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Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the New Right

Linda Van Ingen

University of Nebraska, Kearney

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The book's primary focus on the WAAC/WACs leaves little room to explore several other interesting aspects of Fort Des Moines's past. The 1917 African-American Officers' Candidate School is briefly mentioned in the introduction and is represented in chapter one by only a single image. The almost forgotten efforts of Hospital 26 (1918–1919) personnel rehabilitating wounded World War I soldiers are refreshingly covered by a series of 41 photographs. Unfortunately, the source of these unreferenced images (a souvenir booklet published at the hospital) does not appear in the bibliography. Although the introduction mentions the role of the fort as an artillery training base during the 1920s and 1930s, no images of 155mm howitzers or gun crews once prevalent at the fort appear. Entirely absent is the brief use of the fort by the 125th Observation Squadron of the Iowa Air National Guard after its federal mobilization in September 1941. Lastly, only a few minor references interpret the fort's more recent use by Army and Navy Reserve units up to the present day. As the first photo history of century-old Fort Des Moines No. 3, the book provides uneven and sparse coverage but successfully delivers a photographically rich overview of WAAC/WAC activities during World War II.

Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the New Right, by Catherine E. Rymph. Gender and American Culture Series. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. xi, 338 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper.

Reviewer Linda Van Ingen is associate professor of history at the University of Nebraska, Kearney. Her research and writing have focused on gender, race, and electoral politics in the twentieth century.

What began as a research project on Iowa Republican Mary Louise Smith has become, in the capable hands of Catherine Rymph, an impressive national history of Republican women from the 1920s to the 1980s. Rymph combed dozens of public and private archival collections to bring local perspectives into what is largely a history of the National Federation of Republican Women. Iowa women play large and small parts in this study. Smith is important for her role in the 1970s as a Republican feminist and the first woman chair of the Republican National Committee (RNC), and she is an interesting contrast to the conservative model of Republican womanhood presented by Phyllis Schlafly. Iowa club leader Ella Taylor of Tama County and Dorothy Christiansen of the Iowa Council of Republican Women are examples of diverse political styles in the 1930s and 1950s. While val-

uable for the way it fits local histories of Republican women into the broader national framework, Rymph's study is especially significant for revealing how Republican women both contested and supported a political shift to the right that was decades in the making.

Organized chronologically, the book begins with the early post-suffrage years. Would Republican women be better off working as loyalists within the party or as club women organized outside official party apparatus? Both required a degree of compromise. The former encouraged women to give up their legislative priorities in the hopes of gaining a role in party leadership, while the latter allowed them to pursue principled objectives but with limited access to policy-making committees. As Rymph ably demonstrates, women pursued both options at various times and with varying degrees of success.

Rymph dedicates a chapter to the early development of separatist Republican Women's Clubs. Although diverse, these clubs shared commonalities that would later be associated with the party's conservative wing. Those commonalities included organizing political activities around women's social and domestic lives, framing politics as an "urgent crusade of good against evil," and assuming a natural order of gender roles that considered women more virtuous and selfless than men (55–59). In 1938 Marion Martin, head of the Republican National Committee's Women's Division, brought these clubs into the National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs (later called the National Federation of Republican Women). An integrationist, Martin urged women's clubs to avoid extremist positions and stressed party loyalty above independent agendas. The expected reward of a greater role in policy, however, remained elusive.

New Federation leadership shifted strategies after World War II, reintroducing separatism as a means to expand the party's female membership. Women's clubs once again assumed independent, extremist positions. In the Cold War climate, this shift in strategy, Rymph argues, "unwittingly nurtured the Federation's right wing" (11). Clubs invited alarmist anticommunist speakers such as Senator Joseph McCarthy and organized in support of Barry Goldwater in 1964. Separatism further intensified when the Federation broke from the RNC's Women's Division and replaced its paid executive director, historically appointed by the RNC, with a president elected by its own membership. As Rymph argues, two models of female leadership—one a salaried professional who assimilated into the party apparatus, the other a volunteer who worked outside the party—represented two competing models of Republican womanhood. If Mary Louise Smith was the paid professional, Phyllis Schlafly represented the volunteer.

The 1970s was a political crossroads for Republican women. Although Schlafly lost a competitive bid for the Federation presidency to a pro-Equal Rights Amendment moderate in 1967, she quickly established an independent organization that gave rise to the Stop-ERA campaign and Eagle Forum. The moderate Ford administration demonstrated its support for equal rights and appointed Smith to chair the RNC. Ford's defeat in the 1976 presidential election, however, shattered opportunities for Republican feminists while conservatives such as Schlafly successfully lined up behind Ronald Reagan. "Republican feminists," Rymph points out, "had to acknowledge that the image they were promoting—of a Republican Party open to feminism—was losing its basis in reality. Increasingly, Phyllis Schlafly was coming to represent, in many people's minds, the Republican Woman" (227). Republican feminists—integrationists—were increasingly marginalized by the now conservative separatists.

Rymph contributes an important perspective to a growing body of scholarship on partisan women. Her sweeping analysis of seven decades of Republican women provides a much needed comparative framework for the study of Democratic women, and it prepares new ground for local and regional studies. How, for example, did Iowa's Republican women respond to the various changes in Federation leadership? How did their clubs affect political outcomes? Theoretical underpinnings in Rymph's analysis can inform such studies. The meaning of citizenship, women's political style and culture, and gendered issues of power, equality, and difference, for example, ground many of Rymph's insights. Indeed, she does justice to the history of Republican women and lays a solid foundation for further studies.

A Biography of Lillian and George Willoughby, Twentieth Century Quaker Peace Activists, by Gregory A. Barnes. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007. xvii, 321 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$119.95 cloth.

Reviewer Bill Douglas lives and works in Des Moines. His article, "Penn in Technicolor: Cecil Hinshaw's Radical Pacifist-Perfectionist Experiment at William Penn College, 1944-1949," appeared in *Quaker History* (Fall 2007).

This well-researched, sympathetic dual biography of two lifelong American peace activists helps place the Philadelphia-based Movement for a New Society (MNS) in context, and portrays two extraordinary multidecade careers of opposing war from the 1940s to the present decade. The book starts with an evocative baby boomer family conference on what parents are still capable of, with a twist: Can Lillian,