The Guardians of Civilization: Neo-Republican Motherhood in Post-World War II America, 1945-1963

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ABSTRACT

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During World War II, American women entered the labor force and fulfilled masculine roles in both industry and the military. Yet the majority of American women remained within the home and the completion of daily domestic tasks were elevated to acts of patriotism. For women with families, precisely 1/3 of women war workers by the end of 1943, their most important duty to fulfill was that of motherhood.[1] The association between women and participation in the war effort was not unique to this era but harkened back to the American Revolution. According to historian Joan R. Gundersen, "the only distinctly female form of patriotism [or political identity] available when the War of Independence began, was that of a mother"s influence over a child to shape morals and patriotism."[2] This relationship between eighteenth century female citizenship and motherhood was most notably defined by historian Linda K. Kerber, under the term Republican Motherhood, and introduced to a broad readership in 1976. This thesis argues that J. Edgar Hoover revived Republican Motherhood—in a 1944 article for *Woman's Home Companion* entitled "Mothers...Our Only Hope"—to reinforce traditional gender

[1] Doris Weatherford, *History of Women in America: American Women and World War II* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1990), 161.
[2] Joan R. Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World: Women in Revolutionary America, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 206.

roles during World War II. Hoover‟s articulation of mother as the only hope for the nation‟s future echoed the eighteenth century belief that a citizen‟s political socialization began in childhood and was derived from a mother‟s instruction. Yet it was Hoover‟s belief that a mother was the true guardian of the nation that created a new interpretation of Republican Motherhood ideology. What I have termed neo-Republican Motherhood relegated women to the domestic realm to maintain a sense of normalcy and subdue anxieties over unintentional female advancement in the postwar era. Neo-Republican Motherhood did not reach its pinnacle until the early years of the Cold War. Through adherence to the ideology and the indoctrination of children in American virtues, women became the guardians of civilization—the bulwark against Communist subversion. The association of motherhood with national security confined women to the domestic realm and fostered feelings of frustration; these feelings ultimately led to the emergence of the second-wave feminist movement.

DEDICATION

To the loving memory of my grandmother, Lois "Mae" Hiatt. The epitome of nurturing motherhood, her warmth is reflected in the character of her daughter and, for this, I am incredibly grateful.

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INTRODUCTION

> Well-ordered home is my chief delight, and the affectionate, domestic wife, with the relative- duties which accompany that character, my highest ambition.[3]
> -Abigail Adams to John Adams
> June 20, 1783

Carrying placards reading "Kill Bill 1776" and white crosses symbolic of gravestones, a group of American women identifying as The Mother‟s Crusade Against Bill 1776, picketed the White House on February 20, 1941.[4] Singing "Our Boys Shall Not Lie in Foreign Graves" to the tune of "John Brown‟s Body," over three thousand women over a two week period protested a United States House of Representatives bill designed to prepare America for potential entry into World War II.[5] Founded by three Southern California mothers of draft age sons—Frances Sherill, Mary Sheldon, and Mary Ireland— in the wake of Adolf Hitler‟s German invasion of Poland in 1939, the National Legion of Mothers of America (NLMA) assembled to protest "any attempt to send [their] sons to fight on foreign soil."[6] Composed of mostly white upper- and middle-class, middle-aged women, the NLMA grew out of the right-wing America First Movement. Operating independent of the America First Movement, as a decentralized confederation of nationwide groups, the NLMA employed maternal imagery and rhetoric to advance the

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[3] Abigail Smith Adams to John Adams, June 20, 1783, in *Letters of Mrs. Adams, The Wife of John Adams, 3rd ed. vol. 1*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1841), 208.
[4] "Mothers Picket White House to Protest Bill 1776," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 21, 1941, 2.
[5] Known as Lend-Lease, the bill was created to aid Britain‟s efforts in World War II, allowing the nation to purchase arms on credit or borrow them from the United States for the duration of the war. See Ibid. and Laura McEnaney, "He-Men and Christian Mothers: The America First Movement and Gendered Meanings of Patriotism and Isolationism," *Diplomatic History vol. 18* (Winter 1994): 52.
[6] Glen Jeansonne, *Women of the Far Right: The Mother's Movement and World War II* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 45.

goals of American neutrality and isolationism.[7] Defining patriotism as adherence to traditional gender roles— man as breadwinner and woman as mother— and the protection of the family unit, the mother coalition argued against involvement in a war to "sacrifice American soldiers and interests to an ill-gotten internationalist foreign policy agenda."[8] For both the America First Movement and the NLMA, true patriotism was not involvement in a foreign war to make the world safe for democracy—as stipulated by former President Woodrow Wilson—but as isolationism in the preservation of home and the American family.[9] The larger movement's association between patriotism and the protection of the family unit was a product of eighteenth-century American political ideologies that identified the domestic realm as a fundamental institution of democracy and the breeding ground for responsible citizenship. According to historian Laura McEnaney in her analysis of America First movement strategies, American isolationism was more than a foreign policy position for its female members. In McEnaney's view, isolationism "was a philosophy that defended the rights of families and validated the insight and experience of motherhood as a political force for [American interests] and the preservation of democracy."[10]

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[7] By 1940 NLMA chapters existed in thirty-nine states and the founding Los Angeles branch claimed a membership of over 75,000 women. Joining the NLMA were other mothers' organizations in Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and New York. Altogether, it is estimated that five to six million women across the nation claimed membership to a mothers' organization to protest American involvement in World War II. See Michelle M. Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 23.
[8] McEnaney, "He-Man and Christian Mothers," 48, and Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism*, 23.
[9] McEnaney, "He-Man and Christian Mothers," 48.
[10] Ibid., 53.

The NLMA‟s adoption of a maternal framework to oppose American involvement in World War II was significant in that it allowed the movement a platform to challenge effectively United States foreign policy. Although the movement lost public support in the wake of the Japanese bombing of the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, ending United States isolationism in the global conflict, the framing of patriotic duty enshrined in maternal obligations to the protection of children made female political activism not only acceptable, but an extension of responsible motherhood.[11] In this regard, the NLMA was another facet of a national tradition linking the virtues associated with the ideology of Republican Motherhood as the justification for female participation in political and social movements.[12] In her 2012 publication *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right*, historian Michelle M. Nickerson identifies the valorizing of American women‟s obligation to raise moral citizens—the core virtue of the Republican Motherhood ideal— as being revived and reformulated numerous times to serve as the basis for women‟s participation in politics and social reform work throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[13]

The distinguished American women‟s historian Linda K. Kerber coined the term Republican Motherhood to define the convergence of female citizenship and motherhood in the Early Republic and introduced it to a broad readership in her 1976 essay "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment— An American Perspective." In the essay, Kerber argues that elite white society created the ideology of Republican

[11] McEnaney, "He-Man and Christian Mothers," 53.
[12] Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism*, xiv.
[13] Ibid.

Motherhood to reconcile the political identities adopted by women during the American Revolution. Acquired through the boycotting of British goods, the purchasing of war bonds, and the elevation of daily domestic tasks to acts of patriotic duty, American women‟s political identity posed a threat to the stability of the new Republic. Instructed in the doctrines of the Enlightenment, the Revolutionary generation believed that a citizen‟s political socialization took place at an early age and the patterns of family authority influenced the general political culture.[14] Elite white society placed the family and the state on the same continuum and believed that a Republic‟s stability depended upon a virtuous citizenry. Additionally, Enlightenment philosophers—such as John Locke and Montesquieu— believed women existed only in the roles of mothers and wives.[15] With these concepts in mind, Kerber finds that elite white society modeled the Republican Motherhood ideal on the classic formulation of the Spartan Mother, who raised sons for sacrifice to the good of the Polis.[16] Like the Spartan Mother of ancient Greece, elite women of the Early Republic were encouraged to serve the state by playing a political role through the rearing of patriotic children, especially sons.[17] To raise patriotic children, elite women were instructed to educate their sons and daughters in issues of morality and the virtues of republicanism, most notably self-sacrifice. In order to instruct children adequately in republican virtues, the inventors of Republican

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[14] Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 283.
[15] Linda K. Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment— An American Perspective," in *Toward and Intellectual History of Women: Essays by Linda K. Kerber* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 52.
[16] Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 43.
[17] Ibid.

Motherhood called for a female education that went beyond reading and writing and as historian Mary Kelley suggests, advocated a curriculum "that promised to shape the character of America‟s citizens."[18] As the greatest proponent for female education in the Early Republic, Dr. Benjamin Rush founded the Young Ladies‟ Academy of Philadelphia in 1787 and in articulating its purpose espoused Republican Motherhood principles, stating:

> The equal share that every citizen has in liberty and the possible share he may have in the government of our country, make it necessary that our ladies should be qualified to a certain degree, by a peculiar and suitable education, to consider in instructing their sons in the principle of liberty.[19]

In its earliest formulations, an institutionalized female education in America was not for personal advancement but intended to prepare women for the responsibilities of motherhood, the betterment of the family, and the strengthening of society.

Many scholars have built upon Kerber‟s conceptualization of Republican Motherhood to analyze the nature of American motherhood, the evolution of its characteristics, and its influence upon the personal, political, economic, and social lives of American women. Published in 2010, Rebecca Jo Plant‟s *Mom: The Transformation of Motherhood in Modern America* is the most recent analysis focusing on the changing ideologies of white upper and middle-class American motherhood. Positioning the American mother as an iconic figure, Plant defines the role as symbolic of a virtuous

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[18] Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education and Public Life in America's Republic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), *13*.

[19] Benjamin Rush M.D., "Thoughts Upon Female Education, Accommodated to the Present State of Society, Manners and Government, in the United States of America" (Philadelphia: The Young Ladies‟ Academy of Philadelphia, July 28, 1787). *Early American Imprint Series 1, no. 20692*.

nation and describes the significance of this imagery to the female reform movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[20] Evolving from the eighteenth-century Republican Mother into what Plant terms the late Victorian Mother the iconic American mother possessed four key characteristics in the nineteenth century: a full-time, life-long role incompatible with the demands of wage earning; the foundation of female citizenship; a conviction that mothers should bind their children, especially sons, to the home to ensure their proper moral development; and a belief that motherhood required immense self-sacrifice.[21] Using this definition of American motherhood, Plant‟s scholarship traces the repudiation of this figure in the early twentieth century and the rise of a new post-World War II maternal ideal that "both reflected and facilitated white, middle-class women‟s incorporation into the political and economic order as individuals, rather than as wives and mothers."[22] Plant attributes the origins of this shift in identity to the 1930s when American politicians rarely associated motherhood as a service rendered unto the state and fewer women envisioned the role as the source of their civic identity.[23] Plant contends that in the postwar period mainstream American culture ceased to represent motherhood as an all-encompassing identity rooted in notions of self-sacrifice and infused with powerful social and political meaning.[24] Instead, the historian suggests

[20] Rebecca Jo Plant, *Mom: The Transformation of Motherhood in Modern America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 2.
[21] Plant, *Mom*, 2.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., 12.
[24] Ibid., 3.

that motherhood came to be conceived of as a deeply fulfilling but fundamentally private experience and a single component of a more multifaceted self.[25]

An analysis of a 1944 *Woman's Home Companion* article by J. Edgar Hoover entitled "Mothers....Our Only Hope," challenges Plant's arguments concerning women's civic identity in the postwar period. Composed to reinforce traditional gender roles disrupted during World War II, Hoover's emphasis on a mother's duty to indoctrinate her children, especially sons, in issues of morality echoed Republican Motherhood ideals and the notion that a citizen's political socialization began in childhood and was derived from maternal instruction. Hoover's conviction that the American mother was the true guardian of the nation was the impetus for a new postwar definition of the Republican Motherhood ideal. What I have termed neo-Republican Motherhood defines the civic duties prescribed to American women in the postwar period. Conceived near the end of World War II to maintain a sense of normalcy inherent in traditional domesticity and to subdue anxieties over unintentional female advancement, neo-Republican Motherhood did not reach its pinnacle until the early postwar period. Engaged in a Cold War with the Soviet Union and fearful of the spread of communist ideals, American society once again focused on the importance of a virtuous citizenry. For postwar Americans, virtue was defined as the promotion and adoption of western and therefore anti-Marxist values, such as democracy and capitalism. As Elaine Tyler May's analysis of the Cold War American family and Laura McEnaney's scholarship concerning civil defense programs indicate,

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[25] Plant, *Mom*, 3.

government officials linked traditional domesticity with national security.[26] In this formulation, neo-Republican Mothers had an important civic role through indoctrinating children in western values and patriotic virtues, and in doing so, they became the guardians of civilization— the bulwark against domestic communist subversion. Throughout the long 1950s or Defense Decade, advancements in nuclear weaponry and heightened fears of potential global annihilation, as well as America"s status as the defender of the western world, expanded the neo-Republican Motherhood role to one of global significance.

An ideology that was originally intended to urge women back into the domestic realm at the conclusion of World War II, neo-Republican Motherhood became a vital tool for American Cold War national security. As a result, government-issued directives and the popular press encouraged Defense Decade women to adopt the neo-Republican Motherhood ideal. Influenced by the propaganda urging conformity to neo-Republican Motherhood principles, America"s universities and colleges modified female education to prepare women for their domestic roles. Similar to the education recommended for elite women of the Early Republic, educational leaders of the Defense Decade modified or created curricula to train women for their eventual role as a neo-Republican Mother. Encouraged to perceive their education not as the catalyst for personal advancement but to strengthen the family, and instructed to seek fulfillment solely in this maternal role,

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[26] Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War* (New York: Basic Books, 1988, and Laura McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home: Militarization Meets Everyday Life in the Fifties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

women of the Defense Decade felt frustrated with the limitations imposed by adherence to traditional domesticity.

An analysis of the methods of the Women‟s Strike for Peace (WSP) movement and Betty Friedan‟s *The Feminine Mystique* reveals the influence of the neo-Republican Motherhood ideal to the emergence of the second-wave feminist movement of the 1960s. WSP‟s manipulation of neo-Republican Mother principles towards the goal of American nuclear disarmament and Friedan‟s exposure of women‟s unhappiness with conformity to the role encouraged Defense Decade women to move beyond the domestic realm. Culminating in ratification of the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the publication of Friedan‟s ground-breaking book, the year 1963 was a watershed moment in the lives of Defense Decade American women. It marked the beginning of the end of neo-Republican Motherhood as a tool for national security.

CHAPTER ONE

> It is quite possible, in the present state of turmoil, that we may find women rising up to save civilization if they realize how great the menace is. I grant you that things will have to be pretty bad before they do it, for most women are accustomed to managing men only in the minor details of life and to accepting the traditional yoke where the big things are concerned.[1]
>
> -Eleanor Roosevelt for *Good Housekeeping*
> April 1940

The December 7, 1941, Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor ended American isolationism as the nation entered World War II. Victory in a two-front war required Americans‟ willingness to sacrifice for the sake of national defense. For able-bodied men, sacrifice meant service in the armed forces. More than sixteen million men served in the armed forces, to which ten million of these men were conscripted after 1943.[2] To maintain military operations in the Pacific and European theaters, American industry had "to provide an unending flow of guns, planes, tanks, ships and the other materials of war" to the armed forces.[3] The need for men in combat service, the production of war materials, and the deprivation of material goods for the war effort placed the largest demands for home front sacrifice upon women. In a 1944 editorial for *The Saturday Evening Post*, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes contemplated the war‟s impact upon the home front. In his estimation Ickes concluded that:

> ...the per capita sacrifice [was] much greater among women than it [was] among men. Women‟s sacrifice in [the] war days [ran] the gamut of human experience, from the cradle to the grave, the surrender to the slaughter of the sons she bore, homemaking with a smile under the mounting difficulties, hard manual labor that

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[1] Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Women in Politics," *Good Housekeeping*, April 1940, 66.
[2] Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 3.
[3] War Production Board Labor Division, *Labor in the War* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 1.

> no one ever thought she could do, and the giving up of conveniences that long years of indulgence and enjoyment had taught her to take as a matter of course.[4]

Although Ickes deemed women's contributions commendable, the purpose of his article— entitled "Watch Out for the Women"— was to condemn the war for teaching American women "that they can do things that before Pearl Harbor were reserved for [the] fellows."[5]

The absence of American men on the home front created an unprecedented demand for female labor within industry and the military throughout World War II. According to the pamphlet "War Jobs for Women," issued by the Office of War Information, "the fact that nearly all able-bodied men over fourteen [years of age were] already in the labor force or in the armed forces" required women to become the estimated 5.5 million civilian workers needed in both sectors by the end of 1943.[6] The pamphlet also predicted that the female labor force would be derived from the "4.4. million homemakers in urban life who [were] under forty-five years of age and [did] not have children under sixteen, from the 9.1 million such homemakers under forty-five who [had] children under sixteen, and from the 9.5 million non-farm homemakers over forty-five."[7] To recruit, employ, and train the nation's homemakers for labor in wartime factories, numerous government boards and divisions were established between 1941 and 1943. For example, within the Labor Division of the War Production Board, the

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[4] Harold L. Ickes, "Watch Out for the Women," *The Saturday Evening Post*, February 22, 1944, 19.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Office of War Information, *War Jobs for Women* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 3.
[7] Ibid., 18.

Women‟s Labor Supply Service was created "to bring women workers into war production as speedily and efficiently as possible."[8] In a similar fashion, the armed services created special women‟s organizations within each military branch, most notably the WAACS (Women‟s Auxiliary Army Corps) and the Navy‟s WAVES (Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service). Although women provided unpaid work for the military in every war since the Revolution, two elements were new to their service during World War II: they were utilized in every activity except combat, and they achieved permanent regular status in the armed forces.[9]

To bolster their recruitment efforts, the government in collaboration with the mass media—notably popular magazines such as *Good Housekeeping* and *The Saturday Evening Post*— disseminated an extensive array of propaganda images and literature. In her analysis of women‟s images in wartime propaganda, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II*, author Maureen Honey suggests that the female war worker was a powerful symbol of civilian dedication and home front support for soldiers.[10] In these public images, the woman war worker took factory and industrial jobs to bring men home more quickly.[11] Perhaps the most iconic representation of the female war worker was the image of "Rosie the Riveter." Created by Norman Rockwell to support the 1943 "Women in Necessary Service" campaign, the illustration of a blue coverall-clad and muscular woman, equipped with defense work tools and a

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[8] *Labor in the War*, 5.
[9] Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 31.
[10] Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 51.
[11] Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 23.

"Rosie" inscribed on her lunch pail, first appeared on the cover of the May 29 issue of *The Saturday Evening Post*.[12] Despite her mass appeal as the visual representation of female civilian service, "Rosie the Riveter" also represented American women‟s unparalleled and successful fulfillment of traditionally masculine roles. Despite the indispensable nature of women‟s wartime contributions, American society concerned itself with the potential dangers to traditional gender roles and femininity posed not only by women‟s advancement outside of the domestic realm, but their ability to adopt comfortably roles previously reserved for men. Society‟s anxieties were three-fold: that industrial labor in factories and military service de-feminized American women, provided outlets for sexual autonomy outside of the home, and instilled a future reluctance to abandon wartime jobs and return to the domestic realm when their services were no longer needed.

The production of wartime materials required hard manual labor, physical strength, and mechanical skills unfamiliar to most American women. In *Slacks and Calluses: Our Summer in a Bomber Factory*, author Constance Bowman Reid wrote of her experiences assembling B-24 bombers for Consolidated Industries in San Diego during the summer of 1943. Previously employed as a schoolteacher, Reid described her assembly of safety belt holders as a complex job "since it involved the use of different tools" than the "hammer and a thumb tack remover, with which [she] had previous

[12] Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter*, 63.

experience."[13] Cognizant that most women‟s familiarity with industrial labor paralleled that of Reid, the Labor Division of the War Production Board instituted rigorous training programs for female employees. These training programs imparted the skills and knowledge necessary to maintain efficient production and instituted a safe working environment. Furthermore, the Labor Division created a series of regulations to prevent accidents and protect female employees from potential injury. Most significant of these regulations was the creation of a uniform. To prevent the possibility of a skirt being caught in machinery, most factories required female employees to wear a jumper suit.[14] For example, at Consolidated Industries, Reid and other female employees received instruction to wear a "slack suit, some type of hair covering [if] working near machinery, and sensible low-heeled shoes with closed toes."[15]

The education of women in mechanical skills and their consequential proficiency, as well as the abandonment of feminine attire for masculine trousers, created anxiety among some members of American society that the war eroded traditional femininity. Perhaps even more threatening was the fact that women fulfilled traditionally masculine roles with incredible ease. Women flourished within their new roles—made evident by their ability to meet wartime production demands—and proved that in terms of mechanical and technical skills they were equal to their male counterparts. Harold L.

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[13] Constance Bowman Reid, *Slacks and Calluses: Our Summer in a Bomber Factory*. (Washington: The Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 31.
[14] The Women‟s Bureau U.S. Department of Labor, *Effective Industrial Use of Women in the Defense Program* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1940), 14.
[15] Reid, *Slacks and Calluses*, 157.

Ickes evoked wartime concerns over the masculinization of American women and the possibility of future repercussions, when he wrote:

> The relational position of women after the war is most certainly going to be such as was never before dreamed of by her—or, what is more to the point, by man. She is coming out of it skilled and trained to do things that would make her grandfather turn over in his grave if he could see her do them. Mechanic, technician, a worthy competitor in fields that man has heretofore pre-empted on the assumption that to occupy them one had to have the brains and the brawn that only he possessed. This war is going to prove how wrong he has been.[16]

Wartime mobilization of American women outside of the domestic realm and into masculine arenas also incited national trepidation over unrestrained female sexuality. In her analysis of the government programs instituted during World War II to regulate female sexuality, Marilyn E. Hagerty suggests that women"s advancement into previously male jobs and the wearing of pants in public coincided to challenge traditional gender relations and standards of sexual morality.[17] Outside of the family unit and in the absence of male authority, wartime service in the factories and in the military provided women with the opportunity to socially engage with male employees and servicemen. The freedom to interact with male peers beyond the restrictions of the domestic realm increased the prospect for sexual encounters and gave women the chance to express their sexuality outside of marriage bonds. Moreover, the wearing of slacks in public was more than a simple fashion choice; it was a social cue that called into question a woman"s sexual and moral character. In Constance Bowman Reid"s recollection, "being a lady" in

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[16] Ickes, "Watch Out for the Women," 19.
[17] Marilyn E. Hagerty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality During World War II*. (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 110-111.

1943 America "depended more upon clothes than character."[18] While wearing slacks de-feminized women factory workers, it also eroticized them by making them seem less refined and therefore more sexually available.[19] For some female factory workers the wearing of pants made them targets of aggressive male sexual advances and behavior. Dressed in uniform, Reid experienced unwanted male attention on her way to work, recalling how "men...looked us over in a way we didn't like...from head to toe. [They] grabbed us and followed us and whistled at us."[20] Whether women actually used factory labor and military service as an outlet for sexual expression or rebuffed men's lewd advances, women's wartime work presented a challenge to society's traditional gender roles and prescriptions for proper feminine behavior.

A significant portion of the women who worked in wartime manufacturing had not been members of the labor force prior to Pearl Harbor. The "Women Workers in Ten Production Areas and their Postwar Employment Plans" report, issued by the United States Department of Labor, found that women who had been engaged in housework prior to Pearl Harbor constituted about a fourth of the wartime-employed women.[21] Additionally, this report found that "the majority of [these] women entered manufacturing industries, primarily those producing directly for war purposes, where they comprised about a third of the female working force."[22] Although women entered

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[18] Constance Bowman Reid, *Slacks and Calluses*, 69.
[19] Ibid., ix.
[20] Ibid., 69.
[21] Women's Bureau U.S. Department of Labor, *Women Workers in Ten Production Area and Their Postwar Employment* (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1946), 10.
[22] *Women Workers in Ten Production Area and Their Postwar Employment*, 10.

wartime industries voluntarily, they received "wages that [were] commensurate with services rendered."[23] Awakened to women's economic possibilities outside of the domestic realm, American society feared that housewives would be reluctant to abandon the workforce once their services were no longer needed. On the surface, refusal to withdraw from the workforce threatened to upset traditional gender roles—man as breadwinner and woman as wife and mother—yet the deeper implication was women were trained to be worthy competitors for jobs once reserved only for men. Harold L. Ickes revealed these larger concerns writing: "I think [the time has come] to warn men that when the war is over, the going will be a lot tougher, because they will have to compete with women whose eyes have been opened to their greatest economic potentialities."[24] Unlike the concerns surrounding women's de-feminization and greater sexual autonomy, the threat to men's postwar employment in the labor force was not baseless. The same report issued by the United States Department of Labor concerning female employment in the postwar period noted that "on the average about seventy-five percent of the women employed planned to continue to work after the war."[25] To both alleviate anxiety and prepare women for postwar migration back into the domestic sphere, women employed in war industries were perpetually reminded that their services were temporary and would only last for the duration of the war. Susan M. Hartmann notes in her study of American women's experiences on the home front, "as women moved into the public sphere they were reminded that their new positions were

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[23] *Effective Industrial use of Women in the Defense Programs,* 18.
[24] Ickes, "Watch Out for the Women," 19.
[25] *Women Workers in Ten Production Area and Their Postwar Employment*, 11.

temporary...and that their familial roles [took] precedence over all others."[26] For example, in a widely distributed 1945 propaganda newsreel, a foreman addressed a crowd of female factory workers and reminded them that they were "employed because the armed forces [had] called [their] husbands, brothers, or sons."[27] The foreman further instructed the women that "each returning serviceman [would] get his job back when this war [was] won. Women and girls [would] go home, back to being housewives and mothers again, as [they] promised to do when [they began their factory employment]."[28]

To maintain a sense of normalcy and subdue anxieties over unintentional female advancement embedded within industrial and military service, government officials and the mass media commended the wartime efforts of women who adhered to traditional gender roles by remaining within the domestic sphere. In both government commissioned propaganda posters and popular literature, the daily domestic tasks of home front women were elevated to acts of patriotism. These sources deemed women"s canning of food and the knitting of clothes as noble, equated the ability to be a careful consumer with the nation"s commitment to the rationing of wartime goods and materials, and exalted the purchasing of war bonds and stamps. For example, the *Of Course I Can* and *Even a Li*ttle *Can Help a lot- Now* government issued propaganda posters served to display and magnify these domestic contributions. Issued in 1944 by the United States War Food Administration, the *Of Course I Can* poster depicted an apron-clad housewife hugging

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[26] Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 23.
[27] *Displacement of Women Workers After World War II (1945)*, Propaganda Newsreel, www.youtube.com/watch?v=IVtgEgwl5mQ
[28] Ibid.

jars of canned vegetables. Underneath the woman appeared the tagline, "I'm patriotic as can be— And ration points won't worry me!"[29] Illustrated by Dick Williams and created to encourage female participation in a government directed program for the rationing of canned goods needed for troops stationed overseas, the poster equated the conservation of food with patriotic sentiment. Also commissioned in 1944 for *Ladies' Home Journal*, the *Even a Little Can Help a lot- Now* poster displayed a mother instructing her young daughter (dressed identically in a red, white, and blue ensemble) in the placement of stamps within a war bond booklet.[30] Located at the forefront of the image was an Army cap, a symbol of an absent husband and father whose military efforts were financially supported by the family he left behind. Akin to the *Of Course I Can* poster, the image of mother and daughter promoted domestic service to the war effort and related these acts to expressions of American nationalism. Yet on a deeper level, the image of mother and daughter advocated the continual wartime adherence to the most significant traditional domestic role prescribed for American women—motherhood.

In an article analyzing the relationship between American women and discourse on what she termed the "Democratic Family," Sonya Michel suggests motherhood as the most important weapon in the battle to maintain traditional gender roles and subdue female advancement during World War II. According to Michel:

> Official recognition of the significance of home and family reassured the American public that society had not lost its grip on the essential values of civilization. Women as mothers were charged with perpetuating the culture that

[29] See Appendix I.
[30] See Appendix II.

> men were fighting for; abandoning this role in wartime would not only upset the gender balance but undermine the very core of American society.[31]

Although women were needed to maintain production in wartime factories and complete clerical tasks within the military, government officials never explicitly encouraged mothers of school age children—precisely one-third of women war workers by the end of 1943—to abandon their domestic duties for service outside the home.[32] For example, in the "War Jobs for Women" pamphlet issued by the Office of War Information, the War Manpower Commission elucidated that "employment by industry of mothers of young children should in general be deferred until all other sources of labor supply have been exhausted."[33] In a similar sentiment, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission Paul McNutt stated in a 1942 directive that "no women responsible for the care of young children should be encouraged or compelled to seek employment which deprives their children of essential care until all other sources of supply are exhausted."[34]

For the women with families who remained within the domestic sphere, the role of motherhood was imbued with added responsibilities of civic significance. A new wartime interpretation of women"s traditional role, or neo-Republican Motherhood, was most notably defined by J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In the January 1944 issue of *Woman's Home Companion*, Hoover

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[31] Sonya Michel, "American Women and the Discourse of the Democratic Family in World War II," in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, ed. Margaret Randolph Higonnet et. al., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 160.
[32] Doris Weatherford, *History of Women in America: American Women and World War II* (New York: Facts on File Inc., 1990), 161.
[33] *War Jobs for Women*, 19.
[34] Michel, "American Women and the Democratic Family," 159.

contributed an article entitled "Mothers...Our Only Hope." In the article Hoover stated that the mothers of America:

> Must not only feel responsibility for setting the right example for their daughters but must keep continually before their sons" eyes the good examples of their absent fathers. They, upon whose shoulders wartime deprivations fall most heavily, must feel a double obligation to bear without resentment the pinch of rationing and the annoyance of temporary interference with private life. They must set examples in patriotism as well as morality.[35]

Neo-Republican Motherhood, as manifested in Hoover"s assessment of wartime women"s role, had three notable aspects. First, Hoover"s evaluation of wartime duties reminded women of their traditional domestic obligations so as to hinder any potential notions of career opportunities or economic advancement obtained from labor outside of the home. Secondly, the articulation of the mother figure as the only hope for the nation"s future echoed the eighteenth century belief that political socialization, most importantly lessons in morals and virtue, began in childhood and was derived from a mother"s instruction. Furthermore, the emphasis upon a son"s political and moral education corresponded with eighteenth century American society"s perception of motherhood"s most important duty. Finally, the title of the piece indicated that a mother, and not a man defending his country, was the true guardian of the nation.

Published in 1944, Hoover"s conception of neo-Republican Motherhood lingered in its original articulation for more than a year until the American bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 ended World War II and advanced the atomic age.

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[35] J. Edgar Hoover, "Mothers...Our Only Hope," *Woman's Home Companion*, January 1944, in *Women's Magazines 1940-1960: Gender Roles and the Popular Press*, ed. Nancy A. Walker (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin"s, 1998), 46.

Disseminated by journalists and government officials, the principles delineated in Hoover‟s conception of neo-Republican Motherhood amplified and evolved in the postwar period when national security and stability relied upon the virtuous character of American citizens. The postwar period, defined by tense Soviet-American relations and termed the Cold War, transformed the nature of neo-Republican Motherhood from an important role on the national level to one of global significance.

Throughout World War II, Americans were told they faced foreign threats greater than ever before and the nature of warfare had changed.[36] The surprise bombing of Pearl Harbor devastated illusions of America‟s isolation from and immunity to the political or military agendas of other nations. Furthermore, over the course of the war the reaction to mass bombing evolved from an abhorrence for killing civilians to a regrettable side effect of conflict and a method of destroying an enemy so as not to be destroyed.[37] In response to these threats and the evolution in military strategy, the United States sought immediate and tangible forms of national security—the development of technological advancements in weaponry and a new foreign policy. Instituted and funded by the government, the Manhattan Project created the world‟s first atomic bomb. The possession of the most destructive weapon known to modern civilization inspired journalist Dorothy Thompson to dub the United States the "masters of the globe."[38] America forced its global dominance on the world with the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and from

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[36] Hartmann, *The Home Front and* Beyond*,* 10, and Kristina Zarlengo, "Civilian Threat, the Suburban Citadel, and Atomic Age American Women," *Signs vol. 24, no. 4* (Summer 1999): 928.
[37] Zarlengo, "Atomic Age American Women," 928.
[38] Dorothy Thompson, "Atomic Science and World Organization," *Ladies' Home Journal*, October 6. 1945, 128.

the ashes of devastation arose the atomic age—a postwar era dominated by apprehension about the possibility of sudden global obliteration. In her analysis of Civil Defense programs of the 1950s, historian Laura McEnaney finds that "[the atomic bomb] had spawned boastful nationalism and scientific prestige, but also generated palpable anxiety as American citizens pondered its potential to turn against them."[39]

In addition to anxiety over atomic weaponry, postwar American society was also cognizant of tense relations with the Soviet Union. As a result of Pearl Harbor, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt developed a new American foreign policy based on the belief that the United States could no longer remain indifferent to the politics of the larger world.[40] In Roosevelt's formulation, the United States should assume the leadership of the western world and establish a new global order—based on the American ideals of self-determination and free-market capitalism—in the postwar period.[41] America's wartime foreign policy stood in stark contrast with communist principles and strained Soviet-American relations. The tenuous relationship reached the breaking point as the victorious allies—America, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union—discussed plans for the postwar world order. Although wartime allies, the Soviet Union's aggression in Eastern Europe and its brutality toward individuals and groups in its newly occupied lands acquired through defeat or liberation from the Nazis, roused the imaginations and

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[39] Laura McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home: Militarization Meets Everyday Life in the Fifties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 4.
[40] Campbell Craig and Fredrik Logevall, *America's Cold War: The Politics of Security* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2009), 56.
[41] Craig and Logevall, *America's Cold War*, 57.

emotions of American leaders.[42] The Soviet Union"s claimed predominance over Eastern European countries was interpreted by United States officials as an expansionist course designed to impose communism throughout the world, and this interpretation of Soviet goals played upon American society"s worst fears.[43]

With tensions already heightened, Winston Churchill gave a speech on March 5, 1946, that stimulated public discussion about America"s relationship with the expanding Soviet Union, the nature of Soviet communism, and the United States global responsibility. Dubbed the "Iron Curtain Speech," Churchill told an audience assembled at Westminster College in Missouri that "the United States stands....at the pinnacle of world power" but "with this power...is also joined...an accountability for the future."[44] As the world"s superpower—vested in the sole possession of atomic weaponry—the United States was responsible for the protection of the western world from an "iron curtain [which] had descended across [Europe]."[45] The "iron curtain" to which Churchill referred was the rise of Moscow-controlled communist parties "to preeminence and power far beyond their numbers" that sought "everywhere to obtain totalitarian control."[46] Churchill"s elicitation of the Soviet Union"s desire to spread communism beyond its borders confirmed Americans" fears concerning Soviet expansion. Additionally, the imagery of an "iron curtain" resonated within American society for three key reasons.

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[42] Ilene Philipson, *Ethel Rosenberg: Beyond the Myths* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 196.
[43] Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 10.
[44] Winston Churchill, "Iron Curtain Speech," in *Conflict and Cooperation: Documents on Modern Global History*, ed. Tracey J. Kinney (Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2006), 209.
[45] Churchill, "Iron Curtain Speech," *Conflict and Cooperation*, 211.
[46] Ibid., 212.

First, the press adopted Churchill‟s expression and heavily circulated it during the early years of the Cold War. Secondly, the image of a curtain was familiar to Americans, regarded as an item used to divide and separate and compatible with the understanding of the Soviet Union‟s attempt to isolate Eastern Europe from the freedoms of the western world. Finally, the association of communism with iron depicted the Soviet Union as a cold, harsh, and unbreakable enemy.

Influenced by wartime events and Churchill‟s alarmist observations, Americans entered the postwar period as both citizens of the world‟s superpower and as insecure global inhabitants. To alleviate anxieties and fulfill its global responsibility, American leaders advanced two programs—one global and one domestic— in the early years of the Cold War: containment and national security. By 1947, American policymakers committed the nation to a policy of containment, a program based upon the notion that any communist success or revolution constituted the expansion of Soviet power and thus was a direct threat to national security.[47] The United States pursued Soviet containment through the retainment of America‟s monopoly over atomic weapons, entrance into peacetime alliances, and the provision of military and economic aid to any nation that appeared vulnerable to Soviet pressure or the rising power of communist parties.[48] The domestic policy of national security was first promoted by the journalist Walter Lippman in 1945 to explain all global developments as potential threats to American interests, to express hostility towards communism, and to exalt the need for civilian participation to

[47] Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 10.
[48] Ibid.

confront any potential challenges.[49] In Lippman‟s conceptualization, the success of national security depended upon civilian commitment to uphold American values—democracy and free-markets—and lead virtuous lives. National security‟s dependence on the moral character of citizens was founded in the belief that communism would be unable to take root or flourish within a society committed to western and therefore anti-Marxist values.

For policymakers and American society, the key to early postwar national security was the reestablishment of traditional domesticity—man as husband and breadwinner and woman as housewife and mother. On the surface, commitment to traditional domesticity, specifically the figure of mother as the family caregiver, provided Americans with a feeling of comfort in an uneasy age. In her study of American Cold War families, historian Elaine Tyler May finds that "Americans were well poised to embrace domesticity in the midst of the terrors of the atomic age."[50] Yet on a deeper level, policymakers believed adherence to traditional American family values assured the stable family life necessary for national security as well as supremacy over the Soviets.[51] Policymakers recognized that women were vital to the success of national security due to their position within the family, and according to May, "government propaganda urged women to go home as wives and mothers, [and] promoted the notion [of] the family [as]

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[49] McEnaney, C*ivil Defense Begins at Home*, 4.
[50] Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 23.
[51] Jane Sherron De Hart, "Containment at Home: Gender, Sexuality, and National Identity in Cold War America," in *Rethinking Cold War Culture*, ed. Peter Kuznick and James Gilbert (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 2001), 125.

the foundation that had to be protected."[52] The impact of government propaganda concerning the relationship between traditional domesticity and national security manifested itself in the postwar expansion of family formation. In the years between 1945 and 1950, American men and women entered into marriage at both a younger age and at a faster rate than their predecessors.[53] Within the newly constructed family units, the foundation for national security and stability rested upon the indoctrination of children in American values. American policymakers believed children were the hope for the nation"s future and thus their appropriate political socialization was of the utmost importance. This approach to national security transformed the nature of Hoover"s World War II conceptualization of neo-Republican Motherhood. Cold War neo-Republican Mothers who indoctrinated their children in American values and virtues not only strengthened the family, but in turn, protected the nation from the infiltration of communist principles and domestic subversion. Yet America"s global responsibility—as the perceived protectors of the western world from Soviet communist expansion—transformed neo-Republican Mothers into the guardians of civilization; the bulwark against global Soviet communist subversion.

The association of neo-Republican Motherhood with the guardianship of civilization and the bulwark against communist subversion was promulgated within the

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[52] May, *Homeward Bound*, 65.

[53] In 1940 the median age at the time of a first marriage was 24.5 for men and 21.5 for women; by 1950 the age had dropped to 22.8 for men and 20.1 for women. Similarly, the postwar generation had the highest rates of marriage on record- 96.4 percent of women and 94.1 percent of men wed. The upsurge in marriage throughout the 1940s and 1950s increased the birth rate and generated a "baby boom" lasting into the early 1960s. See May, *Homeward Bound*, 20.

press during the early years of the Cold War. Journalist Louisa Randall Church recognized the global significance of the role as early as 1946. In an article for *American Home*, entitled "Parents: Architects of Peace," Church wrote:

> On that day in August 1945, when the first atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima, new concepts of civilized living, based on the obligations of world citizenship....were born. On that day [motherhood] took on added responsibilities of deep and profound significance. However, there is a defense—an impregnable bulwark. Upon the shoulders of [mothers] everywhere, rests the tremendous responsibility of sending forth into the next generation men and women imbued with a high resolve to work together for everlasting peace.[54]

Church's interpretation not only reinforced the importance of the role to national and global security but emphasized that as the givers of life, American mothers had special insight into the preservation of humanity from the horrors of the atomic age.[55] A frequent contributor to *Ladies' Home Journal*, Dorothy Thompson was the greatest proponent of neo-Republican Motherhood throughout the Cold War. In her articles, Thompson noted the global significance intrinsic in a neo-Republican Mother's indoctrination of children in western values. In an article entitled "A Call to American Women," Thompson instructed her female readers "to look upon this world with the eyes of a mother, realizing that mothers and housewives are perhaps the most important national and international society on earth."[56] Furthermore, Thompson believed that the successful fulfillment of this role—as the bulwark against communist subversion on a domestic and global scale—required long-term commitments on the behalf of American women. In an article entitled

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[54] Louisa Randall Church, "Parents: Architects of Peace," *American Home*, November 1946, 18-19.
[55] McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home*, 101.
[56] Dorothy Thompson, "A Call to American Women," *Ladies' Home Journal*, August 1945.

"Occupation Housewife," Thompson reminded the readers of her *Ladies' Home Journal* column of the commitment needed and articulated the eighteenth century doctrine of Republican Motherhood when she wrote:

> Great mothers, like great geniuses, have to work at their task. It isn"t just an inborn talent that flourishes without constant effort, and in free time. Children, especially boys usually get their ethical standards, as well as their ambition and courage, largely from their mothers.[57]

The degree to which American women adhered to the prescriptive literature and the principles inherent in neo-Republican Motherhood ideology are difficult to discern. Despite the inability to measure precisely the extent to which American women adopted this role, Laura McEnaney suggests that the multitude of voices that preached domesticity led all postwar women to be judged by new standards. Failure to conform to the role and principles of neo-Republican Motherhood—most notably depicted in the figure of Ethel Rosenberg—highlighted the potential threats posed to national security by dissident women. The perpetual promotion of and adherence to neo-Republican Motherhood, as well as a belief in a long-term commitment to the doctrine, relegated a significant number of American women to the domestic sphere and stifled female educational advancement throughout the 1950s.

[57] Dorothy Thompson, "Occupation Housewife," *Ladies' Home Journal*, March 1949, 164.

CHAPTER TWO

....She was the sort of person who fulfilled her obligations, and I am sure she considered raising me to be a good citizen a definite obligation.[1]
-Madge Mahn for *Good Housekeeping*
March 1951

Throughout the long 1950s—termed the "Defense Decade"— fears of Soviet aggression, commitment to responsible American citizenship, and the establishment of government funded Civil Defense programs urged women back into the domestic sphere. Despite directives urging adherence to traditional domesticity, historian Rebecca Jo Plant stipulates that the gender messages middle-class American women received stood in direct tension with life experiences.[2] Similarly, in her analysis on American women's employment during the twentieth century, historian Julia Kirk Blackwelder postulates that the Defense Decade, more than any other, "enveloped women in [a] culture war over the meaning of motherhood [that culminated] in a redefinition of middle-class women's obligations to their children."[3] American society glorified the middle-class woman who not only imparted moral values to her children, but indoctrinated the family in the virtues of democracy and the obligations of civic responsibility as a counter to Soviet infiltration.[4] Celebrated in the articles, columns, and advertisements of America's popular magazines and praised by government officials, the neo-Republican Motherhood role was the cherished ideal for most middle-class women throughout the 1950s.[5] Although most

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[1] Madge Mahn, "What my Mother Gave Me," *Good Housekeeping*, March 1951, 51.
[2] Rebecca Jo Plant, *Mom: The Transformation of Motherhood in Modern America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 16.
[3] Julia Kirk Blackwelder, *Now Hiring: The Feminization of Work in the United States, 1900-1995* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997), 148.
[4] Ibid., 150.
[5] Popular women's magazines had a significant influence on American mothers throughout the Defense Decade. By 1964, *McCall's* had 21 million female readers, mostly between the ages of 18 and 49, in a population of about 37 million women that age. *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping* each had about 15 million female readers between the ages of 18 and 49. See Stephanie Coontz, *Strange Stirring:*

middle-class women strove to personify the idealistic principles of neo-Republican Motherhood doctrine, a transformation in the American economy required an active female presence in the labor market.[6] According to Blackwelder, a rise in the United States standard of living, the introduction of new service jobs, and an expansion in clerical work, demanded women"s active participation in the workforce.[7] Based upon the postwar trend of younger marriage and increased fertility rates, the significant proportion of women employed in Defense Decade wage labor were mothers.[8] Unlike previous generations of peacetime wage-earning, predominately working-class women whose wage labor was a major source of family income, postwar prosperity created an economic climate in which the majority of a mother"s paycheck was supplemental and intended to increase the Defense Decade family"s standard of living.[9] Blackwelder argues that the extent that mothers entered the workforce and pursued "traditional" occupations or clerical jobs in the Defense Decade reinforced the gender ideologies of the era while simultaneously removing full-time domesticity and motherhood from the reality of American women"s lives.[10]

The Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 65.

[6] Blackwelder, *Now Hiring*, 160.

[7] Blackwelder attributes the expansion of female participation in the American workforce to a rising level of productivity and an increase in the standard of living. According to Blackwelder, the expansion of clerical work provided nearly two million new jobs to women between 1950 and 1960. Nursing and public school teaching jobs—traditional female employment—increased more than 400,000 during the Defense Decade. By 1958, 35 percent of all American women were employed in a part-time or full-time job. See Blackwelder, *Now Hiring,* 152, and Lois Wladis Hoffman and Ivan Nye, *The Employed Mother in America* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), 8.

[8] Hoffman and Nye, *The Employed Mother in America*, 4.

[9] Ibid., 12-13.

[10] Blackwelder, *Now Hiring*, 168.

Contrary to societal expectations concerning domesticity, the American middle-class mother moved into paid employment during the postwar era to meet the nation‟s labor demands.[11] Over the course of the Defense Decade female work rates increased among women with children, culminating in twenty-two million engaged in part- or full-time work by 1958.[12] Despite the rapid expansion of women into the labor market, motherhood remained middle-class women‟s primary Defense Decade role due to the societal belief that the United States could not retain its western values nor could children become good citizens without intensive maternal influence.[13] As a result the popular press presented maternal employment as complementary to responsible neo-Republican Motherhood. Studying popular women‟s magazines throughout the Defense Decade, historian Stephanie Coontz notes that a mother‟s employment was acceptable as long as it did not compete with her domestic identity or impinge on her husband‟s status as the primary breadwinner.[14]

Coontz‟s observations concerning female employment are most notably depicted in the December 24, 1956, special double issue of *Life* magazine entitled “The American Woman.” Focused on highlighting the achievements and troubles of the modern American woman, the front cover of *Life* depicted “The Working Mother.” The image of Jennie Magill of Hammond, Indiana, and her young daughter Laurie complemented a corresponding article emphasizing middle-class women‟s employment as an extension of

[11] Hoffman and Nye, *The Working Mother in America*, 15.
[12] Ibid., 8.
[13] Blackwelder, *Now Hiring*, 159.
[14] Coontz, *A Strange Stirring*, 61.

their Cold War domestic role.[15] Displaying Magill embracing her young daughter, as opposed to working at her paid occupation, emphasized motherhood as her primary identity. According to historian Katherine Jellison in her analysis of postwar American weddings, Magill was chosen to represent the "Working Mother" based upon her employment as a bridal service manager. Jellison finds that "in choosing a member of the wedding industry to represent the wage-earning mother, [*Life* editors] found a safe way to deal with [the existing contradiction between women's domestic role and female employment]."[16] Working in the bridal industry, Magill aided the unmarried American woman's transition into the domestic realm where she would become a housewife and mother. Furthermore, Magill's story was told from the perspective of her husband. In choosing to articulate Magill's employment experiences from the viewpoint of an approving spouse, the editors confirmed a husband's status as the primary breadwinner and further emphasized the centrality of the wife's domestic identity. Articles and images of this type, prevalent in popular women's magazines throughout the Defense Decade, glorified motherhood and encouraged middle-class women to aspire to the idealistic principles of neo-Republican Motherhood.

The transformation in the postwar economy not only ushered women into the labor market but transformed the financial and social status of most Defense Decade Americans. An increase in family income and a massive infusion of federal funds into the expansion of affordable family homes in suburban developments changed the

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[15] See Appendix III, and Katherine Jellison, *It's Our Day: America's Love Affair with the White Wedding, 1945-2005* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 199.
[16] Jellison, *It's Our Day*, 199.

characteristics of the nation‟s middle class in the early postwar period.[17] Between 1945 and 1960, America‟s gross national product increased by 250 percent and new construction—mainly suburban developments—grew by 900 percent, culminating in 60 percent of the nation‟s population enjoying a middle-class standard of living by the mid-1950s.[18] For the first time in American history, higher family incomes made a middle-class lifestyle attainable for African Americans. Although racial segregation barred residency in many of the nation‟s suburban developments, African Americans created stable family units and strove to emulate the domestic patterns of their white peers.[19] For white ethnic Americans, as historian Elaine Tyler May notes in *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, unprecedented prosperity and the shift from

[17] Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), xviii.
[18] Nancy A. Walker, *Shaping Our Mothers' World: American Women's Magazines* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000), xi.
[19] Although this analysis focuses on the assimilation of Jewish-Americans into postwar white middle-class society it is important to note the economic and domestic changes in the lives of African Americans. Although white wage earners continued to have higher incomes than African Americans, the income of black families rose throughout the 1940s and 1950s. Like their white gentile and Jewish peers, the prosperity of the postwar years permitted African American families to create stable family units. Parallel to their white peers, marriage rates and fertility increased within the African American community. Despite the increase in family income, black men earned, on average, 60 percent of white men‟s wages throughout the Defense Decade. Furthermore, the poverty rate of black families was almost 50 percent, making traditional domesticity impossible for many black families. As a result, African American women were expected to work outside the home throughout the 1950s. These women entered clerical positions in large numbers during the war and the number of black women employed in these jobs increased nearly 150 percent during the Defense Decade. Unlike their white peers, work formed an integral part of the African American female role regardless of domestic obligations. As a result, African American women were not encouraged nor did they strive, to embody the neo-Republican Motherhood ideal. See the discussion of women‟s entrance into the labor force during the 1950s in Julia Kirk Blakwelder‟s *Now Hiring: The Feminization of Work in the United States 1900-1995*. Statistics concerning African American poverty are found in Coontz, *A Strange Stirring*, 121. For further information concerning African American Defense Decade gender ideologies see Jacqueline Jones‟ analysis of *Ebony* magazine in *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 223-225.

urban to suburban dwelling served as catalysts for assimilation into the middle class.[20] Accessibility to the general economic mainstream and ownership of private property (security that could be measured in dollars) aided the significant Jewish-American adoption of the postwar middle-class suburban culture.[21] According to sociologist Robert F. Finch in his textbook *Selected Studies of Marriage and the Family*, the breaking away from immigrant families residing in urban neighborhoods was the first and most significant step towards inclusion in the American middle-class.[22] Throughout the Defense Decade, Jewish-American families of immigrant backgrounds migrated to the nation‟s modern suburbs, in immense numbers, and embraced the social doctrines and ideologies of their gentile middle-class peers.[23] A representative example of the assimilation of Jewish Americans into the middle-class suburban culture of the Defense Decade is notably depicted in Donald R. Katz‟s *Home Fires: An Intimate Portrait of One Middle-Class Family in Postwar America*. Moving from their Bronx neighborhood to a Long Island suburban development, changing the family name to Gordon, and establishing a successful business, Sam and Eve Goldenberg symbolized Jewish-American conformity to middle-class norms and practices. As recognized members of the white middle-class, Jewish-American men and women accordingly embraced the

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[20] May, *Homeward Bound*, xviii.
[21] Donald R. Katz, *Home Fires: An Intimate Portrait of One Middle-Class Family in Postwar America* (New York: HarpersCollins, 1992), 21-2.
[22] Ibid., 56-7.
[23] An example of the massive influx of Jewish-Americans into the nation‟s middle-class is noted in statistics concerning suburban migration. Throughout the 1950s, over 1.5 million New York City residents abandoned their urban dwellings for homes in suburban developments. These men and women left New York city‟s five boroughs and became residents of "the Grand Concourse" or the suburban developments of Long Island—such as the famous Levittown, the first planned suburban community in America. See Katz, *Home Fires*, 39 & 53.

prevailing gender ideologies of the Defense Decade and contributed to Cold War national security through adherence to traditional domesticity and the principles of neo-Republican Motherhood.[24]

By 1950, America"s Cold War with the Soviet Union was intensifying and apprehension over a potential nuclear war, spurred by an arms race—or competition in arsenal expansion between America and the Soviet Union—elevated the global role of neo-Republican Motherhood and increased the domestic burdens placed upon the nation"s middle-class suburban housewives and mothers. The origins of America"s arms race with the Soviet Union date back to the early postwar period. According to Cold War historian Derek Leebaert, "a United States military intelligence report in early 1945—unaware of the Manhattan Project and months before the first detonation—predicted that the Soviet Union would have an atomic bomb in about five years."[25] The intelligence report not only increased existent tensions with the Soviet Union but was proved accurate, and on August 28, 1949, with the successful Soviet test of an atomic bomb, the United States lost its monopoly on atomic weaponry.[26] The Soviet Union"s obtainment and detonation of the atomic bomb baffled the nation"s leaders who believed that their

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[24] In an article entitled "Imagining Jewish Mothers in the 1950s," historian Joyce Antler finds the popular Defense Decade television program "The Goldbergs" representative of the Jewish middle-class"s entry into the American mainstream. Airing on CBS from 1946 to 1955, the program espoused assimilationist values through the Goldbergs" leaving of their Bronx neighborhood for domestic tranquility in the suburbs. As a housewife and mother of two children, protagonist Molly Goldberg"s concern for her family"s welfare symbolized responsible Defense Decade neo-Republican Motherhood. See Joyce Antler, "Imaging Jewish Mothers in the 1950s," in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past 7th ed, vol. 2* ed. Linda K. Kerber et. al., (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 607-616.

[25] Derek Leebaert, *The Fifty Year Wound: The True Price of America's Cold War Victory* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2002), 77.

[26] McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home: Militarization Meets Everyday Life in the Fifties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 13.

enemy was incapable of developing advanced weaponry without American assistance. The Soviet Union"s possession of atomic weaponry was the impetus for the United States expansion of its nuclear arsenal. President Harry S. Truman and his advisors deemed the United States" creation of more and larger bombs as vital in the maintenance of a military advantage in the Cold War, and the decision to continue increasing the United States arsenal launched the arms race.

The Soviet Union"s development of a nuclear arsenal was an early Cold War failure for the United States. Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin achieved notoriety by attributing America"s Cold War failure to the efforts of communist agents working their schemes internally. Elucidated in a time of incredible fear amongst the nation"s citizens, McCarthy"s observations helped incite a "Red Scare" within American society.[27] McCarthy presented his assumptions in a speech for the Republican Women"s Club of Wheeling, West Virginia, on February 9, 1950, and soon after millions of Americans shared his beliefs.[28] In the speech McCarthy stated:

> The reason we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful enemy has sent men to invade our shores, but rather, because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this nation. ...The United States is failing to attain its foreign policy goals not because of the natural limitations on the exercise of power, but because of internal treason.[29]

Influenced by the arms race and the January 1950 conviction of Alger Hiss—a United States official convicted of perjury for lying under oath about providing State Department

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[27] Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, *The Rosenberg File 2nd ed.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 6.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid., 5.

documents to Soviet agents—most Americans believed any former or current member of the Communist Party was an active or potential Soviet espionage agent.[30] The arms race in conjuncture with McCarthy‟s Red Scare strengthened Americans‟ commitment to national security and containment vested in traditional domesticity and thus bolstered the importance of neo-Republican Motherhood. Adherence to the role of neo-Republican Motherhood was a crucial Cold War issue during the trial and conviction of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for conspiracy to commit espionage, and illuminated the potential dangers posed to national security by women‟s refusal to conform to the doctrine.

The Soviet Union‟s development of atomic weaponry was attributed to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, a Jewish couple from New York. Antithetic to middle-class norms and practices, the Rosenbergs differed from the majority of their Jewish peers—such as the Goldenbergs— and did not assimilate into mainstream Defense Decade American society. Instead, the couple remained loyal to their ethnic roots through identification as members of the working class and continual residency in the urban immigrant neighborhood of their youth. Historian Ilene Philipson contends that life for the Rosenbergs "in the postwar period did not focus on a new tract home, upward mobility, and the joys of suburban consumerism. Instead they remained mired in the urban working class [and subscribed to Communist Party] predictions of impending economic

[30] Ellen Schrecker, "Before the Rosenbergs: Espionage Scenarios in the Early Cold War," in *Secret Agents: The Rosenberg Case, McCarthyism, and Fifties America* ed. Marjorie Garber and Rebecca L. Walkowitz (New York: Routledge, 1995), 129.

depression."[31] Whereas the majority of young urban Jewish men served in the American armed forces during World War II, Julius Rosenberg lacked the military experience affording him a different perspective on life.[32] For World War II veterans, such as Sam Goldenberg, combat experience and the horrors of warfare instilled the desire to pursue "a normal family life" in order to provide comfort and aid the transition into postwar civilian life.[33] Julius' lack of such desire for suburban domesticity explains in part the Rosenbergs' decision to remain residents of their working-class Brooklyn neighborhood. Julius' perpetual unemployment due to a lack of training in his chosen field of engineering, and the couple's affiliations with the Communist Party, barred the Rosenbergs' participation in the postwar economic boom. Philipson argues that Julius' financial difficulties prevented the Rosenbergs from attaining the newly gained prosperity that moved suburban home ownership and access to the products of the consumer industries within reach of most white Americans.[34] Unable to adjust to the postwar economic and social changes, the Rosenbergs found solace in Communist Party doctrine—critical of the rising standard of living—and the heavily immigrant working-class culture of their Brooklyn neighborhood.[35]

The Rosenbergs' attachment to antiquated social norms and past ties with the Communist Party were interpreted as evidence of subversive behavior, specifically the

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[31] Ilene Philipson, *Ethel Rosenberg: Beyond the Myths* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 178-9.
[32] Ibid., 179.
[33] Katz, *Home Fires*, 14.
[34] Philipson, *Beyond the Myths*, 174.
[35] Ibid.

sharing of information concerning the atomic bomb with Soviet agents. Despite any explicit evidence implicating Ethel Rosenberg with the crime of conspiracy to commit espionage, she was only the second woman in the history of the United States to be sentenced to death by the federal government. Cold War historian Ellen Schrecker, in her analysis of the Rosenberg trial, finds that "the story of [Ethel's] prosecution, sentencing, and execution [was] the most dramatic real-life penalizing of a woman of [the Defense Decade] for reasons relating specifically to...her motherhood."[36] Whether guilty of espionage or not, Ethel Rosenberg's decision to support her husband against the government and therefore abandon her two young sons—Michael and Robert—stood in direct opposition to the behavior of an ideal neo-Republican Mother.[37] Additionally, having past ties with the Communist Party in the midst of a Red Scare, implied that Ethel Rosenberg did not indoctrinate her sons in western or American values. Spurning assimilationist or middle-class American values in favor of a working-class identity accentuated Ethel's rejection of Defense Decade gender norms. In fact, Ethel Rosenberg represented the anti-neo-Republican Mother. She was the promoter of communist subversion and the perceived destroyer of civilization—a figure whose eradication protected national security. The imposition of the death sentence and Ethel Rosenberg's execution were powerful reminders of the dangers posed to national security by American women who neglected to inhabit the role of neo-Republican Mother.

[36] Schrecker, "Before the Rosenbergs," 216.
[37] Philipson, *Beyond the Myths*, 311.

Like most of her working-class urban peers, Ethel Rosenberg (then Greenglass) worked outside the home during the Great Depression, in her case as a shipping clerk at National New York Packing and Shipping. Yet, unlike most women, Ethel was fired from the job in 1935 at the age of nineteen for organizing a 150-woman strike for better wages, and alone amongst the organizers, faced review before the National Labor Relations Board.[38] Ethel's unconventional womanhood continued after her 1939 marriage to Julius Rosenberg. Theirs was truly a marriage of the like-minded; both Julius and Ethel embraced anti-fascist and pro-communist politics. While a member of the Communist Party, Julius found work as a civilian engineer with the Army Signal Corps in 1940 and visited defense plants and military instillations throughout World War II. Although both he and Ethel claimed a withdrawal from Communist Party activities in 1943, Julius was dismissed from his job in the spring of 1945 on the charge of concealing his membership.[39] The Rosenbergs' affiliations with the Communist Party worked against them in the summer of 1950, when, fueled by McCarthy's Red Scare, United States officials undertook an investigation of a potential connection with the Soviet Union. After a series of investigations and questioning conducted by government agencies, David Greenglass—Ethel's brother—identified Julius, on June 15, 1950, as the individual who recruited him to spy for the Soviet Union and deliver atomic secrets while he worked on the Manhattan Project. Although a housewife and the mother of two young sons, Ethel was questioned the day after Greenglass's confession. Julius was arrested on

[38] Sheila M. Brennan, "Popular Images of American Women in the 1950's and Their Impact on Ethel Rosenberg's Trial and Conviction" *Women's Rights Law Reporter, vol. 14, no. 1* (Winter 1992): 47.
[39] Radosh and Milton, *The Rosenberg File*, 2.

July 17, and, without any substantial or physical evidence, Ethel was arrested on August 11, 1950, in connection with Julius‟s activities. On January 31, 1951, the Rosenbergs were indicted by a grand jury, and, in February, Greenglass confessed to Ethel‟s knowledge and approval of Julius‟s activities, as well as her assistance in typing the handwritten notes containing descriptions of the atomic bomb.[40]

The Rosenbergs‟ trial began in March 1951, and, prior to its start, Julius and Ethel devised a plan concerning their public appearance. The Rosenbergs decided they would not show fear or concern over what had occurred or in response to damning testimony. To do so, they reasoned, would make them appear to possess guilty consciences.[41] The plan backfired and Ethel‟s stoic indifference presented the American public with an image of a woman lacking maternal feeling. According to historian Joyce Antler, Ethel‟s decision to stand by her husband and abandon her two young sons confirmed to the jurors, Judge Irving Kaufman, the press, and the American public her commitment to communist ideology and not to the principles of neo-Republican Motherhood. Ethel Rosenberg‟s projected lack of maternal feeling and concern furthered the public‟s interpretation of her guilt in the crime of espionage.[42] For example, a juror and parent of two children, in reaction to Ethel Rosenberg‟s behavior, remarked: "....it bothered me how [she] would subject [her] children to such a thing. I just couldn‟t understand it."[43] Media coverage of the trial convinced many Americans that if Ethel were truly a good

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[40] Radosh and Milton, *The Rosenberg File*, 3.
[41] Philipson, *Beyond the Myths*, 243.
[42] Joyce Antler, "Imagining Jewish Mothers in the 1950s," 615.
[43] Brennan, "Popular images of American Women," 59.

mother, she would confess to her crimes instead of continually pleading the Fifth Amendment. For if Ethel confessed, she stood to receive a minimal sentence and possibly resume the care of her sons.[44] The combination of damning testimony, past association with the Communist Party, rejection of assimilation into the American middle-class, and seeming lack of maternal feelings helped the jury find Ethel Rosenberg guilty on March 29, 1951.

Faced with the decision to impose life imprisonment or the death penalty, Judge Kaufman sentenced the Rosenbergs to execution by electric chair on April 5, 1951. To justify the imposition of the death penalty upon a woman and mother, Judge Kaufman relied upon the Rosenbergs‟ failures as parents. In rendering his decision, Kaufman stated:

> This Court has no doubt that if the Rosenbergs were ever to attain their freedom they would continue in their deep-seated devotion and allegiance to Soviet Russia, a devotion which has caused them to choose martyrdom and keep their lips sealed. The defendants, still defiant, assert that they seek justice, not mercy. What they seek, they have attained. While I am deeply moved by their considerations of parenthood and while I find death in any form heart-rending, I have a responsibility to mete out justice in a manner dictated by the statutes and interests of our country. The families of these defendants are victims of their infamy but I am also mindful that countless other Americans may also be the victims of that infamy. The defendants were not moved by any consideration of their families and their children in committing their crimes.[45]

Judge Kaufman addressed the Rosenbergs‟ inability to consider the welfare of their children and Ethel‟s rejection of neo-Republican Motherhood in discussing his decision.

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[44] Philipson, *Beyond the Myths*, 311.
[45] Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Julius and Ethel Rosenberg: The FBI Files* (Minneapolis: Filiquarian Publishing, 2007), 122.

Furthermore, Judge Kaufman‟s articulation of the threat posed to American citizens as a result of these actions indicated the grave dangers posed to Cold War national security when women refused to adhere to the neo-Republican Motherhood role. To reinforce the influence of neglectful motherhood upon his decision and therefore the justification for Ethel‟s execution, Judge Kaufman declared:

> ....[Julius and Ethel Rosenberg] placed devotion to their cause above their own personal safety and were conscious they were sacrificing their own children should their misdeeds be detected...all of which did not deter them from pursuing their cause. Love for their cause dominated their lives—it was even greater than their love for their children.[46]

The Rosenbergs insisted upon their innocence, appealed their sentencing, and issued numerous motions and petitions to obtain a new trial. The District Court, Second Circuit Court of Appeal, and the United States Supreme Court denied the Rosenbergs‟ pleas. The courts‟ perpetual refusal to reconsider their case reflects the American public‟s general belief, influenced by the press and the Red Scare, in the Rosenbergs‟ guilt. For example, a *Time* magazine article in the December 1, 1952, issue summarized the conviction, trial, and sentencing and concluded: “Never before had a United States civilian court in peacetime imposed a death sentence for espionage but then never had the peacetime United States had its security so jeopardized....[by spies] whose work probably shortened by years the Russians‟ efforts to build their own A-bomb.”[47] Additionally, the public perception of Ethel Rosenberg as the anti-neo-Republican Mother—a woman who adhered to communist ideologies rather than western values—provided the justification

[46] Federal Bureau of Investigation, *The FBI Files*, 153.
[47] “The Rosenberg Diversion,” *Time*, December 1, 1952, 22.

for the execution of a woman and the mother of two young children. In a last hope attempt, the Rosenbergs petitioned President Dwight Eisenhower for executive clemency. Akin to Judge Kaufman‟s observations, President Eisenhower denied the appeal on February 11, 1953, in a statement that highlighted the threat the couple posed to national security:

> These two individuals have been tried and convicted of a most serious crime against the people of the United States. The nature of the crime for which they have been found guilty and sentenced far exceeds that of the taking of a life of another citizen; it involves the deliberate betrayal of the entire nation and could well result in the death of many, many thousands of citizens.[48]

After a three-year ordeal, the Rosenbergs‟ execution by electric chair occurred on June 19, 1953. In the aftermath, American society reflected on their execution and reached a general consensus. American citizens, through media coverage, interpreted the Rosenbergs as a lesson teaching "freedom loving citizens" that anti-western values would not be tolerated "in the citadel of freedom" and that no "one person [could] arrogate to himself the moral right to jeopardize all."[49] For American women, Ethel Rosenberg demonstrated the importance of adherence to the doctrine of neo-Republican Motherhood. By neglecting this role, Ethel not only betrayed her country, but her devotion to Soviet masters made mockery of the love and protection owed to children and placed all citizens at risk.[50] Moreover, the figure of Ethel Rosenberg served as a reminder of the potential dangers posed to American women—social alienation or even death—if they did not conform to the role of neo-Republican Mother.

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[48] Federal Bureau of Investigation, *The FBI Files*, 124-5.
[49] "Communists and the Rosenberg Case," *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 1953.
[50] Federal Bureau of Investigation, *The FBI Files*, 152-3.

For women of the 1950s who, unlike Ethel Rosenberg, adopted the ideology of neo-Republican Motherhood, adherence to its doctrine not only meant designation to the domestic sphere and the indoctrination of children in western values, but participation in Civil Defense programs. Deemed guardians of civilization, neo-Republican Mothers were instructed to perform specific tasks within the home as outlined by the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA). The FCDA was established by the Truman administration in 1950, on the belief that "the atomic bomb had transformed every citizen into a potential combatant or casualty."[51] Overseen and influenced by the observations of a presidentially appointed administrator, Katherine Graham Howard, the FCDA declared "the nuclear arms race „could not" help but add to the household responsibilities of the average wife and mother. She [needed] to assume a further and more serious awareness of her duties as a citizen."[52] For Howard, the true neo-Republican Mother had dual domestic duties: the indoctrination of children in American values and the preparation of the family for a potential Soviet nuclear attack. Howard"s beliefs concerning American women echoed national security and containment rhetoric that established the family unit, managed by neo-Republican Mothers, as a significant national agency and patriotism as a domestic duty.[53] In a 1954 speech entitled "The Ramparts We Watch," Howard defined the main weapons in American families" defense arsenals as "love of family, loyalty to country, aid to others....[and] a fierce regard for freedom—the will to work together in

[51] McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home*, 23.
[52] Ibid., 88.
[53] Zarlengo, " Civilian Threat, the Suburban Citadel, and Atomic Age American Women," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society vol. 24, no.4* (Summer: 1999): 941.

the traditional American ways."[54] Howard's views were not merely government propaganda spouted by a Washington bureaucrat. Similar arguments appeared in a variety of venues. For example, in a *Good Housekeeping* editorial entitled "What My Mother Gave Me," contributor Madge Mahn wrote about the significant role of neo-Republican Motherhood to the nation, stating:

> ...What thousands of mothers have given their children....[is] a creed to live by, a fortitude to withstand and overcome the difficulties and the obstacles that make up "the state of the world today." We can do no better than to ask that God bless our homes and help bring up our children to be good citizens.[55]

Beyond the adoption of neo-Republican Motherhood ideology, Howard encouraged American mothers to combine the indoctrination of children in American values with an education in survival techniques in the event of a nuclear attack. To do so, Howard instructed the nation's mothers to assign tasks to each family member, such as food preparation and first aid administration, and to drill these duties frequently. In Howard's estimation, a family prepared by a neo-Republican Mother for nuclear fallout would eliminate chaos and provide stability—a tool for strengthening the nation—in the wake of Soviet aggression. In both the popular press and government issued directives, the doctrine of neo-Republican Motherhood was made clear to American women: they would influence the family to embody western values to prevent Soviet subversion.[56]

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[54] Zarlengo, "Atomic Age American Women," 944.
[55] Mahn, "What My Mother Gave Me," 51.
[56] For the majority of Defense Decade American women, the doctrine of neo-Republican Motherhood was a middle-class domestic ideal. Yet a small group of upper- and middle-class Pasadena housewives and mothers embodied doctrine principles to vanquish detected communist subversion in their Southern California community. Brandishing their obligations as neo-Republican Mothers to protect children from communist subversion, these women attacked the progressive educational agenda and pedagogy employed by Superintendent Wilard Goslin in 1955. They deemed Goslin's educational practices to be counter to

The emphasis on the idealistic doctrine of neo-Republican Motherhood in both the press and government directives— such as those produced by the FCDA— as well as the link between national security and the American family influenced the nation‟s educators to pursue a functional rather than an analytical education for women, in order to prepare them for their eventual roles within the domestic sphere.[57] Early in the decade, educators observed an incongruity between the type of college education women received and the lives they were not only encouraged to pursue but would lead after graduation.[58] Over the course of the decade, higher education was the medium through which women trained to become neo-Republican Mothers and prepared for the role‟s accompanying domestic duties. In the preparation of women for the role of neo-Republican Mother, college curricula was modified and courses created to provide women with an education to strengthen the family unit. Women who enrolled in higher education during the early years of the Cold War were instructed by their academic institutions to abandon aspirations for personal advancement and view college as the opportunity to take the knowledge they acquired back into the home.[59]

American patriotism as it advocated "Worldmindedness" and internationalism. The Pasadena mothers‟ movement inspired the formation of numerous conservative women‟s organizations committed to anticommunism and active participation in community life. The Pasadena mother movement stimulated conservative fervor for years to come and aided the emergence of the New Right as a dominant political power symbolized in the election of President Ronald Reagan in 1980. For a further discussion of women‟s role in 1950s conservative politics and the creation of the New Right, see Michelle M. Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

[57] Ibid., 49.

[58] Brett Harvey, *The Fifties: A Woman's Oral History* (New York: Perennial Books, 1994), 45.

[59] From 1948 to 1963, women‟s collegiate enrollment jumped from about 70,000 to nearly 1.7 million. Although the increase in the number of women enrolled in college was high, it had not kept pace with increase in the number of men. The number of men enrolled in institutions of higher education increased over the course of the 1950s due to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, more commonly known as the G.I. Bill. Passed to help World War II veterans assimilate into civilian life, the bill was signed into law

The first educator to advocate for a functional rather than an analytical education for American women was Lynn White, president of all-female Mills College. Published in 1950, White's *Educating Our Daughters: A Challenge to Our Colleges* was written for parents confused over the purpose of their daughters' education and to the daughters themselves. In the book, White proposed a new curriculum for higher education to prepare better a woman to "foster [the] intellectual and emotional life of her family and community."[60] White's proposal for a new curriculum was based on the notion that the "majority of college women [would] and should devote the first two to three decades after graduation to building and maintaining homes and families."[61] Yet White believed that the greatest obstacle preventing the development of a family centered curriculum for women was a system of higher education that was state-minded. In White's words, "the family ha[d] no place or consideration in the...system."[62] White's call for the modification of higher education curricula and an evolution in mind-set was heeded by the nation's colleges and universities, as notably depicted in *Good Housekeeping's* "Annual Report on Small Colleges, 1951." The report—published in the February issue—outlined the changes in college curricula made to prepare women better for their roles as neo-Republican Mothers as well as to strengthen the link between national

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on June 22, 1944. The act had three provisions to aid veterans: education and training; loan guaranty for home, farms, or businesses; and unemployment pay. In the peak year of 1947, veterans accounted for 49% of college admissions and by the time the original G.I. Bill ended on July 25, 1956, 7.8 million of 16 million WWII veterans had participated in an education or training program. See Linda Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America 1945-1965* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006), 44, and http://www.gibill.va.gov/benefits/history-timeline/index.html

[60] Harvey, *The Fifties*, 46.

[61] Lynn White, *Educating Our Daughters: A Challenge to Our Colleges* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 68.

[62] White, *Educating Our Daughters*, 71.

security and the family unit. For example, Hamline University— a small liberal-arts college in St. Paul, Minnesota—issued a report, stating:

> ....Recognizing the importance of the family unit as the fundamental institution, [the college] prepares its students for the responsibilities of wholesome home life. Numerous courses in Sociology, Psychology, the arts and Religion are augmented by specific courses dealing objectively with the problems of marriage. Typical courses are: The Family—Special Factors in Marital Adjustment and Developmental Child Psychology.[63]

Whereas Hamline University prepared its female students for the rigors of married life and motherhood, the University of Chicago tailored its curriculum specifically for the neo-Republican Mother's indoctrination of children in western values. Devised in the early years of the Cold War, the University of Chicago developed the course „Parenthood in a Free Nation," "not only to interest women but to explore how democratic values were entwined in [family] development."[64]

America's elite women's colleges— the celebrated bastions of female advancement—were not immune from the early Cold War compulsion to transform female education. At a 1950 luncheon for the New York City branch of the American Association of University Women, the triumvirate of elite female higher education in America—Millicent McIntosh, President of Barnard College, Sarah Gibson Blanding, President of Vassar College, and Mildred Horton, ex-President of Wellesley—emphasized a woman's first responsibility was to her children.[65] Speaking on behalf of her colleagues, McIntosh told the women present they "must be prepared to

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[63] "Annual Report on Small Colleges, 1951,"*Good Housekeeping*, February 1951, 64-5.
[64] Eugenia Kaledin, *American Women in the 1950s: Mothers and More* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 53.
[65] Harvey, *The Fifties*, 47.

sacrifice...and...must always remember that [the] home comes before all else."[66] Throughout the early Cold War years, McIntosh defined a woman‟s degree from an institution of higher education as the apparatus for family development and responsible neo-Republican Motherhood. In a 1950 *New York Times* article, "Education of Young Women," McIntosh maintained the "education of young women for motherhood [was] the most important task of [American] society."[67] For McIntosh and other like-minded educators, female graduates would share "with [their children] daily [their] own tastes, beliefs and experiences" in order to "give them the best possible education for living in a difficult world."[68] In other words, women enrolled in institutions of higher learning during the early Cold War were encouraged to take their education back into the domestic sphere, as neo-Republican Mothers, and strengthen the nation through the indoctrination of children in western values.

In order to develop a curriculum that connected a woman‟s civic role with education, the American Council on Education sponsored a conference on "Women in the Defense Decade" in September 1951.[69] Held in New York City, the conference was attended by over nine-hundred educators, government officials, and community leaders interested in the relationship between education and responsible neo-Republican Motherhood. In an opening address, "New Opportunities for Service," Everett N. Case, President of Colgate University and the Chairman of the American Council on Education,

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[66] "Home Plus Career Urged for Women," *New York Times*, January 29, 1950, 40.
[67] "Education of Women for Motherhood Held Most Important Task of Our Society," *New York Times*, May 18, 1950, 34.
[68] "Parents Advised on Shortcomings," *New York Times*, February 12, 1953, 24.
[69] Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women*, 90.

articulated the purpose of the conference. Alluding to the global events that heightened Cold War tensions—the Soviet acquisition of atomic weaponry and the Korean War—Case reiterated Churchill's belief in America's global responsibility and the notion of the family as the bulwark against domestic and international communist subversion, stating:

> At home the test still continues [and is] conducted on a global scale, and in a world which has justly been called "half slave, half free." In both arenas—the national and the international—the attitudes, the philosophy, the words, and the actions of the American people [will] be determining.[70]

Highlighting the significance of women, specifically neo-Republican Mothers, to the prevention of communist expansion both internally and abroad, Case stated:

> ...Women are to play a part, a vital part, in our national and international defense effort. Therefore the purpose of the conference [is] to determine how educators [can] create ways and means for making [their] contributions of maximum effectiveness.[71]

In Case's estimation, educators would "influence [the impact] American women [would] inevitably have....as mothers...[and would] go far [in] determining the philosophy and the attitudes and the policies of [the United States'] people as a whole."[72] The belief in a neo-Republican Mother's influence over her family's civic ideology echoed the eighteenth century belief that political socialization began in the domestic sphere and was derived from a mother's instruction—specifically in the notion of "a woman [as society's] most effective teacher."[73]

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[70] American Council on Education Studies, *Conference on Women in the Defense Decade: Report of A National Conference of Persons Representing Schools, Colleges, Universities, Government Agencies, and Selected National Organizations, New York City, September 27-28, 1951* ed. Raymond F. Howes. Series 1, no. 25 (Washington, D.C.: Reports of Committees and Conferences Vol. XVI, April 1952), 16.
[71] Ibid., 6 & 7.
[72] Ibid., 6.
[73] Ibid., 7.

Mary Donlon—chairwoman of the New York State Workmen‟s Compensation Board and chairwoman of the conference—directly applied Case‟s convictions to women‟s higher education. Referencing the inherent principles and the significance of neo-Republican Motherhood to national security via the family unit, Donlon asserted that "to educate a woman....[is to] have educated a family. To that [those gathered] now add: educate a woman and you have educated a family and a community; and if you educate enough women, you will have educated the nation."[74] To educate women, and therefore the nation, in responsible American citizenship, the Executive Committee hoped that the conference—its discussion panels and lectures—would yield findings to guide "women and women‟s education [throughout] the Defense Decade."[75]

The "Women in the Defense Decade" conference consisted of eight simultaneous sessions, each focusing on a different aspect of women‟s lives, "to make a design for a period of defense into which all the interests and abilities of women fit and complement one another."[76] Although the sessions ran concurrently, two general agreements were reached: that "the primary hope for [national and international] security [lay] in the safeguarding of childhood" and "the primary effort of women in [the] defense period should be directed toward [the] protection of the human relations in the home—the family unit."[77] To achieve the conference goals, American educators resolved to "[provide] support and encouragement to mothers" and to demand that "colleges and

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[74] American Council on Education, *Conference on Women in the Defense Decade,* 10.
[75] Ibid., 9.
[76] Ibid., 16.
[77] Ibid., 17.

universities [give] more respect and attention to courses for women on human relations, through courses on family living."[78]As defined by the Executive Committee, the new courses on family living would "function as good laboratories" for women to understand and interpret "democracy in everyday life" and therefore train their children "in the kind of citizenship they will practice [in the future]."[79] Despite the support of institutional leaders, such as Millicent McIntosh, the Executive Committee worried the existence of women"s colleges threatened the established goals. To alleviate trepidation and squelch any potential for dissenting ideologies concerning women"s personal advancement, the Executive Committee told the nine-hundred attendees that "women"s colleges no longer needed to prove the equity of their students in matters intellectual. Their next task [was] to pioneer a new kind of education designed to emphasize moral and spiritual values" as well as "the means of exalting home and family."[80]

The Executive Committee ended the conference with the pronouncement of two key conclusions concerning the link between women"s higher education and national security. First, educators believed the modification of higher education curricula would aid the successful fulfillment of the nation"s educated women in becoming neo-Republican Mothers. The Executive Committee believed the educated American woman with her "clarity of thinking... experiences, standards, and judgment [would] raise the sights of her family and contribute to their well-being."[81] As defined by the Executive

[78] American Council on Education, *Conference on Women in the Defense Decade*, 18 & 20.
[79] Ibid., 24.
[80] Ibid., 69.
[81] Ibid., 72.

Committee, an American woman‟s education would “train her to be a good member of society.”[82] Secondly, the Executive Committee—without any insight provided by women students themselves—concluded “as a mother, the true American woman [welcomed] the preeminent responsibilities of citizenship and [used] higher education to prepare herself.”[83] Although the full impact of this way of thinking on America‟s colleges and universities is difficult to ascertain, Keuka College in Keuka Park, New York, modified its curriculum for women in the wake of the “Women in the Defense Decade” conference. Termed “The Keuka Plan for Social Responsibility,” the small liberal arts college created the program to advance the goals set forth by the conference's Executive Committee. As stated by Dean Louise Robinson Heath, the program prepared female graduates for active participation as responsible citizens.[84] The plan called for the interaction of faculty and students to unify traditional academic skills with a perception of moral values and a realization of the responsibilities of world citizenship.[85]

Perhaps the greatest articulation of American women‟s higher education as training for responsible domestic and world citizenship was Adlai Stevenson‟s “A Purpose for Modern Woman” address. Delivered as the 1955 commencement speech at Smith College, the Illinois Governor and Presidential candidate instructed the graduates to view their education as the tool for the moral improvement of society, and not for their

[82] American Council on Education, *Conference on Women in the Defense Decade*, 72.
[83] Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women*, 90.
[84] *Good Housekeeping*, February 1951, 64.
[85] Ibid.

own intellectual fulfillment or personal advancement.[86] Stevenson spoke of women‟s postgraduate occupation as centered in the domestic realm, where they were to improve the family and the nation through the encouragement of western values. Stevenson expanded upon the significant role of women, when he stated:

> You may well be hitched to one of these creatures we call "western man" and I think part of your job is to keep him western, to keep him truly purposeful, to keep him whole. One of the biggest jobs for many of you will be to frustrate the crushing and corrupting effects of specialization...to develop that balanced tension of mind and spirit which can be properly called integrity. This assignment for you, as wives and mothers, has great advantages...it is at home—you can do it in the living room—with a baby on your lap.[87]

In his assertion, Stevenson coupled the trend towards specialization with conformity to the role of neo-Republican Mother.[88] Furthermore, Stevenson referenced the connection between education and the neo-Republican Mother role, as well as its importance to the protection of western civilization against communist subversion:

> Educated women such as you, have a unique opportunity to influence us, man and boy, and to play a direct part in the unfolding drama of free society. What you have learned and can learn will fit you for the primary task of making homes and whole human beings in whom the rational values of freedom, tolerance, charity and free inquiry can take root.[89]

Stevenson acknowledged that the adoption of neo-Republican Motherhood— and therefore the abandonment of any participatory, intellectual life— could over time lead to

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[86] Kaledin, *American Women in the 1950s*, 52.
[87] Adlai E. Stevenson, "A Purpose for Modern Woman," *Women's Home Companion*, September 1955, 30.
[88] Kaledin, *American Women in the 1950s*, 35.
[89] Stevenson, "A Purpose for Modern Woman," 31.

frustration among America‟s educated women.[90] Yet Stevenson mused that the power embodied in neo-Republican Motherhood to "defeat totalitarian, authoritarian ideas" through the indoctrination of children in western values would stifle any potential feelings of discontent.[91]

American women‟s historian Eugenia Kaledin, in her study of the 1950s, finds that educators and government officials, like Stevenson, who focused on women‟s responsibility to raise children in the values of western citizenship or free choice offered the women themselves almost no choice for personal improvement or intellectual advancement.[92] The rhetoric of neo-Republican Motherhood and the consequential limitations upon female advancement had a tangible effect on the self-perceptions of American women throughout the Defense Decade. Rebecca Jo Plant stipulates that the perpetual definition of women as mothers, along with pervasive discrimination in the public realm, often left many middle-class American women feeling powerless as individuals or even as mothers.[93] The chorus of voices preaching neo-Republican Motherhood influenced many women to curb their intellectual interests in pursuit of traditional domesticity or influenced those already enrolled to undertake their college course work with an attitude of indifference.[94] Published in 1959, Mabel Newcomer‟s analysis of women‟s education in America—*A Century of Higher Education for*

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[90] Kaledin, *American Women in the 1950s*, 45.
[91] Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 86.
[92] Kaledin, *American Women in the 1950s*, 50.
[93] Plant, *Mom*, 16-7.
[94] Harvey, *The Fifties*, 67.

American Women—revealed the statistical impact of this doctrine upon college women during the Cold War. Newcomer found only 37% of the women who enrolled in higher education in the 1950s stayed to graduate. She also found that by the conclusion of the Defense Decade, five women‟s colleges had closed, twenty-one had become coeducational, and two had downgraded to junior colleges.[95] Newcomer attributed the decline to the advocation of traditional domesticity and motherhood, noting that more than half of young American women in 1959 were married by the age of twenty.[96] For the women who graduated in the 1950s, the disinterest in academic advancement and the pursuit of marriage and motherhood is reflected in the small number who pursued postgraduate degrees. Newcomer determined that less than 10% of doctorate degrees were granted to women in the 1950s when compared to one in six in 1920 and 13% in 1940.[97] For the women enrolled in higher education during the early years of the Cold War, the doctrine of neo-Republican Motherhood was inescapable, and, whether they were cognizant of it or not, it altered self-perceptions. For example, Claire Lassiter—a Smith College graduate—reflecting upon her education in the 1950s, recalled:

> About the closest I ever came to having a fantasy about combining my interest with marriage was, wouldn‟t it be wonderful to marry a college professor. It never crossed my mind that I could be a college professor.[98]

The most notable illustration of the transformation in women‟s academic ambitions is found in a 1960 Mellon Foundation study of all-female Vassar College. The report found:

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[95] Kaledin, *American Women in the 1950s*, 36 & 53.
[96] Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), 133.
[97] Kaledin, *American Women in the 1950s*, 53.
[98] Harvey, *The Fifties*, 46.

> Vassar girls, by and large, do not expect to achieve fame...pioneer any frontiers, or otherwise create ripples in the placid order of things....Not only is spinsterhood viewed as a personal tragedy but offspring are considered essential to the full life and the Vassar [woman] believes that she would be willing to adopt children, if it were necessary, to create a family. In short, her future identity is largely encompassed by the projected role of wife-mother.[99]

For women such as Claire Lassiter and the graduates of Vassar College, society‟s advocation of neo-Republican Motherhood and its inclusion in higher education curricula encouraged women to abandon intellectual or personal advancement for relegation back into the domestic sphere. Despite his confidence in the role‟s ability to empower women, Adlai Stevenson‟s prediction of frustration with neo-Republican Motherhood manifested itself in the last years of the Defense Decade. Boredom and frustration with the domestic realm and motherhood encouraged some American women to move beyond its confines and restore a female political voice. Betty Friedan—a 1942 Smith College graduate—and an organization of politically minded women, collectively termed the Women Strike for Peace movement, exposed and manipulated the principles of neo-Republican Motherhood and helped launch the second-wave feminist movement. The second-wave feminist movement not only raised women‟s consciousness regarding issues of marriage, motherhood, and sexuality, but challenged patriarchal society and resulted in significant political, social, and economic changes in the lives of American women in the latter half of the twentieth century.[100]

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[99] John Bushenl, "Student Culture at Vassar," *The American College*, ed. Nevitt Stanford (New York, 1962), 509.
[100] Charis Xinari, "From New Woman to „New‟ Feminism: Some Thoughts on the Post-Feminist era," *Journal of Critical Studies in Business & Society Vol. 1, no. 1-2* (March 2010): 8.

CHAPTER THREE

> I did not set out consciously to start a revolution when I wrote *The Feminine Mystique*, but it changed my life, as a woman and as a writer, and other women tell me it changed theirs.[1]
>
> -Betty Friedan, *"It Changed My Life"*
> 1985

The Defense Decade concluded with the 1960 election of Democratic candidate John F. Kennedy to the presidency. Young, ambitious, and optimistic, Kennedy offered the American public a new perspective on the Cold War and the anxieties of the atomic age. In the last half of the Defense Decade, the development of hydrogen bombs—weapons a thousand times more powerful than their atomic predecessors—and the acceleration of the American-Soviet arms race heightened fears of global obliteration. The intensity of the hydrogen bomb and the United States testing programs also awakened the American public to the dangers of nuclear fallout.[2] According to historian Paul Boyer"s analysis of the United States testing programs, beginning with the nation"s Bravo test series of 1954, the American public gradually became aware of the dangerous by-products of these tests: Cancer-causing Strontium 90 and other radioactive materials released into the atmosphere and contaminating the earth"s farmlands and rivers.[3] By the end of 1958 the world had experienced at least one hundred and ninety hydrogen bomb tests conducted by America, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain.[4] Cognizant of the harm

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[1] Betty Friedan, "*It Changed My Life:" Writings on the Women's Movement* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985), xv.

[2] The term "fallout" has its origins in the early post-World War II period. As journalists of the Defense Decade reported on the catastrophic by-products of hydrogen bomb tests that were coursing through the earth"s atmosphere, they popularized a term that atomic scientists had been using since 1946: fallout. See Paul Boyer, *Fallout: A Historian Reflects on America's Half-Century Encounter with Nuclear Weapons* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), xii and xiii.

[3] Ibid., xiii.

[4] Amy Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 43.

posed to the environment and the world‟s population with each test, the United States and Soviet Union entered into a moratorium on the testing of nuclear bombs in 1959. Although he proved himself to be a strong Cold War Warrior—more apt to risk a nuclear war than negotiate its problems— Kennedy spoke of America and its citizenry‟s responsibility to work towards peace in his 1961 inaugural address.[5] In his speech, Kennedy requested the world‟s nations to "begin anew the quest for peace" and appealed to the Soviet Union to "formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms."[6] Perhaps most significantly, Kennedy told the American public it was "in [their] hands, more than [his], [that] rest[ed] the final success or failure of the [nation‟s] course" towards peace and the protection of the global community from nuclear fallout.[7]

Frustrated by stagnant efforts towards the regulation of nuclear testing and concerned with the future well-being of America‟s children, a group of politically minded neo-Republican Mothers fulfilled the obligations outlined in Kennedy‟s speech. Dubbed the Women Strike for Peace (WSP) movement, the middle-class American women who participated in it utilized their experiences as neo-Republican Mothers and applied their status as the guardians of civilization to call upon the American and Soviet governments to end the threats to human survival posed by nuclear arsenals. Intended to be a one-day nationwide demonstration, WSP expanded beyond its original conception and developed

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[5] Walter Lafeber, A*merica, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1966* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), 218.
[6] Alex Ayres, *The Wit and Wisdom of John F. Kennedy: An A-to-Z Compendium of Quotations* (New York: Penguin Group, 1996), 96.
[7] Ibid., 97.

into an established movement dedicated to the protection of the global community. Reliant upon their image as concerned neo-Republican Mothers, WSP critiqued American militarism in a non-threatening manner and through their articulations unconsciously restored a political voice for women that was silenced by the domestic demands of the Defense Decade. WSP"s re-politicization of American women and the 1963 publication of *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan aided the emergence of second-wave feminism. The second-wave feminist movement curtailed the doctrine of neo-Republican Motherhood as a tool of American Cold War national security and transformed the social, political, and economic lives of women in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Women Strike for Peace was established by five educated middle-class American women— Dagmar Wilson, Eleanor Garst, Folly Foder, Jeanne Bagby, and Margaret Russel—living in Washington, D.C., during the height of Cold War apprehension. These educated women of the pre-World War II generation succumbed to societal pressures and fulfilled the role of neo-Republican Motherhood during the war or in the immediate postwar period. Like the majority of their female peers, these women had given up personal aspirations to become consenting members of post-war domesticity and full-time neo-Republican Motherhood throughout the Defense Decade.[8] The experience as neo-Republican Mothers taught Wilson and her cohorts to interpret "motherhood as more

[8] Amy Swerdlow, "Motherhood and the Subversion of the Military State: WSP Confronts the House Committee on Un-American Activities," in *Women, Militarism, and War: Essays in History, Politics, and Social Theory*, ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain and Sheila Tobias (Savage: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1988), 19 and *Women Strike for Peace*, 233.

than a responsibility to [national security via] the private family" but "as a service to the world community."[9] Explicitly, the founders of WSP conceptualized themselves as the guardians of civilization. Neo-Republican Motherhood ideology—specifically the principle of political socialization of children as a mother"s duty— convinced Wilson and her cohorts of "full-time care of a child [as] the only way to raise the well-adjusted American citizen who would build a future world committed to the peace and justice [that they] sought."[10] A firm commitment to the ideological doctrine of neo-Republican Motherhood was the basis for Wilson and her cohorts to be active members in SANE, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the first mass organization founded in opposition to the nuclear arms race. Motivated by personal fear and loathing concerning the atom bomb and its destructive capabilities, Wilson joined SANE to learn how a citizen could function effectively in opposition to American nuclear policy.[11] Although Wilson claimed to be an apolitical housewife and her SANE membership as the first experience with political activity, her cohorts were not political neophytes. According to historian and WSP participant Amy Swerdlow, the "Washington founders...had been involved in [pacifist movements] or popular Communist front groups of the late 1930s and 1940s and shared, in addition to social concerns, the role of [neo-Republican Motherhood], homemaker, and middle-class affluence."[12] This shared background, in

[9] Amy Swerdlow, "Pure Milk, Not Poison: Women Strike for Peace and the Test Ban Treaty of 1963" in *Rocking the Ship of State: Toward a Feminist Peace Politics*, ed. Adrienne Harris and Ynestra King (Boulder: Westerview Press, 1989), 229.
[10] Swerdlow, "Pure Milk, Not Poison," 229.
[11] Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 56.
[12] Ibid., 233.

conjunction with frustration concerning SANE‟s organizational policies and disillusionment with the group‟s inability to procure immediate change, encouraged Wilson and her cohorts to found WSP in 1961.

Like Dagmar Wilson and her WSP cohorts, another politically minded middle-class housewife and mother contemplated American women‟s Cold War role. Similar to many middle-class American women of the Defense Decade, Betty Friedan was well-educated and chose to embrace the social doctrine of traditional domesticity and neo-Republican Motherhood in the early postwar years. Under her maiden name of Goldstein, Betty graduated from Smith College with a degree in psychology in 1942. During her undergraduate career, Friedan wrote articles for the student newspaper and contemplated women‟s issues both in her publications and class assignments, an experience that fostered a life-long passion for writing.[13] Prior to graduation, Friedan contemplated the quintessential question faced by all female college graduates: should she pursue an advanced degree, a career, or marriage? Friedan chose to attend the University of California at Berkeley in pursuit of a graduate degree in psychology, but did not graduate, deciding instead to abandon academia for a career in journalism.

Friedan moved to New York City in 1943 and was hired as an assistant news editor for the Manhattan office of *The Federated Press*, working there throughout World War II. Created in 1919 by members of the Socialist Party and militant trade unions, *The Federated Press* advocated the rights of workers and was the most successful left-wing

[13] Susan Oliver, *Betty Friedan: The Personal is Political* (New York: Pearson Education, 2008), 23.

news agency of the decades preceding World War II.[14] Working for the publication provided experience as a journalist and immersed Friedan in the radical politics of the Old Left.[15] Friedan‟s articles for *The Federated Press* aligned with Old Left ideologies, emphasizing the plight of workers and devoting considerable attention to women‟s issues concerning employment and consumerism.[16] Laid off due to budget constraints, Friedan applied for a position at *United Electric News*—the newsletter of the United Electric, Radio and Machine Workers of America—and was hired in 1946. Atypical amongst her postwar peers, Friedan wrote articles for the newsletter advocating socialist and communist principles to promote economic, political, and social equality for working Americans.[17]

By 1952 the Red Scare and its threats of social alienation— or, at its most extreme, execution— influenced Friedan to downplay her ties to the Left and labor movement and devote her attention to the domestic realm.[18] In conformity with middle-class peers, such as Dagmar Wilson, Betty got married in 1947— to Carl Friedan— and adjusted to the postwar domestic ideal by becoming a housewife and mother to three young children. Like many other middle-class suburban women of the Defense Decade, Friedan worked to supplement the family income. In Friedan‟s case, she was a freelance

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[14] Oliver, *The Personal is Political*, 35.
[15] The Old Left is defined as a diverse coalition of communists, socialists, liberals, and pacifists that advocated identity with the working class, racial and ethnic diversity, and sought progressive social change during the 1930s. See Robert Cohen, *When the Old Left was Young: Student Radicals and America's First Mass Student Movement*, *1929-1941* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), xiv.
[16] Oliver, *The Personal is Political*, 38.
[17] Ibid., 40.
[18] Stephanie Coontz, *A Strange Stirring: The Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 140.

writer for popular women‟s magazines. Over the course of the 1950s Friedan achieved success as a frequent contributor to *Good Housekeeping* and *Ladies' Home Journal*, focusing her articles on the daily lives and common issues of Defense Decade American women. To appeal to the editors and reach a new audience of middle-class readers, Friedan portrayed herself as an apolitical suburban housewife.[19] Friedan‟s conscious decision to emphasize her status as an apolitical housewife echoed Wilson and WSP‟s identification as political neophytes. The decision to project a carefully constructed image of respectable middle-class femininity significantly influenced the success of Friedan and WSP movement goals in 1963.

Similar to other Defense Decade women who remained within the labor force, Friedan balanced the dual responsibilities of employment with motherhood, yet recognized a dissatisfaction with her domestic lifestyle. By the mid-1950s, Friedan was cognizant of personal feelings of discontent with motherhood and was bothered by American society‟s perpetual promotion of female adherence to the doctrine of neo-Republican Motherhood. Writing for the popular postwar women‟s magazines, Friedan observed in articles and advertisements the overwhelming presence of a rhetoric linking female satisfaction with conformity to domestic ideals and the completion of its ingrained tasks. Furthermore, Adlai E. Stevenson‟s 1955 commencement address at her alma mater greatly bothered Friedan. Although Friedan agreed with Stevenson‟s observation that a college-educated woman made a better neo-Republican Mother, she abhorred his insistence that college-educated women suppress the desire for personal pursuits and

[19] Coontz, *A Strange Stirring*, 142.

limit their intellectual contributions to the raising of patriotic children for the purpose of strengthening national security.[20]

Friedan‟s personal feelings of discontent, in combination with American society‟s insistence that college-educated women make careers out of neo-Republican Motherhood, motivated her to question whether her frustrations were unique. Her consciousness of the prohibitive nature of neo-Republican Motherhood doctrine, in contrast to Stevenson‟s conception of its potential to empower women, inspired Friedan to construct a survey for the fifteen year reunion of her Smith College graduating class in early 1957.[21] Friedan designed a questionnaire that encouraged the respondents to reveal whether their domestic roles as housewives and neo-Republican Mothers provided the intellectual and emotional satisfaction that Stevenson described.[22] Completed by two-hundred women—less than one half of the Smith College class of 1942—the questionnaire disproved Stevenson‟s hypothesis of American women‟s contentment with the neo-Republican Motherhood role. The respondents‟ comments overwhelmingly revealed that college-educated women of the World War II generation—women like Wilson and her WSP cofounders— were dissatisfied with their assignment to the domestic realm and had hoped for a more exciting future based upon their intellectual experiences while at Smith College. The questionnaires' results aligned with Friedan‟s personal feelings and observations, and the revelation that she was not alone in her frustrations impelled her to publish the findings in a magazine article. Entitled “Women

[20] Oliver, *The Personal is Political*, 62.
[21] Ibid., 61.
[22] Ibid., 63.

Wasting Their Time in College?," the article manuscript challenged American society's message that higher education was primarily useful as a foundation for successful neo-Republican Motherhood. Friedan countered societal dogma in her article and asserted that a college education provided women with the intellectual capability to integrate personal interests and aspirations with domestic obligations.[23] Friedan argued that women of the Defense Decade should not be forced to choose between the private sphere of home and family and the public sphere of a career. Instead, she asserted that women should be encouraged to combine domestic life with personal interests. The observations and arguments that Friedan posed challenged Cold War American policies that linked national security and Soviet containment with traditional domesticity, and, as a result, none of the women's magazine would publish the article. Continual rejection encouraged Friedan to believe that her message was significant and needed to be disseminated to a broad audience. This was the catalyst for *The Feminine Mystique*. Published on February 19, 1963, by W.W. Norton and Company, the book exposed Cold War American women's frustrations with the traditional femininity intrinsic to the doctrine of neo-Republican Motherhood. Friedan's revelation of neo-Republican Motherhood as a restrictive social doctrine changed female attitudes concerning the role, encouraged American women to view the personal as political, and helped instigate the emergence of the second-wave feminist movement of the 1960s.

From 1959 to 1961, Friedan interviewed a broad spectrum of American women to derive credible data and support for the proposed book focusing on dissatisfaction with

[23] Oliver, *The Personal is Political*, 64.

Defense Decade domesticity. Drawing upon her skills as a journalist, Friedan conducted in-depth personal interviews with eighty women of the middle and upper-middle class concerning their lifestyles and attitudes towards marriage and motherhood.[24] The interviews aligned with earlier observations and indicated a uniformity in the experiences, mindsets, and feelings of the women who abandoned personal pursuits and aspirations to adopt the neo-Republican Motherhood doctrine. Across the spectrum, Defense Decade American women were bored and dissatisfied with their domestic roles and viewed themselves as nothing more than housewives and neo-Republican Mothers. For example, an educated middle-class mother of four children told Friedan:

> I‟ve tried everything women are supposed to do. I can do it all, and I like it, but it doesn‟t leave [me] anything to think about—any feeling of who [I am]. I never had any career ambitions. All I wanted was to get married and have four children. But I am desperate. I...feel I have no personality. I‟m a server of food and a putter-on of pants and a bedmaker. But who am I?[25]

Friedan termed these collective feelings and the American culture of domesticity, "the feminine mystique."

While Friedan contemplated the impact of "the feminine mystique" upon Defense Decade women, Wilson and her Washington cohorts called upon those it most affected to challenge America‟s nuclear policy. Influenced by their perception of themselves as the guardians of civilization, Wilson and her cohorts founded WSP in the conviction that it was time for middle-class American mothers and housewives to take direct political action to end the threat to human survival posed by the super-powers‟ competing nuclear

[24] Oliver, *The Personal is Political*, 65.
[25] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1977), 65.

arsenals. On September 22, 1961, Wilson launched the WSP movement and incited American mothers across the nation to act as the deemed guardians of civilization. Spread through the typical female networks and organizations—telephone and Christmas card lists, PTAs, and the League of Women Voters—Wilson"s nationwide call instructed women to suspend their domestic duties on November 1, 1961, and walk out as concerned mothers to "appeal to all governments to, End the Arms Race-Not the Human Race."[26] An estimated fifty-thousand women answered WSP"s call and in cities from coast to coast entered the nation"s streets to plead to the United States government to secure a future for the world"s children. In addition to the mass public demonstrations, the founders of WSP addressed a letter to First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy to aid their cause as a wife and mother of two young children. The WSP letter employed the ideological rhetoric of neo-Republican Motherhood and emphasized their distinctive status as the guardians of civilization, stating:

> We women of the United States of America appeal to you as the First Lady of our country to join with us to end the arms race instead of the human race. Think what hope would gladden the world if women everywhere would rise to claim the right to life for their children and for generations yet unborn. Surely no mother today can feel that her duty as a mother has been fulfilled until she has spoken out for life instead of death, for peace instead of war. The fate of all humanity is now one fate. The life of all nations is now one life. Join with us—make the survival of all mankind the one great cause of our time.[27]

Designed as a one-day demonstration for peace, the strike was, as Swerdlow notes, entirely dependent in each community "on what the local women were willing and

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[26] Swedrlow, "Motherhood and the Subversion of the Military State," 9 and *Women Strike for Peace*, 18.
[27] Marie Smith, "500 Women Picket for Peace: Letters to First Lady," *The Washington Post*, November 2, 1961, D1.

able to do."[28] Despite variation in its local characteristics, the November 1 strike for peace possessed one point of conformity: a consciously constructed image among participants that attracted massive media coverage, most notably among print journalists. Aware of Defense Decade cultural proscriptions against deviance from traditional gender roles, WSP founders recognized that the movement"s credibility depended upon projecting a conventionally feminine image. Wilson expressed WSP"s decision concerning the movement"s image, stating:

> [WSP participants] wanted to look [ladylike], to emphasize the fact that this was who [they] were, college graduates, mostly, middle-aged and some younger [women and mothers] that did not usually resort to this kind of [political] activity. [Looking feminine] in itself expressed the urgency of [the movement"s] concern.[29]

Consciously molding an image of traditional femininity, WSP founders repurposed the doctrine of neo-Republican Motherhood for movement goals. Wilson and her cohorts understood that an application of neo-Republican Motherhood principles, specifically the responsibility to protect American children from the horrors of the atomic age, in combination with maternal imagery, accorded WSP a platform to demand changes in nuclear policy. WSP founders counted upon the American public"s familiarity with the neo-Republican Motherhood role not only to challenge atomic armament, but to spread the movement"s goals to a larger audience. WSP"s strategies concerning maternal imagery were successful and Amy Swerdlow notes that "after a decade noted for its regressive [policy] of...containment—containment of the Soviets, the bomb, [social]

[28] Swerdlow, "Motherhood and the Subversion of the Military State," 9.
[29] Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 73.

dissent, and women—the sudden appearance of middle-class [mothers striking for peace] so shocked and puzzled the media and public officials that WSP became one of the biggest news stories [of the year] in terms of coverage."[30] Striking in cities nationwide and belonging to no apparent unifying organization, the sudden appearance of American mothers on the political stage gave WSP an apolitical and spontaneous nature and procured significant media attention.[31] In papers nationwide, American journalists cast the WSP movement in a favorable light and focused on a mother‟s concern for her children‟s welfare. Coverage of concerned neo-Republican Mothers appealing to the government, supplemented with images of respectable middle-class women wielding signs with slogans such as "Let the Children Grow," presented the WSP movement as non-threatening and in alignment with the actions of responsible Cold War American motherhood.[32] Moreover, Swerdlow finds "the image projected by WSP of respectable middle-class, middle-aged ladies, picketing the White House...to save their children and the [global community] helped to legitimize a radical critique of the Cold War and United States militarism."[33] The image of neo-Republican Motherhood projected by WSP not only spared the movement from criticism or attack but spurred the American public to question Cold War American foreign policy.

Whereas Wilson and WSP leaders used the doctrine of neo-Republican Motherhood as a political strategy designed to further movement goals, the women who

[30] Swerdlow, "Pure Milk, Not Poison," 227.
[31] Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 16.
[32] Swerdlow, "Pure Milk, Not Poison," 226.
[33] Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 3.

walked out for peace on November 1, 1961, did not merely feign conformity to the role. The majority of WSP"s participants were middle-class housewives who embraced neo-Republican Motherhood ideals. Based upon their allocation to the domestic sphere throughout the Defense Decade, the majority of the strikers had never participated in a public demonstration nor engaged in political activity. For example, in a *Washington Post* article entitled "500 Women Strike for Peace," journalist Marie Smith noted that "many of the marchers said they had never engaged in such [political] activity before."[34] In an interview with Sarah Minowitz, Smith noted the woman"s decision to join the WSP movement as based upon her status as a mother and the perception of her role as significant to the peace movement. In countless interviews, WSP participants like Minowitz, proudly identified as middle-class neo-Republican Mothers, asserting their responsibility to protect their children and guard civilization from the dangers posed by nuclear testing and "fallout."

According to countless interviews conducted in the wake of WSP"s early demonstrations, the majority of the women were inspired to undertake direct political action based upon a firm commitment to neo-Republican Motherhood principles, yet also possessed a desire to move beyond the domestic realm. The women who walked out for peace on November 1, 1961, suffered from Friedan"s "feminine mystique." Like the countless middle-class women interviewed by Friedan, WSP"s early participants were "restless at home, ready for work of their own that would offer a greater sense of personal

[34]Marie Smith, "500 Women Picket for Peace: Letters to First Lady," *The Washington Post*, November 2, 1961, D1.

and social accomplishment than domesticity provided."[35] Reflecting upon her WSP membership, Swerdlow notes that the majority of the women who responded to Wilson‟s call in 1961 relished the opportunity to turn their attention from family matters and personal introspection concerning dissatisfaction with domesticity to political activism and nuclear disarmament.[36]

The success of the November 1, 1961, nationwide demonstration in collaboration with the favorable media coverage inspired the WSP movement to broaden its scope and evolve into a legitimate nationwide organization for the advancement of peace oriented goals.[37] Furthermore, massive press coverage helped WSP reach the middle-class housewives and mothers the movement was seeking to recruit.[38] By the end of 1962, WSP participants transformed a one-day protest into a national movement— with local chapters in sixty communities and offices in ten major cities— and involving thousands of middle-class women in demonstrations, peace walks, lobbying activities, and rallies for nuclear disarmament.[39] Following operational procedure established in the 1961 strike

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[35] Swerdlow, W*omen Strike for Peace*, 41.
[36] Ibid.
[37] The immediate success of any large-scale movement for social or political change is difficult to measure. In reference to WSP, Amy Swerdow defines the movement‟s success in its instant ability to draw the American public and a global audience to women‟s profound fear of the dangers nuclear testing and "fallout" posed to human life, while at the same time restoring women‟s voice to foreign policy discourse for the first time since the interwar period. See Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 16.
[38] In a survey of WSP‟s 1962 constituency undertaken by member, Elise Boulding with the assistance of the Ann Arbor, Michigan chapter, data revealed that 65 percent of participants had a B.A. or higher degree but had abandoned postgraduate personal aspirations for the fulfillment of traditional domesticity during WWII or in the immediate postwar period. It is also important to note that the majority of women who responded to the survey were married, middle-class mothers who did not work outside the home. Of the mothers who responded, 43 percent had one to four children under the age of six, 49 percent had one to four or more children between the age of six and eighteen, and 20 percent had children over the age of eighteen. See Amy Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 67-8.
[39] Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 71.

day action, the WSP movement continued to function as a participatory democracy. According to Swerdlow, in *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s*, WSP cofounders wanted the national movement to be non-exclusionary in order to appeal to all women, most notably those with little to no political background.[40] To encourage further participation within the movement, Dagmar Wilson adopted maternal language, free of political jargon, which emphasized simple, moralistic, and emotional approaches and terms to explain and foster WSP goals.[41] In addition to adopting a maternal strategy, the nationwide organization strove to achieve six specific goals. As put forth by WSP‟s original founders, those objectives were: 1. a ban on all atomic weapons testing, 2. negotiations to put all atomic weapons under international control, 3. concrete steps to be taken toward worldwide disarmament, 4. immediate allocation of the same proportion of the national budget in preparation for peace as was being spent in preparation for war, 5. an immediate moratorium on name calling on behalf of the United States and the Soviet Union, and 6. the strengthening of the United Nations.[42]

Despite the favorable media coverage of WSP, a minority of public opinion leaders were skeptical of the group‟s claim that they were merely concerned neo-Republican Mothers. Operating within a Cold War mindset that harbored deep seated fears of Soviet infiltration and threats to national security, the House Un-American

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[40] Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 51.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Winzola McLendon, "Mrs. Kennedy and Mrs. Khrushchev Reply to Women‟s Peace Appeals: Peace Calls Made," *The Washington Post*, November 15, 1961, A1.

Activities Committee (HUAC) launched a 1962 investigation to question WSP motivations and goals. Established by the House of Representatives to investigate the subversive communist activities of private American citizens, HUAC issued subpoenas to thirteen members of WSP, "to determine [a potential] Communist Party infiltration into the peace movement, in a manner and to a degree affecting...national security."[43] The thirteen women chosen to face hearings beginning on December 11 had past ties with the Communist Party, yet interpreted the subpoenas as a scare tactic imposed to silence a female civic voice that criticized national security and United States foreign policy.[44] With little concrete evidence existing to link WSP members with Soviet infiltration, the real threat posed by the movement was not to American national security but to traditional domesticity.[45] Swerdlow notes that WSP leadership was aware of the movement's "potential power to bring [middle-class women] out of the [home] and into the political arena" to criticize American foreign policy as a source of concern for government officials.[46] Cognizant of the deeper implications attached to the HUAC investigations, WSP relied upon its strategy of flaunting traditional femininity and their inherent right, as the guardians of civilization, to protect the world's children from nuclear fallout.[47] During her hearing before HUAC, Blanche Posner, the volunteer office

[43] Swerdlow, "Motherhood and Subversion of the Military State," 4.
[44] Ibid., 4 & 8.
[45] It is significant to note that as late as 1965, the FBI under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover was unable to find credible evidence to connect WSP leadership to the Communist Party. See Swerdlow's discussion of the HUAC hearings in *Women Strike for Peace*, 102.
[46] Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 10.
[47] Swerdlow, "Motherhood and Subversion of the Military State," 8.

manager of the WSP New York branch, expressed the movement"s adopted strategy, informing the committee:

> This movement [is] inspired by mothers" love for children...when [we put] their breakfast on the table, [we see] not only Wheaties and milk, but...Strontium 90 and Iodine 131. [We] fear for the health and the life of [our children]. That is the only motivation [of the movement].[48]

Throughout the hearings, the subpoenaed women echoed Posner"s articulation of WSP motivations, relying upon their status as respectable middle-class women and neo-Republican Mothers, to virtuously lecture HUAC on the dangers posed by nuclear fallout to the well-being of American children and their responsibility, as civilization"s guardians, to protect the global community from the terrors of the atomic age. An example of the strategy undertaken by WSP is found in the testimony of WSP leader Dagmar Wilson. Wilson faced the committee"s questioning with good humor and a pleasant smile, and told HUAC she "[hoped they would] thank [WSP] when [the movement had] achieved [their] goal" of protecting the global community from nuclear fallout.[49] As during their November 1, 1961, demonstration, WSP"s commitment to the image of concerned neo-Republican Motherhood, provided the movement favorable press coverage throughout the HUAC hearings and furthered the organization"s credibility. WSP"s image of neo-Republican Motherhood was so powerful and successful that President Kennedy granted the organization political legitimacy and recognized their national significance. In an article published in various women"s magazines, President

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[48] Swerdlow, "Ladies Day at the Capital: Women Strike for Peace versus HUAC," in Linda K. Kerber et. al., *Women's America, 7th ed., vol. 2* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 623.
[49] Elsie Carper, "Peace Strike Leader Rejects Purge of Reds," *Los Angeles Times*, December 14, 1962, 2.

Kennedy stated, "the control of arms is a mission [the United States] undertake[s] particularly for our children....and they have no lobby in Washington. No one is better qualified to represent their interests than the mothers and grandmothers of America."[50]

Granted legitimacy by President Kennedy and perceived as a respectable movement in the eyes of the American public, WSP emphasized its status as the guardians of civilization to sponsor a Mother"s Lobby for a Test Ban Treaty in May 1963. Similar to past demonstrations, WSP participants wielded signs and slogans, and dressed in hats and gloves, to exemplify the image of concerned neo-Republican Motherhood and demand government action in a feminine and respectable manner. The demonstration, held in Washington, D.C., was successful and possibly influenced thirty-three American senators to introduce a resolution on May 27, 1963, to declare the United States undertake a unilateral effort to secure a test ban treaty with the Soviet Union. On August 5, 1963, the United States Senate approved the Limited Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union and Great Britain, and President Kennedy signed it into effect on October 10, 1963. The Limited Test Ban Treaty banned nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. Reporting on the treaty"s passage, *The Washington Post* described WSP participants as proclaiming the legislation a movement victory and celebrating their success with the chant "Hurray, Hurray! It"s Test-Ban Day."[51] With the suspension of nuclear testing, WSP had achieved one of its main goals, and in its praise

[50] Swerdlow, "Pure Milk, Not Poison," 230.
[51] Marie Smith, "Olive Branch Sprouted Flowers," *The Washington Post*, September 26, 1963, F2.

of the treaty, the United Nations attributed the successful passage of the treaty to the dedicated efforts of the women‟s peace movement.

The passage of the WSP-backed Test Ban Treaty demonstrations and the publication of *The Feminine Mystique* made 1963 a watershed year in the lives of American women. From 1963 on, middle-class women, whether liberal-leaning or traditionalist, recognized a transformation and diminution of their traditional domestic roles.[52] As historian Rebecca Jo Plant notes, beginning in 1963, neo-Republican Motherhood would no longer be assumed to be the stable core around which the majority of women would build their entire adult lives.[53] This change in the lives of American women was most heavily influenced by Friedan‟s analysis concerning Defense Decade domesticity and the articulation of the "problem that had no name."

The Feminine Mystique had three central arguments concerning the status and emotional experiences of Defense Decade American women. The first argument suggested that America‟s modern woman found discontent with her life and suffered from "a problem that had no name."[54] According to Friedan, "the problem lay buried for [the fifteen years after World War II] in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction...a yearning that women suffered...and each suburban wife struggled with it alone."[55] The second argument concerned the "problem that had no name" and stated that the source of the problem was in American society‟s assignment of

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[52] Rebecca Jo Plant, *Mom: The Transformation of Motherhood in Modern America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 176.
[53] Ibid., 177.
[54] Oliver, *Personal is Political*, 69.
[55] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, 56 & 57.

women to the domestic realm where their essential (and sole) function was to be a housewife and responsible neo-Republican Mother. As Rebecca Jo Plant notes in her analysis of *The Feminine Mystique*, the "problem with no name" was twofold. Plant suggests that middle-class Defense Decade women not only felt oppressed by the feminine mystique but devalued within their traditional domestic roles, perceiving themselves as "just a housewife and mother."[56] The media, government officials, and the nation"s educators fostered and perpetuated this way of thinking, and women accepted and embraced the doctrine of domesticity throughout the Defense Decade. Based upon a thorough analysis of articles in women"s popular magazines, Friedan noted "for over fifteen years...in all the columns...and articles...women [were told] to seek fulfillment as wives and mothers."[57] The lessons derived from these printed sources instructed women of the Defense Decade that truly feminine women "did not want careers, [advanced degrees or] political rights—the independence and the opportunities that old-fashion[ed] feminists fought for."[58] According to the popular media, truly feminine women were neo-Republican Mothers who were "the constant re-creator[s] of culture, civilization, and virtue," and their "participation in politics [was solely] through [the] role [of] wife and mother."[59] Friedan noted that women"s higher education was radically modified throughout the Defense Decade to cultivate the domestic mindset. Friedan observed that "the one lesson a girl could hardly avoid learning, if she [attended] college between 1945

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[56] Plant, *Mom*, 16.
[57] Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, 57.
[58] Ibid., 58.
[59] Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, 91 & 112.

and 1960, was not to get interested, seriously interested in anything [beyond] getting married and having children, if she wanted to be normal, happy, adjusted, [and] feminine."[60] For Friedan, the "girls who went to college [between 1945 and 1960] could [not] avoid a course in „Marriage and Family life" with its functional indoctrination on „how to play the role of woman.""[61] Instructed to indoctrinate their children in western values, educated women of the Defense Decade were themselves indoctrinated in the characteristics and qualities inherent in traditional femininity.

The lessons and instructions that American women received throughout the Defense Decade contributed to Friedan's third argument that the restrictions, perceptions, and attitudes of "the feminine mystique" caused women to feel dissatisfied because they could not develop a personal identity or envision themselves as a unique human being.[62] Friedan noted American women had only one identity after 1949: the house-wife mother.[63] Additionally, Friedan identified two types of women suffering from the frustration and dissatisfaction produced by "the feminine mystique." The first group of women to suffer were those of the "older generation"—women in their 40s and 50s who had once dreamed of careers but abandoned them in the pursuit of the domestic ideal and its promised bliss.[64] Although these women were educated before the era of "the feminine mystique," Friedan attributed a need to "grow within the [domestic] framework," promoted in popular women's magazines and cherished by postwar American society, as

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[60] Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique,* 235.
[61] Ibid., 236.
[62] Oliver, *The Personal is Political*, 69.
[63] Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, 92.
[64] Ibid., 72.

the reason for these women‟s adherence to its doctrine.[65] Friedan‟s description of the "older generation" aligned with the lifestyles and backgrounds of WSP‟s participants. The second group of female sufferers were identified as the "younger generation"—the new wives and mothers of the early 1960s whose only dream and ambition had been marriage and children, for they were instructed and educated not to look beyond the domestic realm.[66] Despite the disparity in experiences, both sets of women languished under the burdens of domestic obligations, and Friedan hoped for an allied clamor against the domestic rhetoric and further female regression.

Beyond *The Feminine Mystique's* exposure of the origins and characteristics of American women‟s discontent with Defense Decade domesticity and neo-Republican Motherhood, the book offered a solution to "the problem that had no name." Friedan outlined a proposal for change in a chapter entitled "A New Life Plan for Women." The "New Life Plan for Women" advocated the fusion of "marriage and motherhood" with the "lifelong personal purpose that once was called career."[67] Implementation of the plan not only relied upon women‟s adoption of it, but depended upon a shift in societal mindsets and perceptions about women‟s social, political, and economic potential and capabilities. To conjoin the private realm of home and family with public aspirations, Friedan recommended three key steps for women to follow. Step one focused on the female mindset and called upon women "to see housework for what it [was]—not a

[65] Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, 489.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid., 468-9.

career, but [a task] that must be done as quickly and efficiently as possible."[68] Parallel to step one, step two urged women "to see marriage as it really [was,] brushing aside the veil of over-glorification."[69] In other words, Friedan believed a transition in the American female mindset, from perceiving marriage and neo-Republican Motherhood as the ordained and concrete fulfillment of their lives, would once again elicit joy and happiness from the marital role.[70] Explicitly, Friedan wanted the young American woman to "think of herself as a human being first [and] not as a mother" and to "make a life plan [based upon personal] abilities [as well as] a [personal] commitment to society."[71]

The final and most important step outlined in "A New Life Plan for Women" concerned higher education. Friedan believed it was time for American women to reclaim their education. In Friedan's conception it was "education, and only education, [that] saved and [will] continue to save, American women from the dangers of 'the feminine mystique.'"[72] In order to reclaim their education, Friedan advised the "older generation"—women in their 40s and 50s with grown children—to remember their education mattered. These women needed to reignite the intellectual passions of their youth and once again pursue them through reading, adopting a hobby, or re-enrolling in college courses. To prevent further and future decline for the "younger generation" and their daughters, Friedan asked educators and parents to "stop the early-marriage movement, stop girls from growing up wanting to be just a housewife [and mother] and

[68] Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, 469.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., 471.
[72] Ibid., 487.

to do so" through the insistence that girls develop the resources of self—goals that permitted them to create a personal identity.[73] Furthermore, Friedan addressed the educators who modified college curricula for Defense Decade goals of national security and containment and told them to "see to it that women [made] a lifetime commitment to a field of thought, to work of serious importance to society."[74] In Friedan‟s conceptualization, this meant that institutions of higher education needed to abandon the female-specific courses that focused on preparation for domestic duties and obligations. Friedan reminded Defense Decade educators of the fact that "women do not need courses in „Marriage and the Family‟ to marry and raise families nor courses in homemaking to make homes."[75] Friedan concluded her analysis of the unhappy status of Cold War American women with the presumption that "the more [women were] encouraged to make [a] new life plan—[the integration of a] serious, lifelong commitment to society with marriage and [motherhood] —the less conflict and unnecessary frustrations they [would] feel as wives and mothers."[76]

The publication of *The Feminine Mystique* and its paperback edition—1.3 million copies sold in 1964—dramatically affected American women and the life of Betty Friedan. Historian Daniel Horowitz suggests that the book awakened millions of American women to what they had long felt but had been unable to articulate—the way "the feminine mystique" intrinsic in traditional domesticity and neo-Republican

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[73] Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, 496.
[74] Ibid., 498.
[75] Ibid., 500.
[76] Ibid.

Motherhood smothered aspirations for a more personal and therefore fulfilling life.[77] For example, ninety percent of the female readers who responded to *The Feminine Mystique* by writing letters to the author embraced its message, noting its critique of postwar domesticity to be both practical and invigorating as it encouraged movement beyond the mother-homemaker role.[78] Historian Stephanie Coontz argues that it was Friedan‟s ability to take the ideas and arguments concerning discontent, which had until then been mainly confined to intellectual circles, and couch them in the language of popular women‟s magazines that made *The Feminine Mystique* a watershed publication.[79] Susan Oliver—in her analysis of the significance of *The Feminine Mystique* to Cold War American women—notes that it was Friedan‟s explanation of women‟s grievances, as well as a proposed solution to the problem, that encouraged women to expand their sphere beyond the home in pursuit of a greater self-identity.[80] Yet for Friedan, the significance of her book was the way that its articulation of personal truths inspired middle-class American women to incite a movement towards greater personal and political autonomy. According to Friedan:

> Those words, rooted in my personal truths, led other women to their personal truths that had been hidden by the mystique [of marriage and motherhood]. The public sharing of [Cold War] women‟s experiences led [American society] to a new understanding that its limitations and urgent necessities were more than uniquely personal: they were political. And this new consciousness inexorably led to action: the women‟s movement.[81]

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[77] Daniel Horowtiz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique: The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 226.
[78] Plant, *Mom*, 147.
[79] Coontz, *A Strange Stirring*, 21.
[80] Oliver, *The Personal is Political*, 75 & 80.
[81] Friedan, *It Changed My Life*, xix.

Friedan also highlighted the importance of the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, specifically Title VII, to the emergence of the second-wave feminist movement. Signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson, Title VII of the act banned sex and racial discrimination in the workplace. For Friedan, Title VII made the second-wave feminist movement possible by "becoming the rallying cry for women who were fed up with their status as second class citizens."[82]

As the herald of the universal personal truths concerning American women's frustrations with neo-Republican Motherhood and Defense Decade domesticity, Friedan felt "a terrible responsibility, as well as an exultant elation, for the actions of [the second-wave feminist] movement."[83] Although WSP claimed the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty as the movement's greatest concrete accomplishment the larger significance of their movement was its restoration of a political voice for American women, the very essence of the second-wave feminist movement. WSP's repurposing of the neo-Republican Motherhood doctrine to restrict the nuclear arms race revealed to the American public that women, in an era of gender repression, could be political thinkers and actors without neglecting prescribed societal roles or rejecting traditional domesticity.[84] It was WSP's adoption of maternal language and imagery that allowed the movement to criticize Cold War American militarism in an acceptable framework. By relying upon the public's familiarity with neo-Republican Motherhood ideals, WSP exposed the ways in which

[82] Oliver, *The Personal is Political*, 82.
[83] Friedan, *It Changed My Life*, xix.
[84] Swerdlow, "Motherhood and the Subversion of the Military State," 24.

nuclear arsenals threatened the life of future generations and therefore prevented American women from being guardians of civilization.[85] For American women, the WSP movement launched them back into the political arena and transformed supposedly apolitical women into public speakers, campaign strategists, writers, and campaign leaders.[86] Participation in the WSP movement not only boosted the self-confidence and political aptitude of its members but, like *The Feminine Mystique*, encouraged all American women to question their position within society. Similar to Friedan's "New Life Plan," WSP challenged the housewives and neo-Republican Mothers of America to branch out of the domestic sphere and embrace their unique identity as the guardians of civilization. As Friedan stated:

> I think [American women] must continue to define the direction of [the second-wave feminist] movement as political. I mean to make it quite clear this is not a bedroom war, that man is not the enemy, that marriage is not the enemy, that [motherhood] is not the enemy. But, that what is the enemy is in effect the structure of society which imprisons women in obsolete roles and denies them opportunities, challenges, and experiences in society that would enable them to grow to their full human potential.[87]

To define the political direction of the second-wave feminist movement, Friedan, along with like-minded middle-class women, cofounded the National Organization for Women (NOW) on October 29, 1966, in Washington, D.C.. As outlined in its Statement of Purpose, NOW was established "to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society, exercising all of the privileges and responsibilities

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[85] Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 234.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Betty Friedan, *Witness: The Feminine Mystique*. BBC Broadcasts, Tuesday February 19, 2013, http://www.bbc.uk/programmes/po14dkr3

there of, in truly equal partnership with men."[88] Designed and organized to pressure the United States government to secure legislation ensuring equal rights for women, NOW dedicated itself "to the proposition that women...must have the chance to develop their fullest human potential."[89] In NOW's estimation, "women [could] achieve such equality only [through acceptance of] the full challenges and responsibilities they shared with all other people in society, as part of the decision-making mainstream of American political, economic, and social life."[90]

NOW tapped into a support network of the middle-class women who fulfilled the principles of neo-Republican Motherhood throughout the Defense Decade and then awakened to their greater potential as a result of WSP's political actions or Friedan's exposure of discontent in *The Feminine Mystique*. These women, of both the "older generation" and the "younger generation," stepped beyond the domestic sphere and advocated for equal political, social, and economic rights throughout the 1960s and into the following decade. In abandoning the domestic realm and expressing dissatisfaction with their societal status and maternal obligations, the women of the second-wave feminist movement eradicated the doctrine of neo-Republican Motherhood as a tool for the preservation of national security and Soviet containment. Instead of battling communist expansion through the indoctrination of children in American values, women used their political voice and expressed their civic duty in the public sphere for the

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[88] Friedan, *It Changed my Life*, 87.
[89] Ibid., and Deborah G. Felder, *A Century of Women: The Most Influential Events in Twentieth-Century Women's History* (New Jersey: Carol Publishing Group, 1999), 252.
[90] Friedan, *It Changed My Life*, 87.

remainder of the Cold War. For example, WSP turned its attention away from the nuclear arms race and from 1964 to 1973 focused on ending the Vietnam War through a consistent campaign of lobbying, picketing, and marching.[91] The second-wave feminist movement, launched and supported by the women of the Defense Decade, transformed the lives of American women in the latter decades of the twentieth century. From the mid-1960s onward, American women migrated back into the workforce and academic institutions in greater numbers than their predecessors, entered into the political realm as elected officials, and adopted Friedan‟s "New Life Plan" by balancing these achievements with marriage and motherhood.[92]

[91] Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 129.

[92] During the 1960s, the number of women in the workforce grew from 23 million to well over 31 million, and female labor force participation increased from 17.7 percent to 43.3 percent. The decade also saw dramatic changes in educational practices that encouraged women to aim higher in academic pursuits and to seek training in a broad range of careers. The transformation in female academic pursuits is revealed in the statistic, that by 1981, women comprised the majority of college students in America. See Blackwleder, *Now Hiring*, 177 & 185. Although women now balance marriage and motherhood with careers, traditional gender norms are no longer perceived as the only option for a successful or fulfilling life. Singleness and Lesbianism have also become reasonable alternatives for American women. See Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon, eds., *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 17.

CONCLUSION

> In our families, and often from our mothers, we first learn about values. Those of us blessed with loving families draw our confidence from them and the strength we need to face the world. They share a commitment to future generations and a yearning to improve the world their children will inherit. They shape the America we know today and are now molding the character of our country tomorrow.[1]
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> -President Ronald Reagan, Radio address to the nation
> Mother"s Day, May 7, 1983

For Defense Decade middle-class women, the neo-Republican Motherhood ideal was both a regressive and progressive social doctrine. Urging women to abandon personal aspirations for conformity to traditional domestic roles stifled female advancement, chiefly in academic and occupational pursuits, in the early years of the Cold War. Yet through a manipulation of its core principles and imagery, and the exposure of its restrictive nature, WSP and Friedan curtailed the neo-Republican Motherhood ideal as a tool for Defense Decade national security. Commencing in 1963 and expanding throughout the decade, the second-wave feminist movement influenced a majority of American women to seek personal fulfillment beyond their traditional domestic roles.

Despite the drastic changes, not all American women rejected the neo-Republican Motherhood ideal for participation in the movement and NOW"s feminist agenda. For politically and socially conservative women, or what historian Jessica Weiss identifies as "gender traditionalists," the second-wave feminist movement threatened both their crucial Defense Decade civic role as neo-Republican Mothers and future national stability.[2] Unlike the women awakened by Friedan to the regressive characteristics of domesticity,

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[1] Ronald Reagan, "Radio Address to the Nation on the Observance of Mother"s Day," http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=41290

[2] Jessica Weiss, "Fraud of Femininity: Domesticity, Selflessness, and Individualism in Responses to Betty Friedan," in *Liberty and Justice for All? Rethinking Politics in Cold War America*, ed. Kathleen G. Donohue (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 125 & 137.

ideologically conservative women perceived neo-Republican Motherhood "not as patriarchal or oppressive...but as key to the survival of the nation and the American way of life."[3] For example, a Michigan mother, in response to the publication of *The Feminine Mystique*, told Friedan not to "knock motherhood or housewifery. It is upon these two occupations that the formulation of character and morals of our great men and women depends. To belittle these [roles] is to care nothing about the ultimate condition of our country in the hands of future leaders."[4] A firm commitment to neo-Republican Motherhood as the bulwark against communist subversion and the notion of family as the strength of the nation mobilized many conservative women to oppose feminism and become active participants in a new political coalition— the "New Right."[5] A segment of the Republican party focused on a distinctive conservative agenda, members of the New Right advocated fiscal responsibility, peace through military strength, the protection of public virtue, and the importance of individual responsibility in the maintenance of civil society[6]

Led by Phyllis Schlaffy, a former officer of the National Federation of Republican Women, the female contingent of the New Right promoted traditional gender roles for men and women as the foundation of a stable society. Empowered by the social transformations generated by the second-wave feminist movement, women of the New

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[3] Weiss, "Fraud of Femininity," 142.
[4] Ibid., 139.
[5] Ibid., 137 and Catherine E. Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage Through the Rise of the New Right* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 1.
[6] For a further discussion of "New Right" party platforms see Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 1.

Right entered the political arena in significant numbers to become a critical component of the conservative coalition.[7] As lobbyists, strategists, and candidates, women of the New Right asserted their importance as neo-Republican Mothers advancing campaign goals and promoting the success of the conservative movement. Identifying their political opponents as "bad mothers"—women who were tainted by feminism, used birth control, advocated for the right to a safe abortion or worked outside the home— women of the New Right believed it was their duty as neo-Republican Mothers to restore traditional American values and prevent the nation"s descent into social chaos.[8] According to historian Gretchen Ritter, although the Cold War ideology linking national security with domestic containment faded in the 1960s with the rise of the feminist movement, the female members of the New Right and their adherence to the principles of the neo-Republican Motherhood ideal enabled the election of President Ronald Reagan and a partial resurgence of traditional gender roles in the 1980s.[9] Unlike his predecessors, President Reagan took a more aggressive stance against the Soviet Union expressed in his "peace through strength approach."[10] Under financial strain and internal political opposition, the Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991 after a futile attempt to match President Reagan"s expensive and expansive buildup in American military strength.[11] Claiming a victory in the decades long struggle against communist subversion,

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[7] Rymph, *Republican Women*, 1.
[8] Alexis Jetter, et., al., *The Politics of Motherhood: Activist Voices from Left to Right* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997), 225.
[9] Gretchen Ritter, "Domestic Containment or Equal Standing? Gender, Nationalism, and the War on Terror," *The Journal of Policy History Vol. 21, No. 4* (2009): 442.
[10] Kim Masters Evans, *National Security* (Farmington Hills: Gale, 2009), 5.
[11] Ibid.

Americans hoped for a new era free of anxiety and the burdens of maintaining national and global security.

Spurred by the attacks of September 11, 2001, apprehension over terrorist threats have once again influenced some members of American society in the twenty-first century to focus on the family and traditional gender roles as the infrastructure for national security. As a means for individuals with common grievances to challenge the national government, terrorism is not a twenty-first century phenomenon but a decades long challenge to America"s postwar position of global dominance.[12] For example, between 1979 and 1984 American diplomatic and military personnel stationed overseas became the target of militant Islamic terrorist attacks at United States embassies in Pakistan, Libya, Iran, Lebanon, and Kuwait.[13] Although terrorism was already a source of concern, the ferocity of the September 11, 2001, attacks and the targeting of civilians on domestic soil changed American sensibility concerning national security. First conducted in 2002 by the Gallup Organization, post 9/11 polling reveals modern Americans maintain a high level of anxiety regarding national security. When asked in the March 2002 Gallup Poll how much they personally worried about the possibility of future terrorist attacks in the United States, nearly half (48.9%) of Americans polled expressed a great deal of worry and 26.4% expressed a fair amount of worry.[14] The Gallup Organization concluded that anxiety about terrorism or the "War on Terror" now reached the level of concern that Cold War worries had once held in the American psyche.

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[12] Evans, *National Security*, 1.
[13] Ibid., 12.
[14] Ibid., 46.

Similar to their Cold War predecessors‟ apprehension about atomic weaponry, American fears concerning terrorist threats to national security included a preoccupation with the potential dangers of weapons of mass destruction. The fear that remnants of the Soviet Union‟s nuclear arsenal, as well as weapons that were chemical and biological in nature, would fall into terrorist hands heightened twenty-first century Americans‟ anxieties concerning sudden global annihilation.

Under the administration of Republican President George W. Bush and continuing to the present day, some Americans have contemplated their civilian duty to uphold the tenets of democracy and to protect the national family in the face of terrorist aggression. Explaining the nature of America‟s newest enemy in the War on Terror in a 2001 speech, President Bush stated:

> They hate [America‟s] freedoms—our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other....These terrorists kill not to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life...This is not, however, just America‟s fight. And what is at stake is not just America‟s freedom. This is the world‟s fight. This is civilization‟s fight.[15]

In his articulation of the need to combat terrorist foes, President Bush echoed the Cold War mentality espoused by government officials who defined communism as a threat against an American "way of life." Similar to his Defense Decade predecessors, President Bush once again defined Americans of the twenty-first century as the protectors of the global community and the defenders of western freedoms. In his second inaugural address on January 20, 2005, President Bush stated:

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[15] Ritter, "Domestic Containment or Equal Standing?," 442-3.

> It is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world. This is not primarily the task of arms, though [Americans] will defend [themselves] and [their] friends by force of arms when necessary. Freedom, by its nature, must be chosen, and defended by citizens, and sustained by the rule of law and the protection of minorities. And when the soul of a nation finally speaks, the institutions that arise may reflect the customs and traditions very different from [America‟s]. America will not impose [its] own style of government on the unwilling. [Its] goal instead is to help others find their own voice, attain their own freedom, and make their own way.[16]

Like President Truman‟s creation of the FCDA, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was established by President Bush in 2002 to encourage civilian participation in the preservation of national security and the defense of western freedoms and also to prevent terrorist attacks from occurring within the United States, to reduce the nation‟s vulnerability to terrorist attacks and the damage caused by them, and to facilitate quick and effective recovery in the event of an attack.[17] Just as Katherine Graham Howard advised the Defense Decade American family to undertake steps and procedures in the event of a nuclear attack, the DHS created a national warning system, or the Homeland Security Advisory System (HSAS), to apprise citizens of any risk of a domestic terrorist threat.[18] So too, as Defense Decade Americans were apprised of the dangers of domestic communist subversion by Senator Joseph McCarthy, twenty-first century American citizens have been encouraged by government leaders and the media to view Muslims with suspicion. Just as the Red Scare allowed for the creation of HUAC

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[16] George W. Bush, "Second Inaugural Address 2005," http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/01/20050120-1.html
[17] Evans, *National Security*, 69.
[18] Ibid., 77.

and its investigations into the suspicious or subversive activities of Defense Decade civilians, Congress passed the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT) Act of 2001. Passed in response to the September 11 attacks, the act contains provisions that deal with surveillance procedures and financial enhancements that have infringed upon civilians‟ liberties and freedoms.[19]

In a climate of fear and apprehension eerily similar to the Defense Decade obsession with national security and communist threats, some twenty-first century Americans have also looked towards women and traditional domesticity to subdue anxiety and protect the nation from terrorist attacks. Like leaders of the Defense Decade, some twenty-first century politicians— most of whom are affiliated with the Republican party and the New Right— have characterized the role of motherhood as paramount to national security and the preservation of American democracy. For example, at the 2012 Republican National Convention, Ann Romney (wife of Presidential candidate Mitt Romney) gave a speech dedicated to "[the love] so deep only a mother can fathom it— the love [Americans] have for [their] children."[20] Coupling her husband‟s campaign goals with domestic rhetoric, Romney stated that "it‟s the moms of this nation...who really hold this nation together. [Moms] are the best of America. [They] are the hope of America. There would not be an America without [them]."[21] Although Romney‟s speech was

[19] Evans, *National Security*, 110.
[20] Ann Romney "Republican National Convention Speech 2012," http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0812/80346.html
[21] Ibid.

intended primarily for the politically and socially conservative audience in the convention hall, it nevertheless received widespread national and international media attention. Characterizing motherhood as the backbone of America, however, has the dangerous potential to resurrect an ideology of domestic containment similar to the neo-Republican Motherhood ideal of the Defense Decade. As the United States continues to battle global terrorism and define its place in the twenty-first century, Americans should reflect on the parallels between modern society and the Defense Decade. Reflecting on the regressive legacy of Cold War social standards and policies should remind twenty-first century Americans of the dangers of allowing gender ideologies to become the guiding principle on a path towards national stability.

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APPENDIX I

Even a Little Can Help a lot - NOW

http://stories.mnhs.org/stories/mgg/resources/artifact.do?shortName=stamps_poster

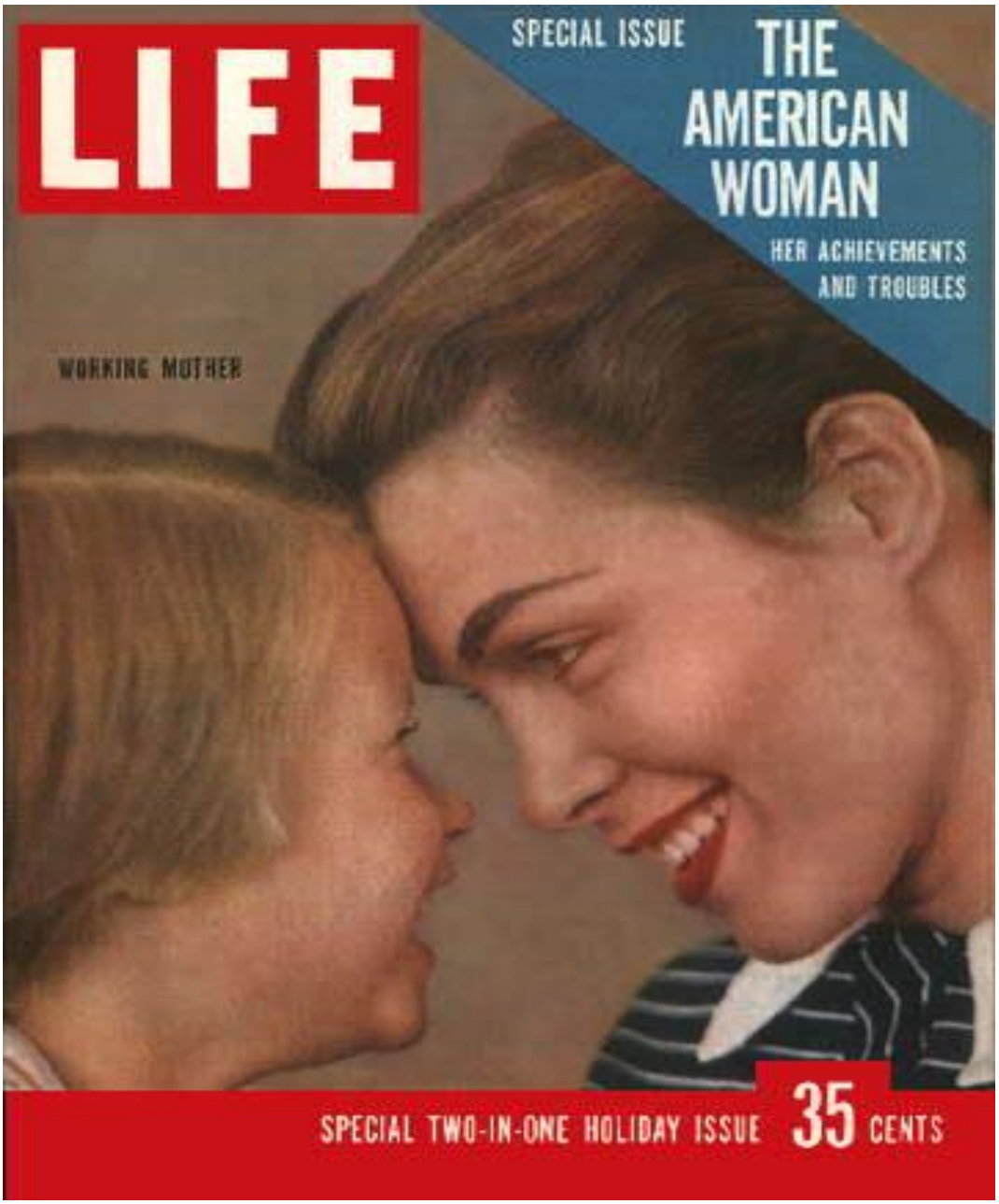
APPENDIX II

Of Course I Can!

http://artnectar.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/world_war_II_rations_poster_1944

APPENDIX III

Life: The American Woman



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