constitutional.
- The Court rejects a parental notification measure that did not have the judicial bypass procedure.
- The Women's Health Equity Act is introduced.
- 1991 Democrat Joan Finney becomes governor of Kansas.
- Democrat Ann Richards becomes governor of Texas.
- Democrat Barbara Roberts becomes governor of Oregon.
- Lynn Morley Martin is appointed secretary of labor by President George Bush.
- Patricia Saiki is appointed by President George Bush as head of the Small Business Administration, making her the first Asian American woman to head that department.
- Anita Hill alleges that U.S. Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas sexually harassed her, leading to the Senate Judiciary Committee reopening the confirmation hearings. Sexual harassment receives public attention.
- Minnesota becomes the first state to have a majority of female supreme court justices, with four out of seven justices being women.

In *Rust v. Sullivan*, the U.S. Supreme Court finds permissible regulations that forbid the discussion of abortion as an option at family planning centers that receive federal family planning funds.

In *UAW v. Johnson Controls*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that refusing to hire women for certain jobs to protect them from workplace hazards violates the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978.

Congress passes the Civil Rights Act of 1991, part of which overturns *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins* (1989).

The Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues introduces the Health Equity Act.

For the first time, at least one woman serves in every state legislature in the nation.

1992 Barbara H. Franklin is appointed secretary of commerce by President George Bush.

Democrat Georgianna Lincoln, an Athabascan, becomes the first Native American woman elected to a state Senate, the Alaska Senate.

Leah Sears-Collins becomes the first African American woman elected to a state supreme court when she wins a seat in Georgia.

Irma Gonzalez, Lourdes Baird, and Sonia Sotomayor become the first female Hispanic Americans appointed as federal judges, in California and New York, respectively.

In *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*, the U.S. Supreme Court discards the trimester framework that it established in *Roe v. Wade*.

1993 Ruth Bader Ginsburg is appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court by President Bill Clinton.

California becomes the first state to have two female U.S. senators serving simultaneously, Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer.

Carol Moseley-Braun is the first African American woman sworn in to the U.S. Senate.

Sheila Widnall becomes the first woman secretary of the Air Force.

Joycelyn Elders becomes the first African American woman U.S. surgeon general.

Alice Rivlin is appointed director of the Office of Management and Budget, Carol M. Browner is appointed administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, Donna Shalala is appointed secretary of health and human services, African American Hazel O'Leary is appointed secretary of energy, and Janet Reno is appointed U.S. attorney general by President Bill Clinton.

Native American Ada Deer becomes the first woman assistant secretary for Indian affairs in the U.S. Department of the Interior.

- 1993 *cont.* Roberta Achtenberg is the first open lesbian to serve in a subcabinet position, as assistant secretary in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, appointed by President Bill Clinton.
- In *Bray v. Alexandria Clinic*, the U.S. Supreme Court finds that the Civil Rights Acts of 1871 does not cover protest actions at abortion clinics.
- In *Harris v. Forklift Systems*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that an employee does not need to show serious psychological damage or other injury to prove sexual harassment.
- President Bill Clinton signs the Family and Medical Leave Act.
- For the first time, at least one woman serves in both chambers of every state legislature and in Nebraska's unicameral legislature.
- 1994 Christine Todd Whitman becomes governor of New Jersey.
- Alaska is the first state to have both legislative chambers headed by women, with Gail Phillips as speaker of the House and Drue Pearce as Senate president pro tem.
- Deborah Batts is the first openly lesbian federal judge appointed, in the U.S. District Court in New York.
- Marcy Kahn becomes the first openly lesbian state supreme court justice in the United States when she is elected to New York's supreme court.
- In *NOW v. Scheidler*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Statute applies to anti-abortion groups.
- The Violence Against Women Act funds services for victims of rape and domestic violence, allows women to seek civil rights remedies for gender-related crimes, provides training to increase police and court officials' sensitivity, and funds a national twenty-four-hour hotline for battered women.
- Congress passes the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act.
- 1995 Laura D'Andrea Tyson is appointed chair of the National Economic Council by President Bill Clinton.
- Women's Policy, Inc. is founded.
- 1996 In *United States v. Virginia*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that the male-only admissions policy of Virginia Military Institute violates the Fourteenth Amendment.
- 1997 Aida Alvarez is appointed administrator of the Small Business Administration, Charlene Barshefsky is appointed U.S. trade representative, Alexis M. Herman is appointed secretary of labor, and Madeleine Albright is appointed secretary of state, the first woman to hold the position, by President Bill Clinton.

Jeanne Shaheen becomes governor of New Hampshire.

Jane Dee Hull becomes governor of Arizona.

In *Clinton v. Jones*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that the Constitution does not prohibit a private citizen from suing a sitting president for acts committed before becoming president.

- 1998 Arizona becomes the first state with an all-female executive cabinet (governor, secretary of state, attorney general, treasurer, and superintendent of public instruction).
- 1999 Representative Tammy Baldwin (D-WI) becomes the first open lesbian to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives.

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