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THEMES EXPRESSED IN THE RHETORIC OF
TWO WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

BY

ANN HOLT LOGAN

This thesis was prepared by the author and independent investigation by a committee of faculty members of the Department of Arts, and is acceptable for passing the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Ann Holt Logan
Thesis Advisor *July 20, 1974*
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree Master of Arts, Major in
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1974

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TWO WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Arts, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

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AHL

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Origin and Statement of the Problem

Throughout American history, the question of women's rights initiated a substantial body of rhetoric. It appears that an identification of the specific themes involved in this body of discourse would be valuable to rhetorical scholars. The two most prominent women's rights movements seem to be the woman's suffrage movement from 1848 to 1920 and the current women's liberation movement. The recurrence of organized movements on the subject of women's equal rights raises the question whether the themes expressed in the rhetoric of each movement are similar. Therefore, the purpose in this investigation was to discover the extent to which speaking on behalf of women's rights by women utilized recurring themes.

In order to determine the recurrence of themes, answers to the following questions were sought: (1) What events and influences surrounded the development of the woman's suffrage movement? (2) What events and influences surrounded the development of the women's liberation movement? (3) What themes were present in selected women's rights speeches from 1848 to 1920? (4) What themes were present in selected women's rights speeches from October 15, 1963, through October 1, 1973? (5) How frequently did

themes recur within the rhetoric of each period? (6) To what extent did the themes recur from the former period to the latter period?

Justification for this Study

Although the preceding questions are not the only ones which apply to the rhetoric of the two women's rights movements, they do provide for the identification and recording of observations which might be of value to prospective scholars in communication. The investigation into the recurrence of themes will also indicate whether the two movements being considered in this study are two individually unique movements.

Finally, it is hoped that a value to historians will be found in this study since the women's rights movement will be likely to have a lasting political, social, and economic impact on the United States.

Procedures Followed

In completing this study, the following steps were taken:

A. Appropriate publications, listed below, were surveyed to determine if any previous inquiries had been made relating to the subject under consideration:

Auer, J. Jeffery, "Doctoral Dissertations in Speech: Work in Progress," Speech Monographs, annual issues, 1951-1969.

Dow, Clyde W., "Abstracts of Theses in the Field of Speech," Speech Monographs, annual issues, 1935-1969.

Index to American Doctoral Dissertations, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1968-1973.

Knower, Franklin H., "An Index to Graduate Work in Speech," Speech Monographs, annual index, 1935-1969.

Nelson, Max, "Abstracts of Dissertations in the Field of Speech," Speech Monographs, annual issues, 1966-1969.

Shearer, Ned A., "Abstracts of Doctoral Dissertations in the Field of Speech Communication," Bibliographic Annual in Speech Communication, annual issues, 1970-1972.

Shearer, Ned A., "An Index to Graduate Research in Speech Communication," Bibliographic Annual in Speech Communication, annual issues, 1970-1972.

A survey of the literature mentioned previously yielded two studies which needed further examination to ensure the originality of the current research. The first study, "A Historical Survey of the Rhetorical Proofs used by the Women Speakers of the Suffrage Organizations: 1869-1919" by Ronald George Coleman,¹ was initially discovered in "An Index to Graduate Work in Speech," Franklin H. Knower, Speech Monographs, August, 1969. With further investigation, an abstract of the study was discovered in the Index To American Doctoral Dissertations, June, 1969. The examination of this abstract revealed that Coleman's study was not of the same nature as that proposed in this study. Coleman's study dealt specifically with the rhetorical proofs or the utilization of evidence to support the ideas expressed and not the identification of specific themes.

The second study, "Persuasion on the Plains: The Women's Rights Movement in Nebraska" by Dennis Fus,² was initially discovered in the 1970 Bibliographic Annual in Speech Communication. No

further reference was found in any of the literature surveyed; so it is presumed that the investigation begun by Fus has not completed as of this time. However, the limitation in the title of Fus's study indicates that it is not applicable to the study under consideration.

B. A chronological account of events and influences surrounding the emergence of the woman's suffrage movement was developed from information in established American histories and other available accounts.

C. A chronological account of events and influences surrounding the emergence of the women's liberation movement was developed from information obtained in contemporary printed accounts, such as newspapers, news magazines, and other current incidental printed items.

Letters were sent to Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, and Robin Morgan in an attempt to secure information or sources of information pertaining to the development of the women's liberation movement and also to obtain help in locating available full texts of speeches they have given on women's equal rights. Of the letters sent to these three women, only one answer was received; and that was from Gloria Steinem. Ms. Steinem provided a list of suggested sources for information and copies of several of her speeches which also helped to provide a historical perspective for the women's liberation movement.

D. Women's speeches representative of the woman's suffrage movement in America from 1848 to 1920 were selected from the Speech Index.³ A list of five speeches indexed under "Women: Suffrage" and given by women was compiled. The following is a list of the speeches that were studied:

Susan B. Anthony, "For the Woman Suffrage Amendment," U.S. Congress, Senate, Susan B. Anthony speaking for the Amendment on Woman's Suffrage, 49th Cong., 2nd sess., January 25, 1887, Congressional Record, pp. 998-1002.

Carrie Chapman Catt, "The World Movement For Woman's Suffrage," in Famous Speeches by Eminent American Statesmen, edited by Frederick C. Hicks, (St. Paul: St. Paul West Publishing Company, 1927), pp. 368-383.

Mary Putnam Jacobi, "Woman's Suffrage," in Werner's Readings and Recitations, Vol. 42: Famous Modern Orations (New York: J. F. Wagner, 1915), pp. 17-20.

Jeannette Rankin, "Woman's Suffrage and War," in World's Best Orations, edited by David Josiah Brewer, (Chicago: F. P. Kaiser Publishing Company, 1900), pp. 37-39.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "First Woman's Rights Convention," in Great Speeches from Pericles to Kennedy, edited by William D. Boutwell, (New York: Scholastic Book Service, 1965), pp. 140-143.

E. Women's speeches representative of the women's liberation movement were selected from Vital Speeches, October 15, 1963, through October 1, 1973. A list of nine speeches indexed under either "Women: Equal Rights" or "Women: Liberation Movement" and given by women was compiled. The following is a list of the speeches that were studied:

Caroline Bird, "On Being Born Female: Integration," Vital Speeches, November 15, 1968, pp. 88-91.

Louise Bushnell, "What's Happened to Eve L. Bushnell," Vital Speeches, October 1, 1970, pp. 749-752.

Arvonne S. Fraser, "Women: The New Image," Vital Speeches, July 15, 1971, pp. 599-605.

Wilma Scott Heide, "Revolution: Tomorrow Is Now," Vital Speeches, May 1, 1973, pp. 424-428.

Wilma Scott Heide, "Feminism: The Sine Qua Non for a Just Society," Vital Speeches, April 15, 1972, pp. 403-409.

Katie Loucheim, "Citizen in a Changing World," Vital Speeches, November 15, 1963, pp. 93-96.

Dr. Lillian O'Connor, "For a Better World Tomorrow: Women of Today," Vital Speeches, January 15, 1968, pp. 214-217.

Bernice Sandler, "Women in Higher Education: What Constitutes Equality," Vital Speeches, June 15, 1972, pp. 532-537.

Dr. Jacqueline St. John, "Women's Legislative Issues: Today and Tomorrow," Vital Speeches, June 15, 1972, pp. 528-532.

F. The selected speeches from the woman's suffrage movement were studied to determine what themes were present.

G. The specific themes discovered in the woman's suffrage movement speeches were compared to determine if any themes recurred.

H. The selected speeches from the women's liberation movement were studied to determine what themes were present.

I. The themes discovered in the women's liberation movement were analyzed to determine if any recurred within the rhetoric of the movement.

J. The lists of themes compiled from each movement were compared to discover if any themes from the first movement were utilized in the rhetoric of the later movement and to what extent they recurred.

K. The themes compiled from each movement were categorized according to the ideas they expressed to determine if any ideas were of a similar nature.

L. Conclusions were drawn concerning the nature of the themes in the two movements, the recurrence of themes within each of the movements, and the extent to which the later movement utilizes themes that appeared in the earlier movement.

Definitions

For the purpose of this study, a theme was defined in the following manner, as described in Speech Criticism by Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird, and Waldo W. Braden, and refined by Katherine L. Kodis:

(1) An assertive theme is defined as an original statement that embodies a rhetorician's over-all idea and aim.⁴ This theme is the position toward which all subsequent arguments and forms of support are directed.

(2) Refutational themes have been defined as being similar to assertive themes except that they arise from or are motivated by previous statements and are therefore attacks on opposing positions or defenses of previously expressed positions.⁵

A theme was further classified as being subordinate only to a thesis and coordinate only to another theme.

Abbreviations

Four abbreviations have been used in this study to provide for ease in reading.

(1) The National Woman Suffrage Association is referred to as the NWSA.

(2) The American Woman Suffrage Association is referred to as the AWSA.

(3) The National American Woman Suffrage Association is referred to as the NAWSA.

(4) The National Organization for Women is referred to as NOW.

Scope and Limitations

Since this study was limited to selected representative speeches from each movement, the conclusions which were drawn are not necessarily applicable to all speeches from each period.

Because the women's liberation movement is still in progress, speeches from only a portion of that movement (October 15, 1963, through October 1, 1973) have been analyzed; later speeches and events have been excluded from this study.

Furthermore, edited and reported accounts of the rhetoric of the two movements have been used as research resources; therefore, this study is not of the full rhetorical sequence.

Nevertheless, any conclusions which were drawn from careful research should be of value in that they help record and preserve information concerning the events under investigation. Also, the

study should contribute to the body of rhetorical literature on the recurrence and originality of themes expressed.

FOOTNOTES

¹Ronald George Coleman, "A Historical Survey of the Rhetorical Proofs Used by the Women Speakers of the Suffrage Organizations: 1869-1919," cited by Franklin H. Knowler, "An Index to Graduate Work in Speech," Speech Monographs, August, 1969, p. 333.

²Dennis Fus, "Persuasion on the Plains: The Women's Rights Movement in Nebraska," cited by Ned A. Shearer, "Doctoral Dissertations in Progress," Bibliographic Annual in Speech Communication, 1971, p. 5.

³Robert Briggs Sutton, Speech Index (New York: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1966), pp. 871-872.

⁴Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird, and Waldo W. Braden, Speech Criticism (2nd ed.; New York: Ronald Press Company, 1970), p. 471.

⁵Katherine L. Kodis, "The Rhetoric of the Engineering School Controversy in South Dakota from February 11, 1971, through March 19, 1971" (unpublished M.A. thesis, South Dakota State University, 1973), p. 5.

CHAPTER II

EVENTS AND INFLUENCES SURROUNDING THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT AND THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Introduction

The intent in this chapter is to give a chronological account of the events and influences leading to and surrounding the woman's suffrage movement and the women's liberation movement. The attempt is to recreate the historical situation and influences of each movement so that themes discovered might be placed in situational and historical perspective.

The Suffrage Movement

A convention in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848, according to Eleanor Flexner in Century of Struggle, is regarded as the birth of the women's rights movement, although the process actually began nearly half a century earlier.¹ The Seneca Falls convention was the eventual outcome of the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. At this earlier convention, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton first discussed the lack of a women's voice in government because of their denied vote and suggested the possible calling of a public meeting to discuss and protest the denial of the franchise for women.² The opportunity for such a meeting to

be called was not realized until the Motts (Lucretia Mott and her husband, James) visited Waterloo, New York, near Mrs. Stanton's home in Seneca Falls. Also at this gathering was the Mott's hostess, Jane Hunt, Martha Wright (Mrs. Mott's sister), and Mary Ann McClintock. These five women decided to call a convention, wrote an announcement for the meeting to appear in the July 14 Seneca County Courier, and drafted the Declaration of Principles, a statement of their sentiment, that they fashioned after the Declaration of Independence.³ The convention was "the first of those convocations that eventually played a key role in the struggle for woman suffrage." Such people as Lucretia Mott and Frederick Douglass addressed the group. The convention ended with the adoption of the Declaration of Principles. A resolution calling for woman suffrage was also passed by a narrow margin at the meeting.⁴

Little interest in securing the vote was shown in the early women's rights movement. The more common concerns to the early advocates, as stated in Century of Struggle, included: "Control of property, of earnings, guardianship, divorce, opportunity for education and employment, lack of legal status, and the concept of female inferiority perpetuated by the established religion."⁵ These concerns were thrashed out during a series of conventions. National women's rights conventions were held yearly from 1850 to 1860, except for the year 1857. Small and

large towns in Indiana, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts also held gatherings to discuss pertinent issues.⁶

A loose steering committee known only as the "Central Committee" emerged during the 1850's. Little was accomplished under the direction of this committee.⁷ More concrete advancement of the women's rights movement was made when suffragists began utilizing tactics exemplified by the anti-slavery forces. Petitions were sent to state legislatures asking for specific measures. The most outstanding accomplishments were made in New York where Susan B. Anthony led the group. Thousands of signatures were collected from the large cities and every county in the state, urging hearings before the legislative body. These early achievements were conducted under the direction of four women, Lucy Stone, Lucretia Mott, Mrs. Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony. Each of these women played a particular role in the early movement, as is related by Eleanor Flexner in Century of Struggle: "If Lucretia Mott typified the moral force of the movement, if Lucy Stone was it's most gifted orator and Mrs. Stanton its outstanding philosopher, Susan Anthony was its incomparable organizer, who gave it force and direction for half a century."⁸

Further Impetus of the Movement

The Civil War brought the movement for women's rights to a temporary standstill.⁹ David Muzzey in his book, The United

States of America, points out that prior to the Civil War the specific movement for woman suffrage had not come to the foreground; but when the emancipation of the slaves initiated the question of enlarging the electorate, the women leaders viewed this moment as one which might also bring women the vote.¹⁰

William O'Neill also explains the effect of the Civil War on the woman's suffrage movement, when he tells of their change in self-image and expectations that resulted from their role during the War, in his book The Woman Movement:

The chief consequence of the war was not, therefore, an actual revolutionizing of the status of women--some new jobs came their way, although the best of these were lost after the War as often as not--but a change in their self-image and expectations. In particular it persuaded the most ardent that their war services entitled them to vote.¹¹

Advocates of women's rights had been working in the American Equal Rights Association, a group working hard for the emancipation of the Negro. With the proposed wording of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, advocates of women's rights became alarmed and realized that the passage of this amendment would mean a step backward for women's rights.¹²

According to Eleanor Flexner, the proposed wording of the Fourteenth Amendment, which was introduced in early summer, 1866, read as follows:

Representatives shall be apportioned among several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding the Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors

of President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial Officers of a State or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or any other crime, the basis of proportion therein shall be reduced, in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.¹³

This wording of the proposed Amendment alarmed such women as Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, and Mrs. Stone. The word "male" was to appear for the first time in the Constitution. They felt the use of "male" in reference to citizen made it questionable as to whether women were also citizens.¹⁴ Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony worked hard with others to secure petitions against the Fourteenth Amendment. The passage of this amendment would make another Constitutional amendment necessary if women were to secure the vote in federal elections.¹⁵

Despite the efforts of the advocates of woman suffrage, the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in July, 1868. Six months later the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution was introduced to further insure the Negro's right to vote. The proposed Fifteenth Amendment read as follows: "The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State, on the account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."¹⁶

Susan B. Anthony again urged an amendment to the proposed Fifteenth Amendment which was introduced in 1866. Anthony

proposed the addition of "sex" to the list of forbidden discriminations in the Fifteenth Amendment.¹⁷ Suffrage advocates, provided with the ammunition from Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and others, took their arguments and countered such senators as Senator Williams of Oregon and Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. The Fifteenth Amendment passed in 1860 without any mention of "sex."¹⁸

In an attempt to promote the women's equal rights cause, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton launched a weekly sixteen-page newspaper, The Revolution. George Francis Train helped the Anthony and Stanton team with the establishment of the newspaper.¹⁹

In May, 1869, a split took place in the women's movement. A January convention called to discuss the issue of suffrage for women gave Mrs. Stanton a chance to call for a Constitutional amendment for woman's suffrage. In Century of Struggle, Eleanor Flexner relates the outcome of the introduction of the woman's suffrage issue:

The Equal Rights Association [the group in which the women had been working for women's rights] broke wide open on the issue, and immediately following its annual meeting in New York, Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony organized the National Woman Suffrage Association, for women only [referred to after this as the NWSA].²⁰

Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony felt women's rights had been betrayed by the men in the Equal Rights Association. Their new organization opened membership to women who believed in suffrage and were willing to follow the policies of its leaders.²¹

A second organization, the American Women Suffrage Association (referred to after this as the AWSA), was founded by Miss Stone in November, 1869. This organization, unlike the NWSA, opened membership to men and was organized on a delegate basis. The reason for the break seemed to be Lucy Stone's objection to some of the lecturers involved in the NWSA.²²

With the split in the suffrage movement, a second newspaper was started. The Woman's Journal became the newspaper for the AWSA of January 8, 1870, while the already established Revolution was associated with the NWSA.²³

The division in the Suffrage ranks continued from the 1870's on into the late 1880's. By the late 1880's, the two factions of the Suffrage movement lacked the basic disagreement which had separated them in 1869. Merger became only a matter of time. After several unsuccessful attempts, the two organizations finally combined and became the National American Woman Suffrage Association (to be referred to after this as the NAWSA) in 1890.²⁴

Movement Toward Suffrage

In 1890, the West led the way for woman's suffrage. When Wyoming entered the Union in 1890, it became the first woman-suffrage state.²⁵ Wyoming, as a territory, had granted women the vote by passing such a bill in 1869; so when Wyoming entered the union in 1890, it became the first state to allow woman-suffrage.²⁶ Colorado adopted woman-suffrage in 1893.²⁷ This victory was very significant for the women's cause because it was the first time

men had gone to the polls and voted to give women the right to vote.²⁸ Utah and Idaho both granted women suffrage in 1896.²⁹ Little progress was made for the next fourteen years. Eleanor Flexner refers to the suffragists as calling the years from 1896 to 1910 as "the doldrums." Suffragists won no new states, few referenda were held, and the death of Susan B. Anthony, in 1906, left a vacancy in the NAWSA.³⁰

In 1910 there was a renewed vigor of action within the states.³¹ Woman's suffrage was established in Washington in that same year. The following two years gave the ballot to women in California, Arizona, Oregon, and Kansas. In 1912, despite the defeat of woman's suffrage in Ohio, Wisconsin, and Michigan, Susan B. Anthony's amendment for nationwide suffrage was revived when the platform of the Progressive Party (a newly formed national party behind the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt, but located mainly in the midwest to far-west states) favored equal suffrage for men and women.³²

In 1915, achieving woman's suffrage in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania became the focal point for the suffrage movement. These four states, being industrial states, held large populations important in political influence. There were door-to-door campaigns, outdoor meetings in both large and small towns. The suffrage referenda were lost in all four states.³³

This defeat in 1915 seemed to deny any hope of getting suffrage adopted by further state action. The women then turned their attention to the national capital. They began picketing, parading, and annoying opponents of woman's suffrage. David Muzzey related that militant action had less effect in persuading the opponents of suffrage than did the gradual winning of the western states. David Muzzey relates the effect of the gradual winning of states on the voting population in the following passage:

Politicians pay more heed to votes than to petitions. By 1916 the women in a dozen states had the right to vote for ninety-one presidential electors, and the candidates of both great parties expressed their approval of woman's suffrage. Mr. Wilson [Woodrow Wilson] was still in favor of the accomplishment of the reform by state action; but Mr. Hughes [Charles Evans Hughes] came out for the Susan B. Anthony amendment.³⁴

In 1917, the accession of New York to the suffrage ranks seemed to hasten the movement. The House passed the amendment for woman's suffrage in January, 1919. The following July suffrage was won in the United States Senate by a margin of 56 to 25. By the end of 1919, only twenty-two states had ratified the suffrage amendment. On August 28, 1920, Tennessee ratified the suffrage amendment as the thirty-sixth state; and the suffrage amendment was adopted.³⁵

The Suffrage Amendment

The initial attempt for a woman's suffrage amendment was introduced to a negative audience, the Congress of 1868. This

initial amendment underwent some changes before it became known as the Anthony amendment ten years later. Mildred Adams in her book, The Right to Be People, gives this wording of the Anthony Amendment:

The first article said that "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" and the second article, that "Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation."³⁶

The Anthony Amendment was again introduced to Congress in 1878. It was then meant to be the Sixteenth Amendment. Senator A. A. Sargent of California introduced it to the Senate early in 1878. From 1878 until 1918, the Anthony Amendment was introduced into Congress after Congress. Mildred Adams related the progress of the Anthony Amendment during these repeated introductions in her book, The Right to Be People:

In the early days it usually died in Committee. In 1887 it was debated on the floor of the Senate, but voted down; it did not reach that eminence again until 1914, when it was defeated. In 1915, the Anthony Amendment came to a vote in the House, it was defeated by a vote of 204 to 174.³⁷

The Anthony Amendment was a story of continual reappearance before both the House and the Senate. Defeats, revivals, lobbyists, and lobbying were all part of the unfolding of what was eventually made into the Nineteenth Amendment. The real challenge appeared to be getting the bill out of committee and put to a vote in either the Senate or the House.³⁸

Mrs. Catt presented a four-fold plan to the Executive Committee of NAWSA in 1916 which played a major role in the success for adopting woman's suffrage. She felt a combined effort of both state and national movements was needed.³⁹

Work in Washington was done by the National Association's Congressional Committee under the direction of Mary Wood Park of Boston.⁴⁰ Mildred Adams relates the first victory for woman's suffrage on the national level as being won on January 10, 1918. A joint resolution of House and Senate for woman's suffrage was passed by a single vote in the House. Thirteen months later the resolution came before the Senate where it was defeated.⁴¹

With the new 66th Congress in office, a special session was called May 19, 1919. President Wilson urged the passage of the Anthony Bill in a cable he sent from Paris. The House passed the bill 304 to 90, and the Senate finally mustered the two-thirds vote needed for the bill's passage on June 4, 1919.⁴² In its final and present form the amendment reads:

1. 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.
2. Congress shall have the power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.⁴³

The Woman's Suffrage Movement was not the product of a single event. It was the product of many related events which covered seventy years. From the meeting of Mrs. Stanton and Mrs. Mott in London, to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment by

Tennessee, countless hours by workers were spent in hopes of securing the franchise for women.

Principal Women Contributors

Although the woman's suffrage movement was supported by countless numbers of individuals, a few figures emerged who are well known for their endeavors to secure the women's right to vote. Women have contributed to the movement in a variety of ways and degrees. Those women mentioned here are only a few of the many contributors to the movement for woman's suffrage; they were, however, identified with positions of leadership in the movement.

Lucretia Mott

Lucretia Coffin Mott, January 3, 1793-November 11, 1880, was born on the island of Nantucket to Quaker parents. At age eleven she moved with her family to Boston, where she entered public school. She continued her education at the Friends' boarding school at Nine Partners, near Poughkeepsie, New York. On April 10, 1811, she married James Mott.⁴⁴

Mrs. Mott's most important work concerned the question of women's rights and slavery. Her interest in "woman's rights and woman's wrongs" began at Nine Partners school. Her attendance of the world anti-slavery convention in London, 1840, further sparked her interest. She was a major promoter in the 1848 Seneca Falls, New York, women's rights convention.

Mrs. Mott played an important role in spurring Elizabeth Cady Stanton to work for the women's rights movement. She also supported the actions of Mrs. Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in their move for Woman's Suffrage.⁴⁶

Mrs. Mott, although interested in women's rights, dealt more with the antislavery forces. Her brief leadership during the Seneca Falls convention, and her backing of the Anthony-Stanton team were her main contribution to the movement.⁴⁷

Lucretia Mott is remembered for her role in promoting the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention and also for her influence on Mrs. Stanton.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, November 12, 1815–October 26, 1902, was born into a home of stern religious atmosphere in Johnstown, New York. Mrs. Stanton studied Greek, Latin, and mathematics with classes of boys in the academy in Johnstown and at age fifteen was sent to the seminary of Emma Willard at Troy, New York, from which she graduated in 1832. She then studied law for a time with her father, and then in 1840 she married Henry Brewster Stanton. Immediately following their wedding, they attended the world antislavery convention in London where Mrs. Stanton met Mrs. Mott.⁴⁸

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was the promoting partner with Lucretia Mott for the 1848 Seneca Falls convention.⁴⁹ She participated in the writing of the Declaration of Principles, which

she presented at the Seneca Falls convention. This reading on July 19, 1848, was Mrs. Stanton's maiden speech in a busy career of speaking for women's rights.⁵⁰

Mrs. Stanton played the role of outstanding philosopher in the suffrage movement, and she was the first woman to appear before a Joint Judiciary Committee of both legislative houses.⁵¹

One of the real assets of the woman's suffrage movement was the working partnership between Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Mrs. Stanton, the thinker, writer, and speaker, was kept fairly immobile for twenty years of the movement by her family responsibilities.⁵² Because of this partnership, it is difficult to separate the contributions of these two women and attribute them to one or the other individually.

Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton called a meeting of "The Loyal Women of the Nation" in May, 1863, in New York. This gathering produced the organization, the National Women's Loyal League. Mrs. Stanton became president, Miss Anthony, secretary.⁵³

The team of Stanton and Anthony worked together against the proposed Fourteenth Amendment and the Fifteenth Amendment.⁵⁴ Their joint efforts also aided in the publication of The Revolution, a weekly sixteen-page paper that contributed to the movement for woman's suffrage.⁵⁵

Following the split in the Equal Rights Association over the question calling for a woman's suffrage amendment, Mrs.

Stanton and Miss Anthony organized the National Woman's Suffrage Association, for women only.⁵⁶

In January, 1870, Mrs. Stanton related a new approach to women's right to the vote, which had been adopted by the National Association, to the Congressional Committee on the District of Columbia. This new approach was based on the philosophy that the Constitution and its amendments already gave women the right to vote. This approach was defeated by an October, 1874, Supreme Court decision.⁵⁷

In 1868, when the first measure providing for a woman's suffrage amendment was introduced to Congress and later referred to the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, Mrs. Stanton headed a group of speakers at the hearing on the proposal.⁵⁸

In 1890, when the AWSA and the NWSA merged to form the NAWSA, Mrs. Stanton was elected its first president, a position she held until 1892. Her active leadership for woman's suffrage had come to an end by this time, and until her death in 1902 she worked on tangent areas such as the divorce question and on an educated franchise.⁵⁹

Mrs. Stanton spoke for the movement throughout her career. She, with Miss Anthony, provided the background of the movement for many years.

Susan B. Anthony

Susan Brownwell Anthony, February 15, 1820-March 13, 1906, was born in Adams, Massachusetts, and "grew up in an atmosphere

of independence and moral zeal." When Susan was six, her family moved to Battenville, New York, where she attended the district school. For awhile her father held school in her home, which she attended, and this was supplemented by her attendance for one year at Deborah Moulson's boarding school which qualified her for a teaching position.⁶⁰

Until joining the suffrage movement in 1851 after she met Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony held various teaching and educational administrative positions.

Miss Anthony joined the women's movement after meeting Mrs. Stanton in 1851. Her desire to meet Mrs. Stanton was activated by her mother's and sister's account of the 1848 women's rights convention they attended in Rochester, New York.⁶¹

Miss Anthony's first endeavor in the women's movement was the planning of the New York state women's rights convention held in Albany while the legislature was in session. She gathered signatures to petitions which eventually gained a hearing for the bills women were supporting. The direct result of this action was the appearance of Mrs. Stanton before the Joint Judiciary Committee which was discussed earlier.⁶²

Many of the contributions of Miss Anthony have already been related through the working partnership of Anthony and Stanton. Miss Anthony played the role of organizer for the partnership. Since Miss Anthony was unmarried, she was much more

mobile than Mrs. Stanton and could either travel or care for the Stanton home when Mrs. Stanton needed to complete some work.⁶³

In the presidential election of 1872, Susan B. Anthony led a group of sixteen women in Rochester, New York, first to register, then to vote. Miss Anthony was made a test case and was charged with having "knowingly, wrongfully, and unlawfully voted for a representative to the Congress of the United States." Miss Anthony was sentenced by Justice Ward Hunt to pay a one hundred dollar fine which she never paid.⁶⁴

On July 4, 1876, a celebration for the nation's Centennial was to be held in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. The NWSA was able to gain permission to present a Declaration of Rights for Women. Miss Anthony read the Declaration which was similar to the one presented at the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848.⁶⁵

Susan B. Anthony replaced Mrs. Stanton as president of the NAWSA in 1892.⁶⁶ In 1900, Miss Anthony stepped down as president, although she remained its vital center until her death in 1906.⁶⁷

Miss Anthony worked as the organizer and agitator for the suffrage movement. Her role in the partnership between Stanton and herself was her greatest asset. Susan B. Anthony managed to get various hearings to bills she was backing for woman's suffrage.

Lucy Stone Blackwell

Lucy Stone, August 13, 1818–October 18, 1893, was born near West Brookfield, Massachusetts.⁶⁸ Her family believed,

according to Eleanor Flexner, a woman worked as hard as a man but was still considered his inferior.⁶⁹ Determined to educate herself, Lucy Stone alternated teaching with furthering her education. She spent brief periods at Quaboag Seminary in Warren, Massachusetts, the Wesleyan Academy in Wilbraham, Massachusetts, and at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. Since her father would not support her education, she did not enter college until her registration at Oberlin College in 1843 when she finally had saved enough money. In August, 1847, she graduated from Oberlin at the age of twenty-nine.⁷⁰ She spoke for women's rights for the first time at her brother's church in Gardner, Massachusetts, only a few weeks after her college graduation.⁷¹

Her marriage to Henry Blackwell on May 1, 1855, doubled the number working for her cause in that he pledged to devote his life to the cause of women's rights.⁷² Lucy Stone, like so many others, made her initial contribution through the support she gave the Stanton-Anthony team.⁷³

Lucy Stone separated from the Anthony-Stanton team with the split in the Equal Rights Convention. She became a prominent figure in the second organization, the AWSA. She also worked on the publication of the Woman's Journal.⁷⁴

Lucy Stone became interested in women's rights at an early age. Her prominence in the movement became evident with the formation of the AWSA. Her support of Anthony and Stanton proved valuable to the suffrage movement.

Carrie Chapman Catt

Carrie Chapman Catt, January 9, 1859-March 9, 1947, was active in the suffrage movement from the mid 1880's until after passage of the suffrage amendment.⁷⁵ In 1880, she received her B.S. degree from Iowa State College, after which she began to read law. Her first marriage in 1884 ended two years later with the death of Leo Chapman. Mrs. Catt remained in San Francisco where she met some of the early advocates of woman's suffrage, Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Hughes, and Lucy Stone.⁷⁶ Mrs. Catt returned to Iowa in 1887 to organize the Iowa Women Suffrage Association.⁷⁷ In 1890, with the unification of the suffrage movement, Mrs. Catt entered the national movement. She possessed a great potential as an organizer and became the chairman of the Organization Committee.⁷⁸

Mrs. Catt's role in the suffrage movement increased when she succeeded Miss Anthony as president of the NAWSA in 1900. She served in that position for four years.⁷⁹ As president, Mrs. Catt opened an Association headquarters in New York.⁸⁰

Mrs. Catt was briefly apart from the national movement when she was on tour on behalf of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, but resumed her involvement in 1912.⁸¹ In 1915, she led the movement for a more centralized National unit.⁸² In that year she again assumed the presidency of the NAWSA. Eleanor Flexner describes Mrs. Catt as "an excellent organizer" "able to conceive a plan of action" and able to insure the implementation

of her plan. Eleanor Flexner claims Mrs. Catt stands equal to Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton in the suffrage movement.⁸³

Mary Putman Jacobi

Mary Putman Jacobi, August 31, 1842-June 10, 1906, was a physician, educator and author. Born in London in a Puritan family, Mary lived there until age five when her family moved to New York. At fifteen she attended New York public school until she graduated from the New York College of Pharmacy in 1863 and in 1864 from the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania. From 1866 until her graduation in July 1871, she struggled to first gain admittance and then to achieve the role of being the second woman doctor of medicine on the registers of the Ecole de Medicine in Paris.⁸⁴

She worked for equal education for women and to raise the standard of the Woman's Medical College. For suffrage her contribution took place at Albany, New York, in 1894 when she addressed the constitutional convention. This address was reprinted and reused in 1915 by New York suffragists.⁸⁵

Mary Putnam Jacobi achieved something unique for a woman. She became a Doctor of Medicine, a role only one woman before her had achieved. She remains important because of her May 31, 1894, speech which has been printed in collected groups of orations and is available for review today.

Jeannette Rankin, M.C.

Jeannette Rankin was born June 11, 1880, on a ranch near Missoula, Montana. She received her B.S. degree in 1902 from the University of Montana. She became a social worker and suffrage advocate for woman's suffrage after training in the Russell Sage School of Philanthropy.⁸⁶

Miss Rankin was the first woman to ever be elected to the Congress of the United States. There she served as a Republican in the House of Representatives. Miss Rankin spoke in favor of the suffrage amendment.⁸⁷

The Liberation Movement

In the 1960's, "an articulate and organized outcry again came from women." This was stated by June Sochen in her introduction to the book The New Feminism in Twentieth-Century America.⁸⁸

The forties and the fifties had resulted in women of the middle class returning to higher domesticity. Women were marrying earlier and having more children. They represented a smaller percentage of the professional workers though they were a growing sector of the working force. Although more women attended college, they now represented a smaller sector of the total enrollment.⁸⁹ According to William O'Neill, as the postwar era drew to a close, women became increasingly discontented with their docile position. It became the subject for critical attention. Earlier attempts to bring recognition to the women's cause were hardly noticed. Eleanor Flexner's Century of Struggle, 1959, was "the first

professional history of the women's rights movement," but it received little attention except by scholars. Also in 1959, A Century of Higher Education for American Women, cited women's declining position in the academic society. Robert Smut's study, Women and Work in America, drew little attention when he discussed how little women's work had changed outside the home since 1890.⁹⁰

In 1961, a Commission on the Status of Women was formed by President Kennedy. Many states followed his example to study the status of women. The women's question was growing; a new generation of activists emerged. They demonstrated, marched, sat in, sat down, joined the Peace Corps and the civil rights movement in an attempt to prove their equality with men working for the same causes.

In a report to President Kennedy in 1963, the Commission he had formed two years earlier cited the following problems concerning the status of women:

job discrimination, unequal educational opportunities, inadequate childcare centers, unfair taxation policies, inequality under the law, and so on.⁹²

According to William O'Neill in his book, Everyone Was Brave, the appearance of Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique in 1963 hit upon ripe conditions. The growing uneasiness to which her book was directed needed just such an event to crystallize.⁹³

Mary Lou Thompson, in her book, Voices of the New Feminism, describes The Feminine Mystique in an introduction to an article

by Betty Friedan as "Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique, published in 1963, gave voice to the simmering frustrations of many women and caused others to question some of their accepted values".⁹⁴

President Nixon's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities presented its recommendations in 1969. These recommendations were presented with urgency. The problems of 1969 were listed as: "job discrimination, unequal educational opportunities, inadequate childcare centers, unfair taxation policies, inequality under the law and so on." The problems cited in 1963 and again in 1969 are identical.⁹⁵

National Organization for Women

The National Organization for Women (hereafter referred to as NOW) was founded June, 1966, by a group of women attending the Third National Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women. Founding members of NOW included Betty Friedan, Kathryn Clarenback, and a group of 26 other women attending the conference.⁹⁶

Lisa Hammel in her article "NOW Organized," which appears in The New Feminism in Twentieth-Century America, relates early events of the formation of NOW. NOW was organized to be part of the human rights revolution. As one of their initial actions, NOW's board of directors sent a letter asking President Johnson to urge "effective enforcement powers to the Equal Employment

Opportunity Commission."⁹⁷

Mary Lou Thompson in her book, Voices of the New Feminism, cites the formation of NOW as the official beginning of the modern liberation movement.⁹⁸ The first national conference of NOW was held in Washington, D.C. in 1967. At that meeting NOW's Bill of Rights was adopted and they include:

- I. Equal Rights Constitutional Amendment
- II. Enforce Law Banning Sex Discrimination in Employment
- III. Maternity Leave Rights in Employment and in Social Security Benefits
- IV. Tax Deductions for Home and Child Care Expenses for Working Parents
- V. Child Day Care Centers
- VI. Equal and Unsegregated Education
- VII. Equal Job Training Opportunities and Allowances for Women in Poverty
- VIII. The Right of Women to Control Their Reproductive Lives.⁹⁹

Aileen Hernandez's "Editorial From NOW's President," which appears in June Sochen's The New Feminism in Twentieth-Century America and which originally appeared in the July, 1970, newsletter from NOW, cites the following numbers for the NOW organization.

NOW has been fantastically effective in the brief few years since October of 1966 in Washington, D.C., when 300 men and women pledged an all-out war on sex discrimination. We have eighty chapters or chapters in formation in twenty-four states (and by the time I get that written, a new chapter has come into existence and another state has been added to the list).¹⁰⁰

According to the Encyclopedia of Associations, Volume I, NOW has 200 local chapters and it holds annual regional conferences and national conferences at intervals that are no greater than 18

months. NOW also has several committees. They include: "Legal; Politics; Legislation; Employment; Marriage and Family; Public Accommodations; Education; Women in Religion; Image of Women; Strategy and Tactics."¹⁰¹

NOW is a growing organization, dedicated to the rights of women. Its members include both men and women. Although NOW is not the only organization working for women's rights, it is the principal national organization.

Equal Rights Amendment

The Equal Rights Amendment represents "the constitutional basis for all legal equality for women." It was first introduced to Congress in 1923. The amendment was written by the National Women's Party under the direction of Alice Paul. Several court test cases made the passage of such an amendment necessary to provide equal rights to women. The most recent test case was in 1961 in *Hoyt vs. Florida*. In this case "the Supreme Court relied on sex as a classification, overruling the demand that women be treated as individuals."¹⁰²

May 5, 6, and 7, of 1970 were the dates on which the subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate conducted its hearings on the "Equal Rights" amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 61.¹⁰³ The Joint Resolution, as it appears in Bosmajain and Bosmajain's book, This Great Argument: The Rights of Women, reads as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and the 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 the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states:

Article--

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. Congress and the several States shall have power within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states.

Section 3. This amendment shall take effect one year after the date of ratification.¹⁰⁴

At the opening of the hearing, statements were made by Senator Birch Bayh who presided. His remarks dealt with "the status of women in the United States and the discrimination practiced against them." During the course of the hearing, many people presented testimony to the committee: Jean Witter, Chairman of the Equal Rights Amendment Committee of NOW; she was followed by three members of the Washington Women's Liberation Movement, Emma Goldman, Sarah Grimke, and Angelina Grimke; and Mortimer Furay of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO also made a statement.¹⁰⁵

Although the 91st Senate did not pass the Equal Rights Amendment, the 91st House of Representatives did. House Joint Resolution 264 (same as S.J. 61) was debated on August 10, 1970.¹⁰⁶

The Women's Rights Amendment was passed March 22, 1972, by the Senate with a vote of 84 to 8. This amendment banning the

legal discrimination against women because of their sex was then sent to the states for ratification. Hawaii, within hours, became the first state of the needed 38 to ratify. This measure marks the first time guarantees for women were made in an amendment by not specifically mentioning them. The measure states:

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

The Amendment would go into effect two years after the date of ratification by the states.¹⁰⁷

Other Liberation Causes

Abortion

The issue of abortion was listed in NOW's Bill of Rights at its first national convention. It is a concern of women's rights, and NOW has been working for its legalization.

According to Paul Gastonguay in America, an increasingly large number of American citizen's have decided that "the right to abortion should be one criterion of a true democracy." In 1967, the first liberal abortion law was enacted in Colorado. It was a law which allowed abortions for expanded therapeutic reasons.¹⁰⁸ Colorado's action toward abortion seemed to provide the igniting spark which set off this rapidly changing attitude concerning abortion. Progress for allowing abortion made headway in several states, but the biggest question became: "How do you determine when the unborn child is a human being and therefore protected by the Fourteenth and Fifth Amendments?" State

legislatures began arbitrarily setting the date at which the fetus was a human being. Many states began allowing nontherapeutic abortions on demand, in which case the original regulations and restrictions proposed by abortion advocates themselves have been almost completely overruled.¹⁰⁹

Federal action concerning abortion took effect January 22, 1973, with the seven to two Supreme Court decision that read as follows:

overruled all states' laws that restricted or prohibited a woman's right to an abortion during the first 3 months of pregnancy. The court also ruled that during the next 6 months of pregnancy the state may "regulate the abortion procedure in ways that are reasonably related to maternal health and that during the last 10 weeks any state may prohibit abortions, except where it is necessary to preserve the mother's life."¹¹⁰

Principal Women Contributors

Although the Women's Liberation Movement is supported by a countless number of individuals, a few women have gained significant recognition in this contemporary movement for women's rights. The intent in this section is to identify these women who played leadership roles in the movement.

Betty Friedan

Betty Naomi Friedan, whose book The Feminine Mystique was cited earlier in the development of the women's liberation movement, was born in Peoria, Illinois, February 4, 1921.¹¹¹ In 1942 she graduated summa cum laude with a B.A. from Smith College. Who's Who of American Women attaches the titles of author and

feminist leader to Betty Friedan and tells of her lecturing throughout the United States and Europe to various women's and political groups.¹¹²

Betty Friedan organized NOW in 1966 and served as its first president from 1966 to 1970. According to the 8th Edition of Who's Who of American Women 1974-1975, she is presently serving as the Chairman of the Advisory Committee for NOW.¹¹³

Gloria Steinem

Gloria Steinem, granddaughter of Pauline Steinem, an early feminist who served as president of Ohio Woman's Suffrage Association from 1908-1911, was born in Toledo, Ohio, March 25, 1936. She graduated from Washington High School in 1952, received her B.A. in 1956 from Smith College, and then began a career as a writer.¹¹⁴

Current Biography, 1972 calls Miss Steinem "the most persuasive publicist for the growing feminist movement." Her involvement in the women's liberation movement began in November, 1968. She spent her time introducing the general public to the feminist movement. She participated in fund raising, speaking at college campuses and before women's groups.

In 1970 she helped organize the August Women's Strike for Equality and in July, 1971, she helped found the National Women's Political Caucus. Her most ambitious project, according to Current Biography, was the publication of Ms, which first appeared on newstands in January, 1972.¹¹⁶

Caroline Bird

Miss Caroline Bird was born April 15, 1915, in New York City. She attended Vassar College from 1931 to 1934, received her B.A. degree from the University of Toledo in 1938 and her M.A. degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1939.

According to the sixth edition of Who's Who of American Women, Miss Bird is a journalist.¹¹⁷ Miss Bird's speech, "On Being Born Female," appeared in the November 15, 1968, issue of Vital Speeches.¹¹⁸

Arvonne Fraser

Arvonne Delrae Skelton Fraser was born in Lamberton, Minnesota, on September 1, 1925. She received her B.A. degree from the University of Minnesota in 1948. The Eighth edition of Who's Who of American Women classifies Arvonne Fraser as a civic and political worker. In 1971 she was a member of the board of Washington Opportunities for Women and the National Vice-President of the Women's Equity Action League.¹¹⁹

Mrs. Fraser delivered a speech to the Student Body of Western Illinois University, June 3, 1971. It appeared in the July 15, 1971, issue of Vital Speeches.¹²⁰

Louise Bushnell

Sue Louise Pringle Bushnell was born in Vancouver, Washington, on September 30, 1912. She received her B.A. degree from Willamette University in 1934 and her M.Ed. from the University

of Portland in 1957. Mrs. Bushnell took postgraduate work at Portland State College, Reed College, and San Francisco State College.¹²¹

Louise Bushnell's speech "What's Happened to Eve?" appeared in the October 1, 1970, issue of Vital Speeches. At that time, Mrs. Bushnell was working with the Public Information Department, National Association of Manufacturers.¹²²

Katie Loucheim

Katie Scoffield Loucheim was born in New York City on December 28, 1903. Mrs. Loucheim graduated from Rosemary Hall in 1921. She was a student at Columbia from 1926 to 1927, Drexel Institute of Technology in 1964, and Franklin Pierce College in 1967.¹²³

Mrs. Loucheim's speech "The Citizen in a Changing World" appeared in the November 15, 1963, issue of Vital Speeches. At the time this speech appeared in Vital Speeches, Mrs. Loucheim was the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.¹²⁴

Dr. Lillian O'Connor

Dr. Lillian O'Connor was born on January 15, 1904, in Baring, Missouri. She graduated magna cum laude from St. Louis University in 1925. She received her M.A. degree from Columbia in 1938 and her Ph.D. in 1952.¹²⁵

Dr. O'Connor's speech "For a Better World Tomorrow" appeared in the January 15, 1968, issue of Vital Speeches. At

the time Dr. O'Connor's speech appeared in Vital Speeches she was known as an education specialist.¹²⁶

Other Contributors

Several other women have also delivered speeches used for this study. All these speeches appear in issues of Vital Speeches. A survey of all issues of Current Biography, the 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 7th, and 8th editions of Who's Who of American Women, all editions of Who's Who in America and the 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1970 editions of Outstanding Young Women of America revealed no biographical material relative to these contributors. These women include:

Dr. Jacqueline St. John, Assistant Professor of History, University of Nebraska.¹²⁷

Bernice Sandler, Executive Associate and Director of the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, Washington, D.C.¹²⁸

Wilma Scott Heide, President of NOW.¹²⁹

Summary

The woman's suffrage movement and the women's liberation movement were not the result of single events. They were the product of many interrelated events and the efforts of countless individuals.

The suffrage movement dated from the Seneca Falls convention in 1848 and covers a span of seventy-two years. It is characterized by various state and national efforts by both men and women to secure the vote for women.

Within the woman's suffrage movement, certain women emerged as being prominent. Some of these women have been mentioned in this study because of their contributions. These women include: Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone Blackwell, Carrie Chapman Catt, Mary Putnam Jacobi, and Jeannette Rankin.

The liberation movement is dated from the early 1960's and is a relatively young movement. To date, the liberation movement has aided women in securing legislative measures on equal rights and abortion. While the liberation movement is fairly new, it does appear to be an established movement in America today.

Within the development of the women's liberation movement, certain women have emerged as being prominent. Some of these women were mentioned in this study because of their contributions. These women include: Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, Katie Loucheim, Dr. Lillian O'Connor, Caroline Bird, Louise Bushnell, Arvonne Fraser, Wilma Scott Heide, Bernice Sandler and Dr. Jacqueline St. John.

FOOTNOTES

¹Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Women's Movement in the United States* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard, 1959), p. 77.

²Ibid., pp. 71-74.

³Ibid., p. 74.

⁴William L. O'Neill, *The Woman Movement* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1969), p. 22.

⁵Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, p. 82.

⁶Ibid., p. 81.

⁷Ibid., p. 82.

⁸Ibid., p. 84.

⁹Ibid., p. 108.

¹⁰David Saville Muzzey, *The United States of America, Vol. II: From the Civil War* (Chicago: Ginn and Company, 1933), p. 470.

¹¹O'Neill, *The Woman Movement*, pp. 23-24.

¹²Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, p. 145.

¹³Ibid., p. 143.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 145.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 143-144.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 147-48.

¹⁷Muzzey, *The United States*, p. 470.

¹⁸Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, pp. 148-49.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 150-51.

²⁰Ibid., p. 152.

²¹Ibid.

- ²²Ibid.
- ²³Ibid.
- ²⁴Ibid., pp. 219-20.
- ²⁵Muzzey, The United States, p. 470.
- ²⁶Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 160-61.
- ²⁷Muzzey, The United States, p. 470.
- ²⁸Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 222.
- ²⁹Muzzey, The United States, p. 471.
- ³⁰Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 248.
- ³¹Ibid., p. 249.
- ³²Muzzey, The United States, pp. 472-73.
- ³³Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 270.
- ³⁴Muzzey, The United States, pp. 472-73.
- ³⁵Ibid.
- ³⁶Mildred Adams, The Right to Be People (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1966), p. 4.
- ³⁷Ibid., p. 148.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 149.
- ³⁹Ibid., pp. 149-50.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., p. 150.
- ⁴¹Ibid., pp. 153-54.
- ⁴²Ibid., p. 154.
- ⁴³George E. Delury, ed., The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1974 (United States of America: Newspaper Enterprise Association Inc., 1973), p. 760.
- ⁴⁴Dumas Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography Vol. XIII (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), pp. 288-89.

- ⁴⁵Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, p. 289.
- ⁴⁶Constance Buel Burnett, Five for Freedom (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 46.
- ⁴⁷Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, p. 289.
- ⁴⁸Dumas Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XVII, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 521.
- ⁴⁹Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XIII, p. 289.
- ⁵⁰Burnett, Five for Freedom, pp. 69-72.
- ⁵¹Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 86.
- ⁵²Ibid., p. 88.
- ⁵³Ibid., p. 109.
- ⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 145-48.
- ⁵⁵Burnett, Five for Freedom, p. 109.
- ⁵⁶Mary Lou Thompson, ed., Voices of the New Feminism (Boston: Bacon Press, 1970), p. 17.
- ⁵⁷Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 168-69.
- ⁵⁸Ibid., p. 173.
- ⁵⁹Ibid., p. 220.
- ⁶⁰Allen Johnson, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. I, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), pp. 318-19.
- ⁶¹Burnett, Five for Freedom, p. 208.
- ⁶²Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 85-86.
- ⁶³Ibid., p. 88.
- ⁶⁴Thompson, New Feminism, p. 18.
- ⁶⁵Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 170-71.
- ⁶⁶Burnett, Five for Freedom, p. 253.

- ⁶⁷Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 237-39.
- ⁶⁸Dumas Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XVIII (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), p. 80.
- ⁶⁹Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 69.
- ⁷⁰Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XVIII, p. 80.
- ⁷¹Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 69.
- ⁷²Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XVIII, p. 81.
- ⁷³Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 84.
- ⁷⁴Burnett, Five for Freedom, p. 168.
- ⁷⁵Anna Rathe, ed., Current Biography: Who's New and Why (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1947), p. 101.
- ⁷⁶Maxine Block, ed., Current Biography: Who's New and Why (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1940), p. 151.
- ⁷⁷Ibid.
- ⁷⁸Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 236.
- ⁷⁹Block, Current Biography, 1940, p. 151.
- ⁸⁰Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 248.
- ⁸¹Ibid., p. 258.
- ⁸²Ibid., pp. 265-66.
- ⁸³Ibid., p. 275.
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- ⁸⁵Ibid., p. 565.
- ⁸⁶David Josiah Brewer, ed., World's Best Orations (Chicago: F. P. Kaiser Publishing Company, 1900), p. 37.
- ⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸June Sochen, ed., The New Feminism in Twentieth-Century America (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971), p. x.

⁸⁹William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), p. 338.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 340.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 342.

⁹²Hamida Bosmajian and Haig Bosmajian, editors, This Great Argument: The Rights of Women (Menlo Park, California: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1972), p. 247.

⁹³O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, pp. 342-43.

⁹⁴Thompson, Voices, p. 31.

⁹⁵Bosmajain and Bosmajain, This Great Argument, p. 201.

⁹⁶Nancy Gager, ed., Women's Rights Almanac 1974 (Bethesda, Maryland: Elizabeth Cady Stanton Publishing Company, 1974), p. 399.

⁹⁷Lisa Hammel, "NOW Organized" in The New Feminism in Twentieth-Century America, ed. by June Sochen (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971), pp. 173-74.

⁹⁸Thompson, Voices, p. 31.

⁹⁹Aileen Hernandez, "Editorial From NOW President" in The New Feminism in Twentieth-Century America, edited by June Sochen (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971), p. 176.

¹⁰⁰Sochen, The New Feminism, p. 173.

¹⁰¹Margaret Fisk, ed., Encyclopedia of Associations, Vol. I, National Organizations of the U.S., 1972 (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1972), p. 871.

¹⁰²Gager, Women's Rights Almanac 1974, pp. 506-07.

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- 118 Caroline Bird, "On Being Born Female," Vital Speeches, November 15, 1968, p. 88.
- 119 Who's Who of American Women, 1974-1975, p. 314.
- 120 Arvonne S. Fraser, "Women: The New Image," Vital Speeches, July 15, 1971, p. 599.
- 121 Who's Who of American Women, 1970-1971, p. 178.
- 122 Louise Bushnell, "What's Happened to Eve," Vital Speeches, October 1, 1970, p. 749.
- 123 Who's Who of American Women, p. 754.
- 124 Katie Loucheim, "Citizen in a Changing World," Vital Speeches, November 15, 1963, p. 93.
- 125 Who's Who of American Women, 1961-1962 (Chicago: Marquis Who's Who, 1961), p. 742.

¹²⁶Dr. Lillian O'Connor, "For a Better World Tomorrow," Vital Speeches, January 15, 1968, p. 214.

¹²⁷Dr. Jacqueline St. John, "Today and Tomorrow," Vital Speeches, June 15, 1972, p. 528.

¹²⁸Bernice Sandler, "Women In Higher Education," Vital Speeches, June 15, 1972, p. 532.

¹²⁹Wilma Scott Heide, "Revolution," Vital Speeches, May 1, 1973, p. 424.

CHAPTER III

THEMES AND RECURRENCE OF THEMES WITHIN AND BETWEEN THE RHETORIC OF THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT AND THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Introduction

The intent in this chapter is to identify the themes in selected speeches from the woman's suffrage movement and the women's liberation movement and to discover the degree of recurrence of themes within and between the two movements.

The chapter is divided into three major sections. The first section includes identification of themes in the selected speeches from the woman's suffrage movement. The second section includes identification of themes from the women's liberation movement. The third section deals with the recurrence of themes within and between the two movements.

Woman's Suffrage Speeches

Elizabeth Cady Stanton
July 16-17, 1848

Elizabeth Cady Stanton presented the speech "First Woman's Rights Convention" (This was the title under which the speech was found in William Boutwell's book Great Speeches from Pericles to Kennedy.) at the first women's rights convention in America.

The Convention held in Seneca Falls, New York, lasted two days; and references indicate that Mrs. Stanton presented her speech on the second day.¹ The text for Mrs. Stanton's speech was taken from "Great Speeches from Pericles to Kennedy, William Boutwell, ed."²

In this speech of Mrs. Stanton, three assertive themes emerged. The first theme expressed the idea that (1) women themselves must work for their equality of rights because women alone can understand the intensity of their problem.³ Mrs. Stanton's second assertive theme expressed the idea that (2) the question of women's rights is important because its outcome will affect all human beings.⁴ The third theme expressed by Mrs. Stanton developed the idea that (3) the era in history when she was speaking was the best time for a movement for women's equal rights.⁵

Susan Brownell Anthony
January 25, 1887

Susan B. Anthony presented the speech "For the Woman's Suffrage Amendment" (this was the title under which the speech was found in Ernest J. Wrage's American Forum: Speeches on Historic Issues, 1788-1900) before the United States Senate as part of the debate on the woman's suffrage amendment.⁶ The text of this speech was taken from the U.S. Congressional Record.⁷

In the speech referred to as "For the Woman's Suffrage Amendment," Miss Anthony presented six assertive themes and one refutational theme.

The first assertive theme expressed the idea that (1) the theory of our government entitles women to the vote.⁸ Miss Anthony's second theme expressed the idea that (2) women's taxation without representation is not fair.⁹ The idea (3) that women are entitled to the vote because they are citizens was expressed by Miss Anthony in her third assertive theme.¹⁰ The fourth assertive theme presented by Miss Anthony related the idea that (4) women wish to become a part in the balance of political power.¹¹ The fifth theme was that (5) total not partial suffrage is needed.¹² In her final assertive theme, Miss Anthony expressed the idea that (6) the women's right to vote is a national not state concern.¹³

Miss Anthony's one refutational theme answered the question which asked why suffrage couldn't be won by "direct-popular vote." In answer to the question, Miss Anthony expressed the idea that (7) it would be impossible and too humiliating to secure woman's suffrage by "direct popular vote."¹⁴

Mary Putnam Jacobi
May 31, 1894

Mary Putnam Jacobi addressed the Suffrage Committee of the New York State Constitutional Convention on May 31, 1894, in Albany, New York. On this occasion, Mrs. Jacobi presented the speech "Woman's Suffrage." The text for Mrs. Jacobi's speech "Woman's Suffrage" was taken from Volume 42 of Werner Readings and Recitations.¹⁵

In this speech, Mrs. Jacobi presented four assertive themes. The first expressed the idea that (1) giving American women the vote would provide a signal for a similar course of action in the rest of the civilized world.¹⁶ The idea that (2) women have never been a separate class was expressed by Mrs. Jacobi in her second theme.¹⁷ The third theme expressed the idea that (3) women demand the vote because they fill all the qualifications.¹⁸ Mrs. Jacobi's fourth and final theme expressed the idea that (4) women are attempting to achieve equality for all.¹⁹

Carrie Chapman Catt
June 13, 1911

Carrie Chapman Catt presented a presidential address at the Sixth Convention of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance in Stockholm, Sweden. The speech Mrs. Catt presented on June 13, 1911, was titled "The World Movement for Suffrage." The text for Mrs. Catt's speech was taken from Famous Speeches by Eminent American Statesmen, Frederick C. Hicks, editor.²⁰

In this speech by Mrs. Catt, four assertive themes and one refutational theme emerge. The first four themes presented were assertive themes and the final theme was refutational. Mrs. Catt's first theme expressed the idea that (1) the contemporary woman's suffrage movement has a definite purpose and clear understanding.²¹ The idea that (2) women are insisting on political rights as part of the contemporary movement was expressed by Mrs. Catt in her second assertive theme.²² Mrs. Catt expressed the idea

that (3) the movement for woman's suffrage is not receding in her third theme.²³ Mrs. Catt's final assertive theme was that (4) the movement is near to achieving its goal.²⁴

The refutational theme expressed by Mrs. Catt answered the question, why were women not content to wait for evolution to bring them equality of rights. To this Mrs. Catt responded that (5) women can not sit idle while other women are suffering unjust treatment.²⁵

Jeannette Rankin
January 10, 1918

Jeannette Rankin delivered the speech "Woman's Suffrage and War" during a debate on the Woman's Suffrage Amendment in the House of Representatives. The speech was presented January 10, 1918.²⁶ The text for Mrs. Rankin's speech "Woman's Suffrage and War" was taken from David Brewer's World's Best Orations.²⁷

In this speech Mrs. Rankin presented two assertive themes. The first theme expressed the idea that (1) America now more than ever before needs its women.²⁸ The idea that (2) America is not working as individual states but as a nation was expressed by Mrs. Rankin in her second theme.²⁹

Women's Liberation Speeches

Mrs. Katie Loucheim
October 12, 1963

Mrs. Katie Loucheim, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, delivered the speech "The Citizen in a

"Changing World" was taken from Vital Speeches, November 15, 1963.³¹ In this speech, Mrs. Loucheim expressed six assertive themes following a lengthy introduction which appeared to be intended as a clarification of the political, economic, and social situation of the time at which Mrs. Loucheim was speaking.

The first assertive theme expressed the idea that (1) women's emergence into "the public light of day" has been impressive in the past few generations.³² The second theme was also assertive, and expressed the idea that (2) there are many and complex reasons for the change in the status of women.³³ Mrs. Loucheim's third theme, again assertive, expressed the idea that (3) women's clubs have been discovered as a progressive force by emerging women. The idea that (4) American women's voluntary organizations have become a topic of international study was the fourth assertive theme expressed by Mrs. Loucheim in her speech.³⁵ The fifth theme expressed the idea that (5) Foreign Aid is a new area with which women's groups have become concerned.³⁶ The final and sixth theme expressed by Mrs. Loucheim contained the idea that (6) every individual citizen is an important force in the United States.³⁷

Dr. Lillian O'Connor
October 4, 1967

Dr. Lillian O'Connor is referred to by the January 15, 1968, issue of Vital Speeches as an Educational Specialist. Dr. O'Connor delivered the speech "For a Better World Tomorrow"

before the 16th Congress of the World Union Catholic Women's Organization in Rome. The speech was delivered on October 4, 1967.³⁸ The text for Dr. O'Connor's speech was taken from the January 15, 1968, issue of Vital Speeches.³⁹ In this speech, Dr. O'Connor presented two assertive themes. Dr. O'Connor's first theme expressed the idea that (1) women are as guilty as men for women's lack of contributions to the "recorded history of ideas."⁴⁰ The second theme expressed by Dr. O'Connor revealed the idea that (2) women's lives have undergone a dramatic change, therefore, they can no longer just enjoy life.⁴¹

Caroline Bird
September 25, 1968

Miss Caroline Bird is classified as an author in the November 15, 1968, issue of Vital Speeches. Miss Bird presented the speech "On Being Born Female" before the Episcopal Church Executive Council in Greenwich, Connecticut, on September 25, 1968.⁴² The text for Miss Bird's speech was taken from the November 15, 1968, issue of Vital Speeches.⁴³

In this speech, Miss Bird presented six assertive themes. Her first theme expressed the idea that (1) differences between individuals of opposite sex exist more in people's minds than in fact.⁴⁴ The second theme expressed the idea that (2) women now have more years when bearing and rearing children are not occupying their lives.⁴⁵ The third idea that (3) women are against the "protective laws" which limit woman's work was

expressed in Mrs. Bird's third theme.⁴⁶ The fourth theme expressed the idea that (4) women no longer believe they can give their time fully to volunteer work.⁴⁷ Miss Bird expressed the idea that (5) women have been granted only token positions on national committees by political parties since they were given suffrage in her fifth theme.⁴⁸ The sixth and final theme expressed the idea that (6) only when a woman had to become a wife to make a living did sexism make sense.⁴⁹

Louise Bushnell
September 10, 1970

Louise Bushnell, according to Vital Speeches, October 1, 1970, was working in the Public Information Department, National Association of Manufacturers. Mrs. Bushnell presented the speech "What's Happened to Eve" before the American Business Woman's Association (Boss Night) in Williamsport, Pennsylvania. The speech was delivered September 10, 1970.⁵⁰ The text for Louise Bushnell's speech was taken from the October 1, 1970, issue of Vital Speeches.⁵¹

In this speech, Mrs. Bushnell presented four assertive themes. The first theme expressed the idea that (1) differences exist in pay and jobs available to men and women.⁵² Mrs. Bushnell's second theme expressed the idea that (2) passing a law is only part of the task toward equality.⁵³ The idea that (3) the frustrations of American women must be dealt with calmly and with good sense was expressed in the third theme.⁵⁴ The fourth

and final theme expressed by Mrs. Bushnell contained the idea that (4) the evolution of women's rights creates both good and bad situations, because with equality comes responsibility.⁵⁵

Arvonne S. Fraser
June 3, 1971

Arvonne S. Fraser, according to the July 5, 1971, issue of Vital Speeches, was the Chairman of the Washington, D.C. Chapter of the Women's Equity Action League. Arvonne Fraser presented the speech "Women" to the student body of Western Illinois University on June 3, 1971.⁵⁶ The text for the speech "Women" was taken from Vital Speeches, July 15, 1971.⁵⁷ In this speech of Arvonne Fraser, four assertive themes emerged. The first theme expressed the idea that (1) a society run by a white male minority is not acceptable.⁵⁸ The idea that (2) people must start considering new roles and mental images of women if there is to be concern for ecology, population, and environment was expressed as the second theme.⁵⁹ Arvonne Fraser's third theme developed the idea that (3) the status of women would be brought to the attention of society through the Equal Rights Amendment.⁶⁰ The fourth and final theme presented by Arvonne Fraser expressed the idea that (4) the women's liberation movement is with us to stay.⁶¹

Wilma Scott Heide
March 6, 1972

Wilma Scott Heide, President of the National Organization for Women, delivered the speech "Feminism" on March 6m 1973. It was presented at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln.⁶² The text for Mrs. Heide's speech was taken from the April 15, 1972, issue of Vital Speeches.⁶³

In this speech, Mrs. Heide presented eleven assertive themes. The first was that (1) it is not fair for people to utilize a language that denies the existence of women as human beings.⁶⁴ The idea that (2) "sexual inequality" has always been the "basic human inequality" emerged as the second theme.⁶⁵ The idea, that (3) women do not possess constitutional equality was expressed as Mrs. Heide's third theme.⁶⁶ For her fourth theme she asserted, (4) women would be eligible for the draft if the Equal Rights Amendment were passed.⁶⁷ The fifth theme to emerge from Mrs. Heide's speech, "Feminism," expressed the idea that (5) more legislation on all levels of government is needed in addition to the Equal Rights Amendment.⁶⁸ The idea that (6) a women's image is distorted or absent in the mass media was expressed by Mrs. Heide in her sixth theme.⁶⁹ Mrs. Heide's seventh theme was that (7) women have not had a voice in the discussions concerning their equality with men.⁷⁰ In Mrs. Heide's eighth theme the idea that (8) women are denied control of their own bodies is expressed.⁷¹ The ninth theme that emerged during Mrs. Heide's speech contained

the idea that (9) stereotyping is being challenged by the movement for women's rights.⁹² The idea that (10) both sexes possess the capacity for male and female traits was expressed by Mrs. Heide in her tenth assertive theme.⁷³ Mrs. Heide's eleventh and final theme stated that (11) sex prejudice results in greater economic loss than racial prejudice.⁷⁴

Bernice Sandler
March 7, 1972

Bernice Sandler, according to the June 15, 1973, issue of Vital Speeches was the Executive Associate and Director of the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, in Washington, D.C.⁷⁵ She presented the speech "Women in Higher Education" before the Concurrent General Session I at the 27th National Conference on Higher Education which was sponsored by the American Association for Higher Education. This speech was delivered on March 7, 1972, in Chicago, Illinois.⁷⁶ The text for Bernice Sandler's speech was taken from Vital Speeches, June 15, 1972.⁷⁷

In this speech eight assertive themes emerge. Bernice Sandler's first theme expressed the idea that (1) higher education is the area most often criticized for the way it treats women.⁷⁸ Her second theme was that (2) women wish to be free of the "myths" which have denied them equality with men.⁷⁹ The idea that (3) the final "socially acceptable prejudice" is discrimination because of sex, was expressed by Bernice Sandler in her third

assertive theme.⁸⁰ The fourth assertive theme expressed the idea that (4) women want positive action to alleviate the effects of discrimination in the past.⁸¹ Bernice Sandler expressed the idea that (5) women students must have "open admissions" to all co-educational schools in her fifth assertive theme.⁸² The idea that (6) female students must be made aware of the changes in the world that affect them emerged as Bernice Sandler's sixth theme.⁸³ The seventh theme expressed the idea that (7) compassion must be expressed for individuals who have been stifled by experiences in their past.⁸⁴ The eighth and final theme was that (8) attitudes towards what women want, like, and need will be the hardest to alter.⁸⁵

Dr. Jacqueline St. John
April 26, 1972

Dr. Jacqueline St. John, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Nebraska, presented the speech "Women's Legislative Issues," on April 26, 1972. The speech was delivered at the Institute for Business Women.⁸⁶ The text for Dr. St. John's speech "Women's Legislative Issues" was taken from the June 15, 1972, issue of Vital Speeches.⁸⁷

In this speech, nine assertive themes emerge. The first expressed the idea that (1) women are important and they are affected by some legislative issues.⁸⁸ Dr. St. John's second assertive theme expressed the idea that (2) there is a need by working mothers for proper child-care centers.⁸⁹ The idea that

(3) working women hold an economic position unequal to their male counterparts was expressed by Dr. St. John in her third assertive theme.⁹⁰ The fourth theme to emerge related the idea that (4) women are a minority because their political, economic, and social strength has not effectively been utilized.⁹¹ In her fifth theme Dr. St. John expressed the idea that (5) the new surge of feminism is a product of women's deteriorating condition" and "increasing spread of equalitarian ideas."⁹² Dr. St. John argued in her sixth theme that (6) the more progress women make the more they become aware of the uselessness of inequality.⁹³ She held, in her seventh assertive theme, that (7) society is insensitive and contemptible towards women.⁹⁴ The eighth theme was that (8) male doctors have given women the task of controlling conception by the advent of the birth control pill.⁹⁵ In her ninth and final theme, Dr. St. John finally offers the theme that (9) abortion should be a private matter between the patient and the physician.⁹⁶

Wilma Scott Heide
February 17-19, 1973

Wilma Scott Heide, President of NOW, delivered the speech "Revolution" at the Sixth National Conference of NOW. The speech was delivered sometime during the three-day conference which was held February 17-19, 1973, in Washington, D.C.⁹⁷ The text for Mrs. Heide's speech "Revolution" was taken from the May 1, 1973 issue of Vital Speeches.⁹⁸

In this speech, Mrs. Heide presents four assertive themes. The first theme expresses the idea that (1) NOW's value is in its diversity.⁹⁹ The idea that (2) NOW members must "dare to care" (they must be brave enough to work for what they want) is expressed by Mrs. Heide in her second theme.¹⁰⁰ Mrs. Heide's third theme expressed the idea that (3) NOW members want the idea of feminism to be given a chance.¹⁰¹ The fourth and final theme expressed the idea that (4) democracy does not exist when a country is run by white males.¹⁰²

Theme Recurrence

Suffrage Themes

The assertive themes presented in the selected speeches from the suffrage movement were as follows:

1. Women themselves must work for their equality of rights because women alone can understand the intensity of their problems.
2. The question of women's rights is important because its outcome will affect all human beings.
3. The era in history when she (Elizabeth Stanton) was speaking was the best time for a movement for women's equal rights.
4. The theory of our government entitles women to the vote.
5. Women's taxation without representation is not fair.
6. Women are entitled to the vote because they are citizens.

7. Women wish to become a part in the balance of political power.
8. Total not partial suffrage is needed.
9. The women's right to vote is a national not a state concern.
10. Giving American women the vote would provide a signal for a similar course of action in the rest of the civilized world.
11. Women have never been a separate class.
12. Women demand the vote because they fill all the qualifications.
13. Women are attempting to achieve equality for all.
14. The contemporary woman's suffrage movement has a definite purpose and clear understanding.
15. Women are insisting on political rights as part of the contemporary movement.
16. The movement for woman's suffrage is not receding.
17. The movement is near to achieving its goal.
18. America, now more than ever before, needs its women.
19. America is not working as individual states but as a nation.

The refutational themes presented in the selected speeches from the suffrage movement were as follows:

1. It would be impossible and too humiliating to secure woman's suffrage by "direct popular vote."

2. Women can not sit idle while other women are suffering unjust treatment.

Recurrence of specific suffrage themes

A total of nineteen assertive themes were discovered in the speeches selected from the woman's suffrage movement, additionally two refutational themes were discovered. The assertive themes have been analyzed as the recurrence of specific themes and the recurrence of categories into which the themes can be placed. The refutational themes offer no basis for evaluating their recurrence since they represent a specific answer by a speaker to an argument directed against her cause.

Of the nineteen assertive themes which were discovered in the selected speeches from the woman's suffrage movement, eighteen were found to be unique and nonrecurring. The one specific theme which did recur was expressed by both Miss Anthony (7) and by Mrs. Catt (15). This theme expressed the idea that women want their political rights.

Liberation Themes

The assertive themes presented in the selected speeches from the suffrage movement were as follows:

1. Women's emergence into "the public light of day" has been impressive in the past few generations.

2. There are many and complex reasons for the change in the status of women.

3. Women's clubs have been discovered as a progressive force by emerging women.

4. American women's organizations have become a topic of international study.

5. Foreign Aid is a new area with which women's groups have become concerned.

6. Every individual citizen is an important force in the United States.

7. Women are as guilty as men for women's lack of contributions to the "recorded history of ideas."

8. A woman's life has undergone a dramatic change; therefore, she can no longer just enjoy life.

9. Differences between individuals of opposite sex exist more in people's minds than in fact.

10. Women now have more years when bearing and rearing children are not occupying their lives.

11. Women are against the "protective laws" which limit women's work.

12. Women no longer believe they can give their time freely to volunteer work.

13. Women, since they were given suffrage, have been granted only token positions on national committees by political parties.

14. Only when a woman had to become a wife to make a living did sexism make sense.

15. Differences exist in pay and jobs available to men and women.

16. Passing a law is only part of the task toward equality.

17. The frustrations of American women must be dealt with calmly and with good sense.

18. The evolution of women's rights creates both good and bad situations because with equality comes responsibility.

19. A society run by a white male minority is not acceptable.

20. People must start considering new roles and mental images of women if there is to be concern for ecology, population, and environment.

21. The status of women would be brought to the attention of society through the Equal Rights Amendment.

22. The women's liberation movement is with us to stay.

23. It is not fair for us to utilize a language that denies the existence of women as human beings.

24. "Sexual inequality" has always been the "basic human inequality."

25. Women do not possess constitutional equality.

26. Women would be eligible for the draft if the Equal Rights Amendment were passed.

27. More legislation on all levels of government is needed in addition to the Equal Rights Amendment.
28. A woman's image is distorted or absent in the mass media.
29. Women have not had a voice in the discussions concerning their equality with men.
30. Women are denied control of their own bodies.
31. Stereotyping is being challenged by the movement for women's rights.
32. Both sexes possess the capacity for male and female traits.
33. Sex prejudice results in a greater economic loss than racial prejudice.
34. Higher education is the area most often criticized for the way it treats women.
35. Women wish to be free of the "myths" which have denied them equality with men.
36. The final "socially acceptable prejudice" is discrimination because of sex.
37. Women want positive action to alleviate the effects of discrimination in the past.
38. Women students must have "open admissions" to all coeducational schools.
39. Female students must be made aware of the changes in the world that affect them.

40. We must express compassion for individuals who have been stifled by experiences in their past.

41. Attitudes toward what women want, like, and need will be the hardest to alter.

42. Women are important and they are affected by some legislative issues.

43. There is a need by working mothers for proper child-care centers.

44. Working women hold an economic position unequal to their male counterparts.

45. Women are a minority because their political, economic, and social strengths have not effectively been utilized.

46. The new surge of feminism is a product of woman's "deteriorating condition" and "increasing spread of equalitarian ideas."

47. The more progress women make the more they become aware of the uselessness of inequality.

48. Society is insensitive and contemptible toward women.

49. Male doctors have given women the task of controlling conception by the advent of the birth control pill.

50. Abortion should be a private matter between the patient and the physician.

51. NOW's value is in its diversity.

52. NOW members must "dare to care." (They must be brave enough to work for what they want.)

53. NOW members want the idea of feminism to be given a chance.

54. Democracy does not exist when a country is run by white males.

Recurrence of specific liberation themes

A total of fifty-four assertive themes were discovered in the speeches selected from the women's liberation movement. Of these fifty-four themes, fifty-two were unique and nonrecurring. Two themes did recur within the rhetoric of the women's liberation movement. The first theme that recurred was expressed by both Louise Bushnell (10) and Dr. Jacqueline St. John (44) and it embodied the idea that there is a difference in the economic positions available to male and female counterparts.

The second recurring theme expressed the idea that it is unfair for a male, white minority to control our country. This theme was expressed by both Arvonne Fraser (19) and Wilma Scott Heide (54).

Recurrence of Specific Themes

From an examination of the specific themes found in the speeches from each of the two movements, no recurrence of themes was discovered.

Categorical Analysis of Themes

To further evaluate recurrence of themes within and between the two movements, the discovered themes have been placed in topic categories that were established inductively from the ideas expressed within the themes. The evaluation of recurrence of themes within this section will depend on the number of themes which express ideas judged to fall within the boundaries of the established categories.

Categories for Woman's Suffrage

Six categories were established from the ideas expressed in the assertive woman's suffrage themes. The discovered themes were then placed in the appropriate categories.

Category I--This category is composed of themes which express ideas on the status of America during the suffrage movement. The two themes which belong to this category include:

18. America, now more than ever before, needs its women.
19. America is not working as individual states but as a nation.

Category II--This category is composed of themes which express ideas on the status of the woman's suffrage movement. The three themes which belong to this category include these:

14. The contemporary woman's suffrage movement has a definite purpose and clear understanding.
16. The movement for woman's suffrage is not receding.
17. The movement is near to achieving its goal.

Category III--This category is composed of themes which express ideas concerning women's political rights. The three themes which belong to this category include these:

4. The theory of our government entitles women to the vote.
5. Women's taxation without representation is not fair.
6. Women are entitled to the vote because they are citizens.

Category IV--This category is composed of themes which express ideas concerning women's political demands. The three themes which belong to this category include these:

7. Women wish to become a part in the balance of political power.
12. Women demand the vote because they fill all the qualifications.

15. Women are insisting on political rights as part of the contemporary movement.

Category V--This category is composed of themes that express ideas concerning the achievement of suffrage for women. The two themes which belong to this category include these:

1. Women themselves must work for their equality of rights because women alone can understand the intensity of their problems.
9. The women's right to vote is a national not a state concern.

Category VI--This category is composed of individual themes which do not belong to any other particular category and therefore

possess ideas separate and unique. Six themes have been included in this category and they include the following:

2. The question of women's rights is important because its outcome will affect all human beings.

3. The era in history when she (Elizabeth Stanton) was speaking was the best time for a movement for women's equal rights.

8. Total not partial suffrage is needed.

10. Giving American women the vote would provide a signal for a similar course of action in the rest of the civilized world.

11. Women have never been a separate class.

13. Women are attempting to achieve equality for all.

This development of categories indicates that while there is only one recurrence of a specific theme, some of the themes do express ideas which are of a similar nature within the suffrage movement speeches.

Categories for Women's Liberation

Ten categories were established which seemed to best encompass the themes of the Women's Liberation movement. Each of the themes previously identified was then placed in the most appropriate category as determined by the writer.

Category I--This category is composed of themes which express ideas on the economic status of women. Three themes were placed in this category:

15. Differences exist in pay and jobs available to men and women.

33. Sex prejudice results in a greater economic loss than racial prejudice.

44. Working women hold an economic position unequal to their male counterparts.

Category II--This category is composed of themes which express ideas on the status of women in higher education. These are the three themes which appeared to belong to this category:

34. Higher education is the area most often criticized the way it treats women.

38. Women students must have "open admissions" to all coeducational schools.

39. Female students must be made aware of the changes in the world that affect them.

Category III--This category is composed of themes which express demands and wishes being made in the women's liberation movement. Seven themes were placed in this category:

11. Women are against the "protective laws" which limit women's work.

12. Women no longer believe they can give their time freely to volunteer work.

27. More legislation on all levels of government is needed in addition to the Equal Rights Amendment.

31. Stereotyping is being challenged by the movement for women's rights.

35. Women wish to be free of the "myths" which have denied them equality with men.

37. Women want positive action to alleviate the effects of discrimination in the past.

43. There is a need by working mothers for proper child-care centers.

Category IV--This category is composed of themes which express ideas on the image of women. Three themes appear in this category:

20. People must start considering new roles and mental images of women if there is to be concern for ecology, population, and environment.

28. A woman's image is distorted or absent in the mass media.

41. Attitudes toward what women want, like, and need will be the hardest to alter.

Category V--This category is composed of the themes which express ideas on the inequality toward women. There are four themes which belong to this category:

7. Women are as guilty as men for women's lack of contributions to the "recorded history of ideas."

25. Women do not possess constitutional equality.

29. Women have not had a voice in the discussions concerning their equality with men.

45. Women are a minority because their political, economic, and social strengths have not effectively been utilized.

Category VI--This category is composed of themes which express ideas on a woman and her reproductive organs. Three themes have been placed in this category:

30. Women are denied control of their own bodies.

49. Male doctors have given women the task of controlling conception by the advent of the birth control pill.

50. Abortion should be a private matter between the patient and the physician.

Category VII--This category is composed of themes which express ideas concerning NOW. Three themes appear to be in this category:

51. NOW's value is in its diversity.

52. NOW members must "dare to care." (They must be brave enough to work for what they want.)

53. NOW members want the ideas of feminism to be given a chance.

Category VII--This category is composed of themes which express ideas on the progress that women have made toward equality. The seven themes that have been placed in this category include:

1. Women's emergence into "the public light of day" has been impressive in the past few generations.

2. There are many and complex reasons for the change in the status of women.

8. A woman's life has undergone a dramatic change; therefore, she can no longer just enjoy life.

10. Women now have more years when bearing and rearing children are not occupying their lives.

18. The evolution of women's rights creates both good and bad situations because with equality comes responsibility.

42. Women are important and they are affected by some legislative issues.

47. The more progress women make the more they become aware of the uselessness of the inequality.

Category IX--This category is composed of themes which express ideas on the social aspect. The four themes that appear to belong to this category are these:

19. A society run by a white male minority is not acceptable.

21. The status of women would be brought to the attention of society through the Equal Rights Amendment.

36. The final "socially acceptable prejudice" is discrimination because of sex.

48. Society is insensitive and contemptible toward women.

54. Democracy does not exist when a country is run by white males.

Category X--This category consists of themes which do not belong to any other specified category, and therefore, possesses

ideas separate and unique. These sixteen themes have been included in this category:

3. Women's clubs have been discovered as a progressive force by emerging women.

4. American women's organizations have become a topic of international study.

5. Foreign Aid is a new area with which women's groups have become concerned.

6. Every individual citizen is an important force in the United States.

9. Differences between individuals of opposite sex exist more in people's minds than in fact.

13. Women, since they were granted suffrage, have been granted only token positions on national committees by political parties.

14. Only when a woman had to become a wife to make a living did sexism make sense.

16. Passing a law is only part of the task toward equality.

17. The frustration of American women must be dealt with calmly and with good sense.

22. The women's liberation movement is with us to stay.

23. It is not fair to utilize a language that denies women existence as human beings.

24. "Sexual inequality" has always been the "basic human inequality."

26. Women would be eligible for the draft if the Equal Rights Amendment were passed.

32. Both sexes possess the capacity for male and female traits.

40. Compassion must be expressed for individuals who have been stifled by experiences in their past.

46. The new surge of feminism is a product of woman's "deteriorating condition" and "increasing spread of egalitarian ideas."

This development of categories indicates that while there are only two recurrences of specific themes, some of the themes do express ideas which are of a similar nature within the women's liberation movement speeches.

Recurrence of Categories Between the Two Movements

An examination of the categories formed for the woman's suffrage movement and the women's liberation movement indicate that there were no obviously similar appropriate categories for classifying the rhetoric of the two movements. The woman's suffrage movement and the women's liberation movement demonstrated little recurrence of specific themes and classes of themes.

FOOTNOTES

¹Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "First Woman's Rights Convention," in Great Speeches from Pericles to Kennedy edited by William D. Boutwell (New York: Scholastic Book Service, 1965), p. 140.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 141.

⁴Ibid., p. 142

⁵Ibid., p. 143.

⁶Susan B. Anthony, "For the Woman's Suffrage Amendment," in World's Greatest Speeches edited by Lewis Copeland, (New York: Dover Publishers, 1958), p. 318.

⁷Susan B. Anthony, "For the Woman's Suffrage Amendment," U.S. Congress, Senate, Susan B. Anthony Speaking for the Amendment on Woman's Suffrage. 49th Cong., 2d sess., January 25, 1887, Congressional Record, p. 998.

⁸Ibid., p. 998.

⁹Ibid., p. 999.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p. 1000.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Mary Putnam Jacobi, "Woman's Suffrage," in Wierner's Readings and Recitations, Vol. 42: Famous Modern Orations (New York: J. F. Wagner, 1915), p. 17.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 19.

19 Ibid.

20 Carrie Chapman Catt, "The World Movement For Woman's Suffrage," in Famous Speeches by Eminent American Statesmen, edited by Frederick C. Hicks, (St. Paul: St. Paul West Publishing Company, 1927), p. 368.

21 Ibid., p. 369.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., p. 370.

24 Ibid., p. 373.

25 Ibid., p. 382.

26 Jeannette Rankin, "Woman's Suffrage and War," in World's Best Orations edited by David Josiah Brewer, (Chicago: F. P. Kaiser Publishing Company, 1900), p. 37.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., p. 38.

29 Ibid., p. 39.

30 Mrs. Katie Loucheim, "The Citizen in a Changing World," Vital Speeches, November 15, 1963, p. 93.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid., p. 94.

33 Ibid., p. 94.

34 Ibid., p. 95.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., p. 96.

37 Ibid.

38 Dr. Lillian O'Connor, "For a Better World Tomorrow," Vital Speeches, January 15, 1968, p. 214.

39 Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 216.

⁴²Miss Caroline Bird, "On Being Born Female," Vital Speeches, November 15, 1968, p. 88.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 89.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 90.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Louise Bushnell, "What's Happened to Eve?," Vital Speeches, October 1, 1970, p. 749.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid., p. 752.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Arvonne S. Fraser, "Women," Vital Speeches, July 5, 1971, p. 599.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 600.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 602.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 603.

⁶²Wilma Scott Heide, "Feminism," Vital Speeches, April 15, 1972, p. 403.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 404.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 406.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid., p. 407.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 408.

⁷⁵Bernice Sandler, "Women in Higher Education," Vital Speeches, June 15, 1973, p. 532.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 533.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 534.

⁸²Ibid., p. 535.

⁸³Ibid., p. 536.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Dr. Jacqueline St. John, "Women's Legislative Issues," Vital Speeches, June 15, 1972, p. 528.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid., p. 529.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid., p. 530.

95 Ibid., p. 531.

96 Ibid.

97 Wilma Scott Heide, "Revolution," Vital Speeches, May 1, 1973, p. 424.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid., p. 425.

102 Ibid., p. 426.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study has been to determine the extent to which rhetoric on behalf of women's rights by women utilized recurring themes within and between the woman's suffrage movement and the women's liberation movement.

A survey of appropriate publications was conducted to find any previous studies similar to this research subject. Those studies which appeared similar were analyzed further and found to be different from this study. Thus the uniqueness of this study was established. Chronological accounts of the woman's suffrage movement and the women's liberation movement were compiled to establish a description of each of the movements.

Representative women's speeches from each movement were selected and analyzed to discover the themes utilized. The themes were then compared and categorized in an attempt to determine instances of recurrence within and between the two movements.

Chronological Summary of Events

The Suffrage Movement

The woman's suffrage movement was not the product of a single event. It was the result of several related events whose

beginnings are dated with the Seneca Falls, New York, Convention in 1848. Although woman's suffrage was not a prominent issue of the early woman's movement, it had gained significance by the advent of the Civil War.

Both the proposed Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments evoked action on the part of sympathizers for woman's suffrage because their passage would make a constitutional amendment necessary to secure the vote for women. Both amendments passed despite efforts of the supporters of woman's suffrage.

A split took place in the woman's suffrage movement in 1869; and two separate organizations were formed, the AWSA and the NWSA. These two organizations remained separate until 1890 when they merged to become the NAWSA.

Supporters of woman's suffrage were working on both the state and national level to secure the vote for women. On the state level, progress began in the west with the admission of Wyoming to the Union as the first suffrage state in 1890. Colorado, Utah and Idaho became suffrage states soon after the admission of Wyoming. In 1910, Washington gave suffrage to women; and by 1912, California, Arizona, Oregon, and Kansas joined the suffrage ranks.

By 1917, when New York adopted woman's suffrage, more attention had been focused on the national level. In 1919, the suffrage amendment granting the vote to women was passed by

Congress. The ratification was achieved to implement the amendment as part of the United States Constitution.

The Liberation Movement

The contemporary women's liberation movement began in the early 1960's, not as the product of a single event but as the result of several interrelated events. In 1961, the Commission on the Status of Women was formed by President Kennedy and two years later its findings on the status of women were reported. In 1963, the appearance of Betty Friedan's book, The Feminine Mystique influenced the Women's Liberation Movement. The formation of NOW in 1966 seemed to provide a backbone for the movement. In 1969 President Nixon's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities presented its recommendations, revealing that the status of women had remained basically the same since the 1963 report to President Kennedy.

On August 10, 1970, the House of Representatives passed the Equal Rights Amendment; and on March 22, 1972, the Senate passed the same measure. Ratification of this amendment had not been completed as of the end of 1973.

On January 22, 1973, the United States Supreme Court ruled abortion legal in a 7 to 2 decision.

The women's liberation movement is a relatively new and a growing movement. The adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment

and the legalization of abortion are just two of the measures for which the women's liberation is working.

Summary of the Participants

The Suffrage Movement

Innumerable men and women participated in the development and progression of the suffrage movement. Those that have been mentioned in this study are only a few of the many who have contributed to the movement.

The women mentioned below either contributed to the movement through their positions of leadership or their rhetoric. The women specifically used in this study were Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone Blackwell, Carrie Chapman Catt, Mary Putnam Jacobi, and Jeannette Rankin.

The Liberation Movement

The liberation movement is the product of countless individuals and their efforts to secure equal rights for women. Although this is a relatively young movement, several individuals have emerged as prominent; and some of these have been used in this study because of either their positions of leadership or their contribution to the rhetoric of the movement. The women speakers specifically studied are Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, Katie Loucheim, Dr. Lillian O'Connor, Caroline Bird, Louise Bushnell, Arvonne S. Fraser, Wilma Scott Heide, Bernice Sandler, and Dr. Jacqueline St. John.

Summary of the Rhetorical Themes

Nineteen specific assertive themes emerged in the rhetoric of the woman's suffrage movement. Of these nineteen, eighteen were found to be unique and nonrecurring.

Two refutational themes were discovered in the rhetoric of the woman's suffrage movement.

The speeches analyzed from the women's liberation movement produced fifty-four assertive themes and no refutational themes. Of the fifty-four specific assertive themes, fifty-two themes were identified as unique and nonrecurring.

No indication of specific thematic recurrence was discovered between the woman's suffrage movement and the women's liberation movement.

Categories were then formed from the ideas expressed in themes within each movement in an attempt to further evaluate any recurrence of ideas. This categorization indicated that some themes within each movement possessed ideas of similar nature; however, there was still no indication of the recurrence of categories of ideas between the two movements.

Conclusions

1. The specific themes in the woman's suffrage movement represented many diverse and unique ideas.
2. The specific themes in the women's liberation movement represented many unique and diverse ideas.

3. Within the group of themes from the woman's suffrage speeches there was little recurrence present. However, most themes could be grouped into a limited number of categories of broad based subjects.

4. Within the specific themes from the women's liberation speeches there was little recurrence. The categorization of themes again indicated a number of themes dealing with similar subjects.

5. No recurrence of specific themes was noted between the woman's suffrage movement and the women's liberation movement.

6. The lack of recurrence of themes within the two movements strongly indicates that the rhetoric was basically original to the selected speakers and had not originated from a common source.

7. Judging from the wide variety of themes present in the woman's suffrage movement and the women's liberation movement, there appears to be justification to assume that the women's liberation movement is not a continuation of the earlier woman's movements.

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