SOCIO - HISTORICAL STUDIES OF THE
NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY AND THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S
TRADE UNION LEAGUE:
A STRUCTURAL AND COMPARATIVE APPROACH

JANE JOSEPH

Sociology Honors
Professor Albert J. McQueen

Oberlin College
May 5, 1980
CONTENTS

1. Introduction ....................................... 1
2. Background History of the Progressive Era ........ 9
3. Evolution of the National Woman's Party .......... 16
4. Evolution of the National Women's Trade Union League ........................................... 28
5. Analysis of Movement Variables ................. 35
   Organizational Structure
   Membership Make-up
   Strategy
   Ideology
   Leadership
6. Authority Control of Discontent .................. 77
7. Sociology of Knowledge Perspective: Contextual Constraints on the NWP and the NWTUL ...... 90
8. Conclusion ........................................... 97
Chapter 1

Introduction

In every society there are individuals or groups of people who have the power to control, or at least direct, various resources. Resources, an ambiguous term, can mean anything from monetary supplies to legislative sanctions to different objects or opportunities. Just as there will be individuals controlling these assets, there will also be groups perceiving and expressing discontent. For example, these people may be dissatisfied with the power groups' methods of leadership; they may perceive their needs to be neglected and/or they may want to seize control of these assets and channel resources into their own hands for the betterment of their group. One might even understand this inevitable aspect of conflict in society as part of a continuing reinforcement of the status quo which functions to enhance what the particular society has designated as 'natural'. As a society allows people to voice their protests and malcontent, a power structure is in a position to display its strength by repressing their actions and words and then punishing them by ignoring them or by coopting members of the group or the group's demands into the authority structure. The issue of conflict is essential for an understanding of social organization, for as William Gamson notes, "a system cannot function effectively if it must devote too much of its resources to problems of integration and conflict management." Conflict is built into a system which can only handle a certain number of demands; some people will always be dissatisfied. The point then is that there are two vantage points - the perspective from the challenge group which seeks to exert influence and the authority perspective which seeks to contain conflict and maintain a stable society.

I shall, in the course of this paper, offer a multi-dimensional analysis of two challenge groups, the National Woman's Party (NWP) and the National
Women's Trade Union League (NWTUL). On one level, I will use the Sociology of Knowledge as a methodology to get at the existential social factors operating on and functioning as constraints upon individuals involved in these groups during the Progressive Era. How did the specific ideology and economic and social relations of this time period shape ideas and actions as well as constrain individuals from creating unmanageable conflict? To this purpose, I will discuss various important aspects of this time period: the creation of a new middle class and the economic, social and political climate of the Progressive period, from approximately 1900-1920. Moreover, how did authorities react to various groups' strategies and what factors determined these responses? After a discussion of the evolution of the National Woman's Party and the the National Women's Trade Union League, I will compare movement variables of these groups by placing them in their historical context and by analyzing their relative successes and failures in terms of public acceptance and authority concession. These variables include organizational structure, membership, strategy, ideology and leadership.

Every protest group trying to attain a degree of power must define their struggle in terms of the amount of influence they hope to exert onto the power structure. Influence is defined as the "degree of probability change in the desired direction." One cannot necessarily calculate the amount of influence by a measure of the literal acceptance of the group's demands; the issue is much more complicated. Political influence may be analyzed not only in terms of immediate fulfillment of demands but of the creation of new resources that benefit the conflict group as well.
Just as the group's target of influence (the power structure) has resources, so too must the group acknowledge and consolidate their resources and channel them into areas most consistent with their ideals and strategy. The perception factor, what they feel will most likely be successful, is therefore quite important, for a group may have resources of which they are not aware or choose not to utilize.

William Gamson outlines three means of influences, constraint, inducement and persuasion. Constraint is used to add new disadvantages or to threaten the possibility of the same (i.e., strikes, boycotts, etc.). Inducements are the addition of new advantages (money, bribery) or the relinquishment of a group's control of a resource (i.e. information). It could also be the promise of future support as well. Persuasion seeks to change attitudes of authorities without adding or taking anything away from their situation. Through persuasion, group members seek to convince their targets of influence that their alternative is preferable to what was previously thought to be correct.3

As mentioned above, protest groups tend to reinforce the power group's potency and force by advocating that individuals voice complaints through established, though not always legitimate, societal channels. There are, however, definite limits to the extent to which they can carry their protests. Various theorists from different premises, have explained these limits. Roberta Ash, a Neo-Marxist, enunciates how a variety of ideologies can be associated with a single sub-structure and that different movements can change certain aspects of a society's ideology without affecting its substructure, which, from her viewpoint, is the class-oriented means of production. However, she maintains that ideological flexibility is limited and that protest groups will fail when they seek ideological transformation dissonant with the existing substructure. The more a movement threatens the means of production which
is the basic economic relation, the more resistance the group will encounter. 
The threat to the stability and survival of the state is simply too great.

Nevertheless, it is not enough to analyze, in a one-sided fashion, 
pointing to protest group members to predict influence and success. Authority 
control of discontent is equally integral to the issues of power and conflict. 
How does a society contain discontent and what methods are to be used as 
means of social control? A typical regulating response is to remove the 
protest group's pressure either by yielding ground, by modifying their 
decision, or by exerting counter-influence. In still another way, authorities 
can regulate group members' access to resources. The power group can also 
play one challenge group against another which may, consequently, cancel out 
their strengths. Cooptation, however, is the most effective control as it 
entails absorbing the group into the existing structure. This appeasement 
consists of subjecting them to legitimate rewards and punishments of the 
system and promoting identification with society's collective interests.

Gamson goes on to systematically predict attempts at influence by the 
protest group. He states that the more a group is affected by an issue, the 
more likely they will be to exert influence. Furthermore, the greater the 
amount of resources under a group's control, and the more fluid the resources, 
(in terms of accessibility and manipulation), the higher the probability of a 
group's attempt at influence. In short, a confident group with goals more 
compatible with the system in power, will most likely rely on persuasion. 
A neutral group will use inducements to prevent the outbreak of hostility 
and an alienated group, having the least to lose, will use constraints.

One can clearly see then a two-sided transaction consisting of various 
groups extending influence in a Democratic society and their counterposition 
to the power structure which, acting from certain existential factors, responds 
rhetorically or actively to group actions. However, is it enough to examine
various factors and authority responses without investigating the historical situation out of which these events are growing? Obviously not, for the nature and content of a group's actions, ideologies, and membership make-up is intimately connected to a prevailing majority consciousness which is linked to historical conditions occurring simultaneously, in the past, or in the future, the threat of which makes it impossible to ignore. The sociology of knowledge:

"is primarily concerned with the relations between knowledge and other existential factors in the society or culture. With increasing social conflict, differences in the values, attitudes and modes of thought of groups develop to the point where the orientation which these groups previously had in common is overshadowed by incompatible differences... the co-existence of these conflicting perspectives leads to an active and reciprocal distrust between groups."\(^5\)

In an advanced industrial and multi-ideological society, no one statement is palpably universal or 'true.' The role of ideas, their origins and even why they were asserted in the first place is central to this methodological analysis.

Merton sets forth a paradigm for the sociology of knowledge by asking certain specific questions. First, he asks where the existential basis of mental productions is located. He delineates two levels; social bases (social position, mode of production, power structure), and cultural bases (values, ethos, cultural mentality). Mental productions to be analyzed are moral beliefs, ideologies, philosophy, religious beliefs, norms, technology, etc. He links mental productions to the existential bases in a functional or causal relation (determination, cause, necessary condition) or in a symbolic/organismic relation (consistency, harmony, unity). These relations are perceived to be functional for the promotion of stability, maintenance of power, and for exploitation. Whereas Marx saw the mode of production as the primary determinant of the general character of the social, political, and intellectual processes of life,\(^6\) Karl Mannheim and Emile Durkheim depart from
Marx by expanding determinants beyond class to group organization, kinship and other bases for social organization. These other factors must be considered.

C. Wright Mills, in *Power, Politics and People*, explores the concept of truth and concludes that its validity is also socially-situated. That is, 'truth' is contingent upon existing types of knowledge and although seemingly objective, ideas stem from observable social locations. Cultural concepts also shape ideas; moreover, "not only the content of values in social inquiries should be detected, but how values creep in, and how, if at all, they condition the direction, completeness, and warrantability of the results of research" 7.

This is intrinsically linked with protest movements as one cannot fail to recognize the articulation of various group demands and the vocabularies used as being similarly socially-located. Mills uses the term 'motive' to describe "typical vocabularies having ascertainable functions in delimited societal situations" 8. The agent articulating motives must use a language of symbols and ideas which will strike the listener's history and therefore motivate him/her to the desired action. These patterns of motives are intimately joined to society, to the existential social reality. Conflicting or competing motives may exist in secular urban societies. Mills offers as an example the transformation of the marriage motive in contemporary society from economic considerations to decisions based on love. A concept that previously had a defined set of accompanying motives may now have conflicting or competing motives. As another example, religion, in the early years of American Puritan history, was a motive for profit. The same motive is not as clearly connected to making profits anymore.

What does all of this mean then, for women trying to influence a male power structure during the Progressive Era? Far from being fluid, American society had stabilized by the beginning of the twentieth century and had come
to terms with the comfortable union between government, business and the trade unions. Radical activities from this point onward would be confined to the margins of society. The difficulties which women were up against were enormous. Not only did the male power structure refuse to take women's suffrage seriously, they also ridiculed women's attempts to enter the political sphere until their voice had become loud enough and the historical conditions had facilitated easier acceptance of the issue.

As will be discussed later, hundreds of reform movements sprang up during the Progressive Era. Some of the most dedicated of these groups were comprised of women working for suffrage, trade union reforms, child labor laws and consumer protection. The thousands of women who immersed themselves in philanthropic and political activities had great amounts of leisure time to devote and became very committed to their respective causes. What is most crucial to point out is that these activities were 'proper'; in no way did they deviate from society's designation of decorum for women. The support for reforms such as child labor laws and temperance and their volunteer work in settlement houses and hospitals were in every respect compatible with images of women as nurturant, moralistic and merciful. Ironically, it was these qualities which politically-minded women exploited to gain influence and acceptance, the result being the perpetuation of this codification of womanly temperament which necessarily bound women to inferior roles and reinforced their separateness and 'natural' alienation from the harsh realities of politics and urban problems. However, the positive effects of their participation were substantial for women. For the first time, women were interested in and knowledgeable about public affairs and felt their vested interests extended beyond their homes into an even greater family called society. The mainstream suffrage association, the National
American Women's Suffrage Association, is most representative of this ideology.

Most of the new avenues for women opened up late in the nineteenth century. Between 1870-1890, the number of colleges admitting women doubled and the number of women college students increased five-fold. By 1900, one half of the important American Women's organizations had been established. As William O'Neill notes, "One could argue...that at the end of the nineteenth century, the emancipation of women was about as complete as it ever would be." As the twentieth century opened, politics was the only area of any interest to women that was still denied to them. That is why the pursuit of suffrage became the single most important goal to the majority of active women during this period. Their hope was to enter the corrupt male political sphere and, with their compassionate and moral sensibilities, sensitize and transform government into an administration with genuine and deep concern for its constituents. Consistent with Progressive inclinations, these women never questioned the legitimacy of the American political structure nor did they challenge the role of women in the family or the basic concept of male supremacy and domination. They failed to see that their oppression was linked

* By 1980, women made up 1/6 of the work force whereas in 1950, they were 1/3 of the work force. However, the percentage of women professionals has remained constant - 10% in 1980, 15% in 1930, and 12% in 1950. That is, in 1890, 36% of all professional workers were women; in 1950, 40% were women. The degree of sex segregation in employment categories in 1960 was about the same as in 1890. These facts are not meant to negate the many transformations that have taken place since 1900 but only to show that they do not actually compare in significance to the earlier ones."
to their subordinate roles in the family and to the division of labor between the domestic and political sphere. Progressive feminists merely saw a few snarls to unwind and this could be one in a rational, scientific, and most of all, polite way.

By looking at historical events and conditions during the time period under consideration, one can begin to comprehend the contextual elements which structured the ideas and actions of the NWP and the NWTUL.

Chapter 2

Background History of the Progressive Era

The Progressive Era is a structural turning point in American history. There is much dispute over its roots and why it ended when it did. More basic is the question of whether Progressivism was modern enough for the century in which it was born. Regardless, it is generally accepted that the elements which are so important in American society today: industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, were created between 1880 and 1920. These three elements shaped American society and provided a pivotal starting point to American maturity and hegemony.

Demographically, there are a few statistical facts to consider for this time period. From 1900 to 1910, the U.S. population increased 21%, from 75,994,575 to 91,972,266. The most striking trend was the dramatic migration of people from rural to urban areas. Urban populations grew by 34% from 1900 - 1910. In 1910, 88.9% of the American population was white. There were half a million Orientals and Indians and 9,827,763 Blacks, 89% of whom were in the South. Immigrant population had increased to 14.7% of the total population in 1910 or 13,515,886.
Economically, one finds steady increases in wealth and income during the first decade. From 1899 - 1909, as population increased by 22%, the number of manufacturing establishments increased 29.4%; the capital invested increased 105.3%, the average number of wage earners, 40.4% and the value of products turned out, 76.6%. In 1909 the major industries were meat packing, iron and steel, lumbering, milling, clothing and textiles. However, by 1914, new industries linked with advancing technology were emerging, such as the automobile and petroleum industries. The expansion during the last half of the nineteenth century was prodigious; the numbers of large corporations producing manufactured goods were swelling.\textsuperscript{12}

As is widely known, the blessings of these factors were mixed. One sees an expanding economy with uneven distribution. The richest families constituting 1.6% of the population, received 10.8% of the national income in 1896 and 19% in 1910. The wealthiest 1% owned approximately 47% of the national wealth.\textsuperscript{13} In urban centers, people looked around and saw bigger buildings, more goods and competing prices; in essence, issues were defined quantitatively - 'how much' and 'how many'. Businessmen led the nation in the quest for 'goodness in bigness.'

The number of small businesses were decreasing during the mild depression between 1883-85. Business efforts had become too complex; men were extending the economy beyond their ability to understand it. On the one hand, there was a real effort to preserve cherished American values - community, good will, and respect. On the other hand, the booming economy encouraged hardline competition which made men view each other with suspicion and mistrust. The effort to integrate the opposing tendencies led to a heightened and very specific American moralism based on a Protestant work code which permeated
all endeavors. It was destined to enter the moral/ideological sphere to motivate individuals to the point necessary for modern industrial capitalism. Industrial workers were feeling the system close in on them. Immigrant families from Europe and those from rural areas experienced a great deal of status deprivation. Expectations of financial and personal security plummeted as the preconceived vision transformed into harsh reality. Problems abounded in the city; poverty, sewage problems, crime and poor working conditions compounded to close off various avenues of mobility. Out of the transplanted native-born American's own oppression came a nativist contempt for the European immigrants who were seen as breeders of poverty and crime and usurpers of America's resources. 14

Between 1895-1905, America experienced the formation of a new and very important middle class. Professionals swarmed to the cities seeking greater opportunities. This produced a situation in which people of different backgrounds were sharing fairly common experiences. These people encouraged each other's efforts at self-determination and built loose networks of mutual concerns. Furthermore, "these men and women communicated so well in part because they were the ones building a new structure of loyalties to replace the decaying system of the nineteenth century communities." 15

These social workers, lawyers, doctors, and administrators were unique in their professionalism. Their need for grandeur and association with influential political parties was gone. Their occupational organizations actually replaced party loyalties and became vehicles for social reform. Hence, while partisanship declined, political involvement did not. The emphasis on professionalization and bureaucratization dominated this new group's ethic. It was essential for members of this class to have specific skills and expertise. Moreover, their endeavors were pursued as scientifically as possible. Noting
the new-found respect and personal benefits the 'self-conscious pioneers' received, they had turned their concerns outward and thrust their activities toward the urban plight. The emergence of this middle class is integral to an understanding of the membership make-up of the NWP and the NWTUL.

The underlining emphasis for these people were equal opportunity for all men, obtaining values credit for hard work (money), and efficiency.16 The beaurocracies they instituted ceased to be distinct from the individuals who comprised them. New social sciences were emerging which were analyzing people as social beings in relation to their environment. Society was considered to be a perfect meshing of all of its parts combined; the kinks in the system were to be uncovered, analyzed and removed.

The pragmatism inherent in these ethics glorified the power of knowledge. The need for continuity and regularity underscored their pursuits; there was endless talk of order and efficiency with analogies made between society and a well-oiled machine. "With uncritical faith in education and science, the new members of the middle class became 'experts', immersing themselves in the scientific method, eradicating petty passions and narrow ambitions."17 As these people reached out to reorganize government, they also entered governmental positions as specialists and were relied upon for policy analysis and guidance.

Thematically, interest in child labor was central to the Progressive Era. This was more than mere sympathy and concern for the exploited young person; rather, "the child was the carrier of tomorrow's hope whose innocence and freedom made him singularly receptive to education in rational humane behavior."18 Concerns for women workers also held special importance during this time period. A minimum wage and maximum working hours were fought for to preserve women's sensitivity and fragility despite their participation in an ever-increasingly hostile and oppressive workplace.
Another important aspect of the Progressive Era was the shift in emphasis from local political machinery to the national scene. As local problems were increasingly becoming national problems, people turned to Washington for national solutions. After 1900, lobbying in Washington began to reflect this modification. In the past, lobbying intents had been clear and the process fairly simple. As interests widened and the whole machinery became more complicated, many competing organizations with diverse programs emerged. Party loyalties could no longer be depended upon. Congressmen were forced to expand their programs and address the divergent needs of various groups. This increasing centralization required interest groups to base themselves in Washington in order to get immediate feedback and possible results. By 1907, local reformers had begun migrating to Washington. A fervor for reform was created, "stemming mostly from optimism surrounding it (the system) and faith in its method".

Along with this centralized atmosphere, the Executive Branch was gaining extreme importance and power in the political scene. The President's duty was to evaluate the demands, place them in order of preference and national priority, and then pass or reject them swiftly.

The Republican party suffered fatal internal tensions from 1910-12 and by the time Theodore Roosevelt attempted to break ground with a new Progressive Party, the Democrats had found a reform leader of their own, Woodrow Wilson. Roosevelt's advanced program of federal economic and social regulations exposed the latent Progressives dilemma: "Could national regeneration be achieved, as most Democratic progressives thought, merely by destroying special privilege and applying the rule of equity to all classes? Or could the promise of American life be fulfilled only through a positive program of federal intervention and participation in economic and social affairs as Roosevelt advocated?"
In opposition to Roosevelt's defense of comprehensive public controls and the expansion of state and federal assistance, Wilson, a recent convert to progressivism, still retained nineteenth century laissez-faire precepts preserving the concept of federal authority interference only to "destroy artificial barriers to the full development of individual energies." He called this program the 'New Freedom': "the destruction of special privileges, the restoration of the reign of competition, and reliance for future progress on individual enterprise."

America's participation in World War I was obviously another essential event of the Progressive Era. America's entry into the war occurred amidst an ignorant population. Wilson, failing to educate the people as to their vital stake in the outcome, instead pushed an ethic of democracy and altruism which "depicted intervention in terms of the strong and pure democracy putting on the breastplate of righteousness to do battle for the Lord." America was in no way prepared for the military and industrial effort, so Wilson launched a full-scale effort to 'educate' the American public.

Since there was no attack on American territory, public opinion was not solidified. Furthermore, millions of Americans, including Socialists, progressives and many many German and Irish-Americans, were in unified opposition to America's intervention. To deal with this, Wilson created the Committee on Public Information headed by George Creel, a progressive journalist from Denver. Creel was instrumental in establishing a system of voluntary press
censorship which was extremely successful. His next attempt was to make Americans war-conscious, and before the end of the war had engaged 150,000 writers, lecturers, actors, and scholars in what may have been the most enormous propaganda campaign in U.S. history.

The official line to the American people was two-fold. First, that America's participation was a crusade to advance the cause of freedom and democracy throughout the world. On another level, the 'German Menace' theme was propigated and many of the official Allied atrocity stories were spread. Hence, much of the war hysteria was turned against German-Americans. For instance, many states forbade church services in German and the teaching of the German language in schools. Cincinatti even went so far as to rule pretzels off of free lunch counters in saloons.

The state of Civil Liberties during the war is reflected in the Espionage Act which Wilson enacted on June 15, 1917 which imprisoned people up to twenty years and/or a $10,000 fine for any number of what were considered traitorous acts. He also empowered the Postmaster General to halt mail which, in his opinion, advocated treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to the laws of the United States. Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson, banned the American Socialist and two other Socialist magazines. Moreover, he censored all anti-British and pro-Irish publications. The anti-war fever led to massive witch-hunts which the Administration, though perhaps not directly responsible for them, made no effort to suppress. 1,532 persons were arrested under the Espionage and Sedition Act: 65 for threats against the President and only ten for actual sabotage. These numbers do not cover the suppression which most assuredly transpired on the local level.
Overall then, reform activities were widespread and acceptable. The country, no longer in a state of transition, accepted the need for renovations which did not threaten fundamental economic relations and social relations. With all of the various organizations in existence, many different group histories evolved which secured reforms and functioned as historical precedents for later movements. The two challenge groups under consideration are the National Women's Party and the National Women's Trade Union League. The unfolding of organization events will provide a starting point for analysis.

Chapter 3

Evolution of the National Woman's Party

The story of the National Woman's Party is fascinating insofar as it deviates from so much of the reform activity representative of the Progressive Era. Their roots were grounded in a different setting and their strategy was entirely different from suffrage and other reform activities underway at the time. Reactions to the party's activities is indicative of the threat which women's liberation posed to the American public and to the Administration at the time.

The National Woman's Party (NWP) initially sprang from the Congressional Union, a Congressional lobbying committee, which was part of the mainstream suffrage movement. The National American Woman's Suffrage Association (NAWSA).* Since the formation of NAWSA, Women's Suffrage had been a very tame, moderate issue. Their major thrust was working for state-by-state referendums to give women the vote. The issue had been faithfully introduced at each session of Congress, but suffrage had not been debated in either house since 1887.

* In the body of this paper, the CU-NWP will be referred to as the NWP for convenience; it was not until 1917 that they officially merged into the NWP.
Many of the younger women in NAWSA were becoming increasingly impatient with NAWSA's reformist and non-confrontational tactics. The Congressional Committee (which, after the split, became the CU, later re-named the NWP) applied for auxiliary membership to NAWSA. Auxiliary status could permit the CU a certain degree of autonomy which they did not have as a sub-committee of the larger group. Since they had the necessary 300 members, and because of a fear of further internal factionalism, their membership was accepted.

The conflict between the CU and NAWSA stemmed from many things. As mentioned above, NAWSA's aim was to work state-by-state to pass suffrage. Furthermore, they felt that with suffrage, social injustices in America would be eliminated, not only for women but for everyone else as well. Their ideal of womanhood was one of nurturance, compassion and intuition. With the infiltration of women into the public sphere would come a new and much-needed sensitivity. The CU vehemently objected to this and saw suffrage as one step to a revolution of attitudes about women. Although incomplete, their analysis led them to believe that with the attainment of suffrage, home and family life would be effectively changed.

The organization was led by Alice Paul, a young Quaker who had just returned from Britain where she was working with the WSPU (Women's Social and Political Union), a very radical and vocal feminist group. Paul was absolutely central to the growth of the movement (this will be brought up in subsequent discussion). At the 1913 NAWSA Convention which lasted for six days, Paul and her cohorts were severely attacked for their antics, their use of NAWSA funds for their own group's ends, and the very nature of their strategy. NAWSA felt that if the CU was to become autonomous they
should not use NAWSA headquarters, equipment, financial resources and membership lists.

At this point it became clear that the ambiguous tie between the CU and NAWSA had to be clarified and resolved. Although a final break-up was imminent, there was still a certain reluctance on the part of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of NAWSA, to actually let them go. Personally, she liked their youth and enthusiasm.

Besides the CU's thrust towards a federal suffrage amendment there were other differences in the two group's strategies to the final goal of suffrage. One of the most fundamental and innovative ideals of the CU was to target the Democratic Party as being totally responsible for the painfully slow path to suffrage. Paul realized that to get the 2/3 majority in both houses which was necessary for ratification, suffrage would have to become a party issue.

NAWSA adamantly held onto their non-partisan ideals and were offended by this, fearing that alienating either party, especially the Democratic Party, was a drastic mistake. Also, NAWSA felt that the CU was extending British politics into the American realm by placing faith in the idea that either party would ever completely control Congress enough to push for its passage. These elements along with the differences in generations and Dr. Shaw's lack of inspirational and exciting leadership, precluded any reconciliation between the two organizations.

The CU's first initiative as an autonomous group was to publicize the issue of suffrage. In March of 1913 the CU staged a huge parade. The timing was perfect; it was the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration as President. People in Washington, visiting the city for the ceremony, assumed the parade
was related to the inauguration and huge crowds amassed. Learning what the parade was for, people became incensed and turned the orderly parade into a riot. Finally, troops were called in to restore order. They attempted to force the House of Representative to establish a women's suffrage committee, however, their efforts were to no avail. For this the CU consistently blamed the Democrats, since it was they who maintained that suffrage was a state, and not a federal issue. The CU next turned to the Senate where the suffrage amendment was pending; the vote would occur on May 9. The CU tried desperately to avert the vote until after May as they were planning large-scale demonstrations and wanted members of Congress to more carefully consider the results before they voted. They began to cultivate another lobby in Washington, even better than NAWSA's. They used press bulletins, petitions and deputations to the president, which were the usual means of forming a lobby, but with more energy and force.

NAWSA, on the other hand, wanted to get the vote over with as quickly as possible so they could introduce the "Shafroth Amendment" (coined the Substitute Amendment by the CU) which called for a referendum for suffrage in each state. The CU's appeals for delay turned out to be fruitless and the vote was taken and defeated, upholding the principle of states' rights. Immediately afterwards though, the CU reintroduced the suffrage amendments to Congress, setting a new Congressional precedent in America.

The national demonstrations they planned took place on May 2 in cities throughout the country. Resolutions were passed and at the huge demonstration on May 9 in Washington, delegates from all states presented their resolutions to Congress. As a result of continuing antagonism towards NAWSA, the CU
did not even invite the national organization to the demonstration. It is hard to evaluate the success of the demonstrations. There was virtually no press interest, since the Mexican War was upstaging them. The demonstrations did stand out though, as colorful and dramatic displays of beautiful banners and long lines of women. However, it became immediately clear that a more radical strategy was needed, so they decided to target the 1914 Congressional election.

Their plan was to defeat the Democrats in the nine suffrage states. Two CU women were to go to each suffrage state; one would work out of a headquarters and the other would travel to different cities and rural areas distributing literature and making speeches. They also very deliberately linked this action with a threat to interfere with the upcoming 1916 Presidential election. Their goal was to mobilize as many of the four million voting women as they could and push all party and other affiliations aside and place women's interests above all else.

The work was exhausting and although their successes were minimal, the issue was indeed highlighted in the elections. The CU claimed that they were partly responsible for the defeat of 25 Democrats and that Congressmen had begun to visit their HQ seeking information on the Amendment. Certainly, not everyone agreed. In fact pro-suffrage and anti-suffrage individuals alike felt the CU had hurt the issue. Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado remarked - "I do not think that either women or men ordinarily voting the Democratic Party ticket changed their vote in response to the CU's appeal. On the contrary, the partisanship of the Democratic voters was aroused...by the injustices of a propaganda which would sacrifice an old and tired friend of woman's suffrage to the personal animosities and disappointments of a few unreasoning people."
After this event, the CU realized that a more substantial and beaura-
cratic organization was needed to rely upon and to mobilize at a moment's notice. This effort to create state branches persisted from 1915-1917. They decided to organize a national voting organization whereby each state would elect a state chairwoman and she would select a congressional district chairwoman. Alice Paul was solely responsible for this proposal and in the case of everything else she presented, it was automatically endorsed.

The problems encountered though, were endless; no one welcomed them. States with existing organizations were afraid that the CU would factional-ize the groups and create tensions. States like New York especially opposed their interference because their state campaign was approaching and they were afraid that the CU would alienate both men and women alike. Western suffrage states felt that wherever the CU was, there was trouble. They were also accused of accepting money from the Republican Party to squash the Democrats, although the CU denied this.

These problems, however, seemed tiny compared with the problems encountered with the women in the south, problems which would persist in all of their endeavors. Southern women were especially adverse to holding Democrats responsible. Their party affiliations were very binding and had endured several generations. Racism in the south prevented white women from affiliating themselves with Black women at all; the CU ignored this issue whenever possible and when prodded, they reassured southern white women that they had nothing to fear since they outnumbered black women in the southern states.

By 1916, however, they had alliances in 36 states which the CU divided into four districts for better structural organization. Before the end of 1917, all 48 states had branches, yet it was a continuous struggle to prevent
them from dissipating. They exerted more effort once again in the south because southerners controlled two very important committees in the House of Representatives, the Rules and the Judiciary committees. Both committees had to favor the federal suffrage amendment before it could reach the House floor.

In June of 1916, western CU members met in Chicago and resolved to establish a Woman's Party. They were determined to secure the passage of the suffrage amendment by creating a western bloc of voting women. This new party, called the National Women's Party (NWP) would not sponsor a candidate and its only plank would be the enfranchisement of women. All western women were welcome for membership but the nucleus would be drawn from members of the CU's western branches; hence, Alice Paul in Washington retained ultimate control over all decisions.

As might be expected, this plan drew sharp responses from both sides of the suffrage issue. Western non-member women were afraid of the confusion it might lead to and that efforts would be unnecessarily duplicated. They were also repulsed by a party based on sex lines. The anti-suffrage people were somewhat pleased with the plan. They thought it was so ludicrous that it would successfully alienate any potential supporters.

Members of the NWP and CU met in August and agreed that if the Democratic Party did not endorse the federal suffrage amendment before the 1916 Presidential election, they would canvass the West and urge all women to withdraw support from Wilson and members of his party. Slogans to be used were, "He kept us out of suffrage" and "A vote for the Democratic Party is a vote against women." Armed with instructions, eighteen organizers went out west at the end of August.
This proved to be a tremendously difficult task. For one thing, Republican party support was becoming a hindrance; financial contributions to the NWP and the presence of NWP speakers at Republican rallies alienated women who were suffragists and Democrats. The NWP was becoming an unimportant tangent to the Republican party and losing sight of their original goal. In Washington, Alice Paul was also becoming distressed about the gross miscalculation she had made by sending only eighteen women to 'cover' the West. Conditions were so bad and the women so exhausted that one organizer, Inez Milholland Boissevan collapsed on stage during a speech in California and died.

Their second tragedy surfaced with the election returns on November 7, 1916. The consensus was that for all of the personal hardships the organizers had suffered, they had exerted no real influence on the outcome of the election. Ten of the eleven suffrage states who had previously voted Republican gave their votes to Wilson and the Democratic party. The campaign was a failure and members collectively became depressed and discouraged until Alice Paul became so afraid of the group's termination that she issued a statement professing the absolute reverse of the situation. She said that it had not been a failure at all and that suffrage would pass before 1920 because the Democrats had been so overwhelmed by the NWP's threat. She also claimed a victory for the amount of educating it had accomplished and the publicity which they had achieved for suffrage. Members were revitalized and more optimistic once again.

This optimism was augmented by their next scheme. On January 10, 1917 twelve CU members left their Washington headquarters and marched to the White House, stationing themselves in front of the gates. They picketed every day, in silence, for six months. Paul had been considering this
action for several months but had been reluctant to actually carry it through out of fear of the action's radicalism. However, after persistently appealing to Wilson through deputations and receiving no encouraging feedback, she decided to execute it. This was the first spark of their more radical activities.

After five months of indifference, people began to attack the picketeers and periodically destroyed their equipment. War fever was spreading and the slogans on their placards particularly provoked increasingly patriotic citizens. "Kaiser Wilson, have you forgotten your sympathy for the poor Germans because they were not self-governed? Twenty thousand American women are not self-governed. Take the Beam out of your own eye." was just one of the slogans which turned spectators into an angry and disorderly mob. NWP headquarters were also invaded and the building was defaced. One military man almost killed three picketing women when he fired at them through an open window.

Alice Paul privately welcomed the publicity but publicly protested police negligence. This continued over a period of time until city officials were pushed to the point of arresting the picketeers to 'restore order'; the grounds of arrest were obstructing traffic. Wilson thought that imprisonment would scare the women into ceasing but the day after a short stay in prison, the picketing resumed. Arrests continued until the end of November.

The story of these women in prison (some 168 in all) is perhaps at the core of what the NWP stood for and hoped to accomplish. After a number of arrests, Wilson wanted to, once and for all, stop the 'nonsense' and
decided to sentence Alice Paul to prison for seven months for obstructing traffic. This merely served to spark the biggest picket line on November 10 and forty-one of these women were also sentenced to prison. These women were taken to the Ocoquan workhouse, physically beaten, and dragged to their cells.

To protest this, Paul, who was separated from her cohorts in another ward, instigated a hunger strike which spread to the other women. After a week, officials became so afraid that they tried force-feeding which the women resisted for as long as was physically possible. Alice Paul furthermore, was subjected to psychological testing after being placed in the psychopathic ward and pronounced "paranoic."

Conditions in the Virginia jail were abominable; rats were rampant, the food was filled with worms and the women were prevented from seeing anyone, including lawyers and relatives. NWP members outside the prison decided to obtain a writ of habeus corpus and have them moved to the Washington district jail. Fearful of moving the women in their weakened states, they begged the NWP to put off the appeal; they of course refused.

Finally, on March 4, 1918, the Court of Appeals declared that every one of the 218 suffragists who had been arrested had been so illegally. Discussion of the cruelties inflicted upon them emerged and the emaciated and traumatized women were present to dramatize this.

In concurrence with these events, political developments began to emerge. A Women's Suffrage Committee was finally created by Congress on September 15, 1917 after four years of struggle. Yet the picketing continued; they were determined not to stop until the amendment was passed. At this point also, the NWP and the CU officially merged under the NWP.
Now that the U.S. was engaged in WWI, many women wanted to work on war activities. Paul insistently fought this, saying it was inconsistent to fight for democracy in Europe while it was begin denied in America. She wanted to deny members the freedom to engage in any other activities until suffrage was achieved but she realized they would not accept this dictum easily. Therefore, she allowed people to decide this issue for themselves but they never questioned her authority and devoted themselves to their suffrage work.

President Wilson, on January 9, reported that he had changed his position and that he was now in support of the Federal Amendment. His previous position, he admitted, had been inconsistent with his stand on democracy; suffrage was now legitimized as a war issue. NWP of course, took the credit for his change of attitude, although this was not actually the case. On January 10, the Amendment passed the House 274-136. It was then taken to the Senate which, to everyone's surprise, ignored it and kept postponing the vote.

The NWP was incensed. Bombarding their offices with petitions, letters, and visits, they also held open air meeting publicizing Wilson's failure to pass the Amendment. The demonstrators were again arrested, this time for not having a street permit. This continued until mid-September when suddenly they were given a permit for which they had not even applied.

The debate was renewed in Congress on September 26, 1918. After three days of discussion, prospects seemed dim, and without precedent, Wilson agreed to speak to the Senate and urge passage of the Amendment. The vote was taken on October 1 and was once again defeated. In desperation, the NWP commenced their 'watchfire action' in front of the White
House. Arrests were made for lighting these bonfires after sundown and hunger strikes were initiated in the jails once again. On February 9, thirty-six suffragists left the NWP headquarters and burned an effigy of Wilson in front of the White House. For this, they were severely rebuked, especially by NAWSA.

By this point, everyone realized the inevitability of the passage of the Amendment and Wilson called an extra session of Congress on May 19, 1919. Finally, the amendment passed 56–25. After fifteen months of working for state ratification, women at last had the vote. Beginning from the first suffrage struggle, it took thousands of dedicated women forty-four years to get the vote.

Immediately after their triumph, the NWP began deciding their next course of action. Suggestions of prison reforms and disarmament were popular but Alice Paul decreed that they would sponsor the Equal Rights Amendment. Once again she convinced her followers and they embarked on a new and totally different crusade, one which belongs to the twenties.
Chapter 4
Evolution of the National Women's Trade Union League

The story of the NWTUL is very different from the NWP. Once it became evident that women in the labor force were being exploited and were not being organized by the men's industrial unions, a group of working women, social reformers and settlement workers decided, during an AFL Convention, to form an independent organization. They were the first organization to deal with specific problems facing women in industry. They were responding to the prevailing conviction that unionization was the key to improvement for all workers. Before their formation, there had been some strikes by women workers which had been aided by ad-hoc unions. There had also been women's auxiliaries created by wives of men in particular unions, raising funds for emergency situations such as sickness or unemployment.

The NWTUL was similar to the British trade Union League. They organized as a federation of women's unions as well as allowing individual membership. Their main purpose was "the organization of women into trade unions to be affiliated with the regular labor movement, in this case with the AF of L, and the strengthening of all such organizations as already existed." The first branches were formed in Chicago, New York and Boston in 1904.

Their first three years focused on preparatory work, introducing themselves to unions and workers. They offered their headquarters as meeting places for new and poor unions and provided speakers for interested unions. The League was opened to everyone, not only working women. The only requirements for membership were: a belief in the organization of
all workers into trade unions, equal pay for equal work, the eight-hour day, a living wage and full citizenship for women.\textsuperscript{32}

Initially, the leadership was dominated mostly by middle and upper classwomen. In 1907 Mrs. Raymond Robbins of Chicago became the national president and held the position until 1922. She was extremely wealthy and donated all of her free time and much money to the League. Robbins' middle-class attitudes accordingly shaped the first years of the organization. By 1910, however, working class women were playing more important roles in the organization, yet still counted on the special contributions of these other women.

Their first 'convention' was in 1907 at Norfolk, with only seven delegates present. It was very informal and most of the women were also delegates to the AFL. The League had been endorsed by the AFL but it was not an official branch. The relationship between the League and the AFL is complex and essential to an understanding of the intrinsic progressivism of the NWTUL; this will be discussed later.) Every year after this, the League held a convention as its membership swelled and the range of its activities broadened.

Their first action came in 1909 in Chicago, when a handful of women workers walked out in protest against conditions in the men's clothing trade. News of the walk-out spread to other shops and by the next day 1,000 people had left work. Within three weeks, 40,000 were on strike\textsuperscript{33}. The League helped form a strike committee, joined picket lines, and obtained legal aid for the demonstrators.

The middle and upper class women, known as allies, were able to arouse the support of wealthy people in the area and raised $29,000 for people in
jail, $20,000 for relief and they organized a parade of 10,000 people to protest police brutality against the strikers. The NWTUL was the only organization to bring working and middle/upper class women together. Theoretically, it was an important idea but in practice, class issues emerged and thwarted many of their efforts.

Similar work was done by the local WTUL in Chicago in 1910 with workers in the clothing industry. The WTUL raised $70,000 in relief funds, established a picket committee and patrolled the streets ensuring the striker's safety against police and spectator brutality. The WTUL played important roles at the Carpet Weavers' Strike in Roxbury, Mass., the Corset Makers Strike in New York, and after the Triangle Shirtwaist Co. fire in New York which killed 147 people, they obtained relief for victims and their families.

Subsequently, they led investigations of fire hazards and other unsafe working conditions in the shops. Wherever a strike occurred, the League was present in all imaginable and useful ways; their work was indispensable. They also published a monthly magazine called Life and Labor, which informed working women of what was happening in strikes around the country and in the legislative arena.34

Amidst their investigations and their attempts to cultivate a sympathetic public, the Lawrence Textile Strike of 1912 prompted them to take more direct action in defense of the workers. In January of 1912, a law was passed in Massachusetts which reduced the working week from 56 to 54 hours. The protest was against the reduction in their weekly wages which accompanied the decrease in hours and the increasing amount of production expected of them. By January 15, most of the city's 35,000 workers were on strike.
Joseph J. Etter, an organizer for the Wobblies (IWW), helped to organize the workers into a cohesive group with his unlimited energy and skillful leadership. Soon after, John Golden, President of the United Textile Workers (AFL) came and advised the WIUL to stay out of Lawrence temporarily because of the IWW's 'infiltration'. The League became increasingly restless with their inactivity "yet they believed that their affiliation with the AFL forbade their supporting a group whose methods fundamentally differed". However, after much discussion amongst themselves and consultation with the AFL, the League entered and established relief Headquarters.

The strike was highly successful and by the beginning of March, the owners made their first concessions, which the UTW accepted. Officially, the strike was over and relief was given only to those who would return to work. The League was forced to withdraw its support.

The IWW however, and 5,000 other workers, would not accept the settlement and although the League sympathized with the workers still on strike, they were not allowed, by AFL orders, to offer aid to anyone.

The conflict which ensued forced women to sharpen their loyalties; either they were with the AFL or against them. They tried talking to Samuel Gompers and John Golden but this proved futile. Considering the AFL's power and influence, they decided to maintain relations with them rather than risk their chances for survival by alienating this influential organization. Privately though, many women were deeply impressed with the spectacular and creative methods which the IWW had employed. Detecting the women's dissatisfaction, the AFL appeased the women by granting the League $150.00 a month for one year.

The year 1913 marked the beginning of the League's new direction, the beginning of their second phase. Their emphasis at this point turned to
education. Mrs. Robbins decided that the working class women themselves must be 'trained' to be union leaders. It had become evident that the more articulate, better educated upper class women were dominating the organization and that this leadership could not justifiably come from this source anymore. At their convention, they decided to establish training schools for active women workers in the labor movement and resolved to secure money for scholarship. This proved to be a momentous decision in terms of their future work.

The local leagues had had English classes for foreign women for several years but in 1914, their new training school started with three women. Each school term consisted of academic work in economics, history of industrialization and unionization, methods of trade agreement and bookkeeping. Four months of academic work and eight months of field training were expected of them. They were registered as 'unclassified students' first at Northwestern University, then at the School of Civics and Philanthropy and finally at the University of Chicago.

They encountered numerous obstacles finding it difficult to get women interested in the school, as well as finding them jobs in the labor movement upon graduation. Even so, by 1929, of the forty-four women who received scholarships to be trained, thirty-two of them had participated in high levels of the labor movement. In a hasty move, the League ended the school in 1926, assuming their initiative would be picked up by other groups.

In 1915, the AFL stopped their monthly payments to the League. Instead of giving them money, Samuel Gompers wanted to hire a woman organizer, chosen by himself and Mrs. Robbins, to attend to women's needs in the labor movement. The male unions had been expressing disapproval of the AFL's donations to the League and Gompers did not want to risk his ties with them.
With regards to World War I, the League had maintained, before United States involvement, their belief in peace and American neutrality. However, as America's participation in the war became imminent, the League shifted along with prevailing national opinion. At the 1917 League Convention, Mrs. Robbins urged members to give undivided loyalty to America in support of its war for democracy. Numerous League members were called to Washington and were appointed to various posts: Mary Anderson as Director of the Women's Bureau, Mrs. Robbins as a member of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense and many more. Along with a diminished supply of financial resources, this served to diffuse the group's goals and greatly hindered the group's activities.

On the other hand, the war-time era was also hailed as a new period for women in terms of job opportunities. However, although greater numbers of women were entering the labor force, the AFL was not responding to these shifts by putting out an effort to organize women, skilled and unskilled. They were extremely worried that war-time opportunities for women would infringe upon male workers' privileges. In turn, they rejected a resolution from the NWTUL asking that two members of the Executive Board of the AFL be women. The major wartime gain for women came from the federal government. In June, 1918, a Women in Industry division of the Department of Labor was created. The NWTUL had been agitating for this since 1909.

The League had also conscientiously supported suffrage for women since the group's inception. They worked fairly closely with other women's organizations, such as the National American Women's Suffrage Association and other groups of social feminists. At times, these links alienated the League from men and women in the Labor Movement as a whole because of the middle class nature of the feminist movement.
The vote was so important to the League that "through their participation in the League and in the NAWSA, women trade unionists had equated the ballot with equal pay, prohibition, and child labor, the end of sweated pay, and in short, industrial freedom"36. In fact, the League was so successful in associating suffrage with the rights of working women that Senate opposition to the nineteenth amendment was interpreted as hostility to labor reform.

At this point, by breaking up the evolutions of the organizations into specific movement variables, insight can be gained into the structure and methods which the NWP and the NWTUL used to influence authority for social change.
Organizational Structure

Organizational structure is most crucial to a consideration of day-to-day progression of a challenge group as well as the methods used to accomplish goals. Most important, a challenge group must have a constituency which can be easily mobilized. There is no definitive answer to this but facing an organized antagonist who has control over vast resources, the challenge group will often take on the organizational structure of the antagonist. William Gamson has put forth two necessary criterion for successful mobilization. First group members must be committed enough to the organization to be activated when necessary. In other words, there must be a continuity to their struggle so that constant everyday contact is not necessary for effective group action. Also, the organization must be able to handle internal conflict.  

Gamson goes on to suggest three elements of group organization: bureaucracy, centralization and factionalism, all of which are key components in analyzing the degree of success. Bureaucracy simply means creating role structures to ensure that different people will assume the responsibility for certain jobs. A written document or charter, a formal member list and three or more levels or divisions are necessary prerequisites for a bureaucracy. However, while maintenance of bureaucratic structure might guarantee group readiness, Gamson found that it did not address problems of internal conflict.

Centralization, on the other hand, did just that. When a group is centralized, a definite commanding authority is explicit, whatever the
character of that authority. Members of the group have a certain figure or group of leaders to whom they may look for guidance, support and orders. These two elements, bureaucracy and centralization, make independent contributions to the success of challenge groups, but combined, their effect is significantly greater with respect to acceptance by the public and gaining new advantages and resources.

Factionalism is the consequence of a group's inability to deal with internal tensions or divisions. It can be a formal separation or an underlying internal friction. As intimated above, centralization has a powerful connection to factionalism; factionalism is contained by a unity of command which exercises controls to manage internal conflict. These variables: bureaucracy, centralization and factionalism are not meant to be absolute; rather, they are to be used as 'ideal types' by which to base a comparison of existing challenge groups.

The National Woman's Party lends support to the above postulates. Structurally, the NWP was totally centralized and virtually all power was held in the hands of one woman, Alice Paul. All decisions, sentiments and attitudes stemmed from or were channelled through Paul who rejected or accepted them. Not wanting to appear overly autocratic, Paul established a hierarchical bureaucracy consisting of a self-appointed chairwoman, (herself) and a vice-chairwoman chosen by herself. Lucy Burns, her vice-chairwoman met Alice Paul in Britain and both worked with the WSPU. Therefore, their backgrounds and ideologies were almost identical. An executive board was selected by these two women and served merely to endorse all of Paul's proposals. This bureaucracy not only made the organization more efficient but also led members to believe that the
organization was open and flexible enough to enter and climb upwards through.

Shortly after the NWP's permanent split with the NAWSA, the strength of Paul's domination over the group was challenged for the first time. A small group of members became dissatisfied with her and formed a separate committee to discuss problems including desired changes in organizational structure, their need for an active voice in policy decisions and their increasing suspicion of Paul's handling of organization finances. They presented these points to Paul and by that time, dissension had spread and women were openly discussing their grievances.

Paul's reaction was characteristically consistent; she was annoyed by the petty disruption and refused to even listen to the complaints. With the vision of a small, tight group in mind, she was irritated that women wished for a more democratic group structure. Paul was afraid that if she granted voting rights to all members, nothing would be accomplished. She chose not only to ignore the complaints and requests, but also retaliated by telling members that they would never have a vote and that she would never be held accountable for group finances. She demanded complete loyalty to the NWP and hence, the resignation of women who did not wish to comply. She said; "It is better to have a small united group than an immense debating society."

Realizing the pressures to make at least one concession, she established a national advisory council which, as might be expected, was more ornamental than instrumental. Prominent and respectable women were placed on the council to upgrade the group's image. They did nothing but rubber-stamp Paul's policies. Many women resigned as a result, which satisfied Paul;
she wanted nothing to do with those women who were not going to follow her blindly. One woman who resigned, Charlotte A. Whitney, was roused to asperity and issued the following statement:

"I take this step because the CU is an autocratic organization with its control entirely in the hands of one woman. The Susan B. Anthony Amendment (suffrage) and the whole suffrage movement stands for democracy and should work for democracy. It should seek to awaken and quicken women to a sense of responsibility and solidarity, based upon individual and social justice, but the CU is submerging the individuality of the worker into a blind following under hypnotic leadership. The spirit underlying the work and methods is the 'king can do no wrong' and the cause must be won regardless of method."

Although there was internal tension, members did indeed follow Paul without much dissent during her 'reign' as president. This centralization successfully weeded out those who were dissenters from those who would not cause conflict.

Paul, realizing the need to cover larger areas of the country, began to bureaucratize the NWP. Even before the creation of state branches in 1915, various responsibilities were delegated to individuals. This was essential to the maintenance of the organization because many diverse strategies were undertaken simultaneously; a division of labor placed women in fields of interest with accountability to the central authority. Moreover, with a charter and a campaign text-book, they had a defined constitutionalized purpose.

In terms of membership size, Paul was not very open about informing the public or even other group members, of the actual total of paying members. In fact, these figures are difficult to determine and leave one in doubt as to whether strict records were ever kept. Paul claimed a total membership of 40,000. It is more likely that the group's membership never exceeded
25,000 with a total of 8,000 at most, consistently involved with the group's activities. It is peculiar that while Paul wanted to work only with a small group, she also wanted to convey an inflated group number to NWP constituents and to the public. This was probably a desire to impress people with NWP success and appeal. Financial records are also vague and incomplete. It is certain though, that money was scarce and because of a few immensely wealthy members, others in the organization were hesitant to contribute lesser amounts of money and so did not.

From 1915-1917, the NWP created state branches to place their own political blocs in all states. Ultimate centralization had to be expanded and membership had to be re-organized to be accountable to state heads. This posed a problem for Paul who did not to lose control over the organization and let it wither away into a coalition of state networks. Therefore, she set up a national voting organization with a delegated voting convention. Each state was to elect a state chairwoman who would in turn select a congressional district chairwoman. Many group members saw this as one of Paul's great concessions when, in reality, she decided to do this because the large and diffuse membership had simply become too big to control. With the formation of the national voting organization, Paul's centralized control over the expanding NWP was ensured. The eventual merging of the NWP and the CU in 1917 served the same purpose; it was a way to re-organize the rank-and-file by consolidating group membership with centralized authority based in Washington.

One of the most striking contrasts between the NWP and the NWTUL is the decentralized structure of the NWTUL. More important than the National League which merely consolidated local efforts and published a magazine,
were the state Leagues which, triggered by local strikes, reacted according to their individual resources and interests. A frequently made point was that "the prestige and standing of the National Organization is largely dependent upon the vitality and accomplishments of the locals." However, this decentralization did not prove to be successful because there were not enough local leagues to solidify the power base. By 1924, there were only 15 working branches, certainly not enough to provide support for other local branches under financial or other types of stress.

In view of Gamson's conclusion that a centralized structure deals more successfully with internal tension than a decentralized organization, one must examine the extenuating circumstances surrounding the NWTUL to comprehend the uniqueness of their situation. As a result of their membership make-up, very obvious class differences emerged which, at times, served to divide group members. Furthermore, the NWTUL did not have a single central leader to deter intra-group antagonisms. Another point of contention which divided group members actually concerned group goals and purpose. Conflict over such issues as who should be allowed to join, where funds should be directed and whether protective legislation should be supported, continually plagued the group, preventing a unified outlook and direction. Fortunately, social relations tended to obliterate class divisions and mitigate class conflict but this was indeed a persistent tension within all branches of the Women's Trade Union Leagues.

For purposes of self-perpetuation and even more so than the NWP, the NWTUL bureaucratized themselves and their local branches so that a very rigid differentiation of purpose and duty existed for members in Leagues. This over-bureaucratized structure often precluded a wholistic sense of integration and commitment to the organization as their duties were specialized and focused. Perhaps it was necessary though, for efficiency.
The NWTUL constitution outlined four classes of members: local and state Leagues, members at large, and affiliated organizations. On the local level, there was to be a seven-member board consisting of trade unionists in good standing. The Executive Board of the National League involved three officers and three representatives, two of whom had to be traded unionists from the local branches.42

Membership in the NWTUL was significantly different than in the NWP. While the head of the NWP wanted the organization to remain small, active and cohesive, the NWTUL formed a broad-based constituency, including not only working class, but middle and upper class women as well. The requirements for membership were a belief in and commitment to the following: the organization of all workers into trade unions, equal pay for equal work, the eight-hour day, a living wage, and full citizenship for women.43 Because the size of the various League branches fluctuated each year according to the specific city's commitment to labor agitation, financial resources from sympathetic spectators fluctuated also, thus making it difficult to accomplish long-range planning. Nevertheless, in a typically bureaucratic fashion, conventions were held annually to consolidate strengths and resources and also inform others of regional activities.44

Sometimes, a city formed a League branch spontaneously during or after a strike which may then have died for reasons specific to the particular situation. Furthermore, without the centralized 'unity of command' evident in the NWP, the motivation to form a League and sustain it was simply not present. Hence, many branches survived almost arbitrarily; perhaps a wealthy benefactress would join or male unions would be sympathetic in a certain city. For example, the Philadelphia League's budget in
1924 was $5700.00, 25% coming from Trade Union sources, 45% from upper class members and 30% from benefits. By contrast, the New York League's budget was $23,000, 80% of which came from donations.45

One can see then, that the NWP and the NWTUL, by virtue of goals, resources, and extenuating circumstances, structured their organizations extremely differently. On both sides, various advantages were sacrificed over others. For instance, by remaining decentralized, the NWTUL forfeited a stronger and more unified political bloc. Yet, they realized that given the unique factors at work in the different cities, it might have been impossible for one central group to oversee activities and direct funds into priority areas.

In contrast, the NWP was Alice Paul and vice versa; it is impossible to separate the two. Structurally, she saw to it that all controlling forces would remain in Washington headquarters and, more specifically, in her hands. A facade of important hierarchies appeased and even fooled many women into believing that a Democratic process was at work. Those who were not deceived were encouraged to leave the organization; there was no attempt to modify the organizational structure to accommodate group members.

Membership Make-up

The next variable in question is membership make-up. To analyze the different types of actions of which people are capable or are motivated to undertake, one must examine the people who are involved in these groups, their motivations for joining and their backgrounds. With respect to both groups under consideration, the issue of class interest is dominant. One must not overlook the fact that the ruling or dominant class has
specific interests to promote or protect which stem not from any overt intent to oppress other classes, but rather from an historically-based consolidation of interest and resource into the hands of their own class. Therefore, it is crucial to look at class background to determine to what extent these women, operating in a period of extensive middle class social feminism, actually allowed their middle class interests to subvert any radical change in societal structure which women from a different class might have desired. Fortunately, the working class nature of the NWTUL which included middle and upper class women, facilitates easy comparison of class interests in one group. With this in mind, let us turn to the specific groups.

As referred to in Chapter 1, the women who formed the CU were younger than those in the national organization, the NAWSA. These younger women were becoming impatient with the slow, tactful state work which was producing no positive results; in fact, there were no results at all. Suffrage had been moot for quite a long time and these energetic and youthful women decided to try different approaches to re-establish the vitality of the suffrage issue.

It was not only their age which distinguished these women from the others. Coming from the more radical Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in Britain, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns applied what they had learned to the American situation. Using colors which were suspiciously similar to the British organization colors on their banners and similar types of tactics, the flavor of the group was distinctively different from that of the mainstream women's groups of the United States.

The point here is that women who joined were well aware of the group's separateness and radicalism. Far from being working class, membership of the NWP was mostly college-educated, middle and upper class
professional, or recently-graduated women. Clearly, this information sheds light on NWP strategy in light of their intent to extinguish gender differentiation rather than highlighting women's separate needs as the NWTUL did. The NWP, as middle class white women, worked for reforms like suffrage and ERA to get rid of governmental barriers to their individual freedom. They had faith that there were enough women like themselves who did not need protective legislation and who, exercising full rights, could allow their capabilities to shine through.

For group prestige and better financial security, group members were alerted to recruit prominent women to join the NWP. Women such as Carrie Chapman Catt and Ida Harper, well-known women activists, would not join because of the autocraticism of the organization. The NWP did, however, get their share of social feminists like Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, the wife of a financier, who was eccentric but extremely dedicated. By 1919, she had given $50,000 of her own money to the group. Furthermore, these very women were physically beaten, harassed, and jailed when NWP activities became violent. What was it that incited these women to take such risks?

Since the NWP was not interested in a broad-based constituency, the smaller and tighter group size allowed Alice Paul, who was in charge of recruiting, to select the appropriate women to join her organization. Generally, the type of woman sought was extremely articulate, with superior financial and executive abilities; being a good speaker and hard worker was not enough. Single women were preferred; the reason being that there was much travelling involved and they wanted their members to be mobile. However, it was much more than that; they wanted women who were disengaged from society to a certain extent. Women who were tied to husbands,
boyleads or children were not regarded as having serious political potential. This was not on account of ideological principles but because these other group interests diffused their energy and psychological loyalties. Paul did not want the typical progressive social feminist working for her. She opposed women involving themselves in activities for the good of humankind or to merely fill up their otherwise leisurely hours.

Membership in the NWP can be viewed as an adaptation to a singular cultural identity. Siegel writes that in a group with tightly integrated and highly centralized values, there is a tendency to subordinate individuality to group interests. Group demands and decisions are not questioned by members who are kept in states of high anxiety, with all faith resting in their leader. Solidarity, communal behavior, and inter-dependency are emphasized here. These qualities are found in defensive groups with limited resources.45

The membership of the NWP fits into this paradigm in many ways. One should not underestimate though, women's tight integration into society-at-large. One of the most difficult obstacles to organizing women is their familial involvement which cuts across gender lines and prevents women from seeing themselves as a class. Racial minority groups and working class people do not have interests as diffused. Nevertheless, only those women who had the least amount invested in other groups and who could be "isolated from their former identity" were recruited by Alice Paul. Certainly, not all women gave up their past identities for the NWP but, to a large extent, Paul's group offered symbols, (suffrage, organization colors) a dogma and a charismatic leader to fulfil member's needs. By assigning important duties to each core member, it was possible to sever ties even further between members and family/friends. Paul's centralization of authority corresponds with Siegel's added point that "special knowledge
confirms power," that "...those in power act in sacred or semi-sacred capacity." All of these elements point to a highly integrated group with a single and very intense doctrine which is bestowed upon members in the form of decrees from the organization's leader. The group in turn becomes the (or one of the) reference point(s) by which the member bases his/her evaluations of the world.

The one factor which sets the NWTUL apart from every other women's organization is its membership make-up. The reasons for this are fairly clear. As discussed above, upper and middle class social feminists sought a new and untouched field of assistance. In the labor movement, not only did they find women in need of organization and representation, but they also saw an opportunity to grieve for the hard, unfeminine life of a working woman, 'learn' about it, and help them to overcome its horrible side effects by holding teas for them, teaching them singing and dancing; in general, imposing their middle class values onto working class women. One ally wrote, "It has been my dream to develop young women to be a help in the awakening of their class."47

Allies actually romanticized poverty to the point of perceiving it as an exciting transcendence of mundane feminine roles. One ally wrote, "Thank God working girls have a chance to be themselves, because they earn their own wage and nobody owns them."48 The condescension implicit in this was acute and while the majority of the working class women accepted the allie's benevolence, many became irritated, resentful or just suppressed discontent about the allies' inability to empathize with their actual situations.

A few of the Socialist working women became incensed at these attitudes
and voiced their discontent. One very active union woman, Leonora O'Reilly made speeches to the National League about college-educated feminists with high ideals who knew absolutely nothing about a working woman's life and her needs. She carried out a campaign against an ally named Laura Elliot who was offering working class members courses in singing, art, elocution, and took women on field trips to art museums.

Another example of the ally's ignorance was when they scheduled a League Conference on Yom Kippur despite Jewish member's protests. Moreover, in the League's classes on "New World Lessons for Old World People", there were references to Jewish working women going to church. In text-books put out by the League, Jewish women were described as "dark-eyed, studious, revolutionary" and Italian women as "docile, fun-loving, submissive, and superstitious." This reflection of their ignorance of and unfamiliarity with immigrant working women essentially undermined the potential for effective group solidarity within the League.

A persistent problem was ally domination on the governing boards of the leagues. In the first years of the National League's formation, allied women were more active than working women. All leadership was dominated by these women including all officials and members of the executive board. Many young working women had joined between 1903-1907 but their role was minor and their membership usually temporary. These trends were not overlooked, however. To stem the flow of incoming enthusiastic college graduates into leadership positions, one upper class member requested a quota system limiting the number of allied members in the organization and commitment by allies to endorse a principle of closed shop. Although this resolution did not pass, they did have a provision in their constitution that working class women were to hold a majority of executive board positions.
They could not meet this standard for a long time yet continually worked to achieve it by actively recruiting working women.51

By 1907, more working class women had heard of the NWTUL and three of the League's five executive offices and a majority of the positions on the executive board were held by working women. By 1910, eight of the ten women on the executive board were working women, but numerical equality did not wipe out upper class domination. Theoretically, middle and upper class women were there to learn about the experiences of being working women and many sincerely tried to do this. Yet when it came to organizing, speaking, and diplomacy; middle and upper class women assumed immediate control, one reason being their self-assuredness as a result of their education and upbringing.

Although allies were generally ten years older than union women, both groups were usually single and had strong alignments with women's interests. The class division, while very deep, never devastated the organization and alignments in elections and policy decision were never divided straight across class lines. There is no evidence to support the contention that working women saw the League as a labor union and that allies viewed it as a social reform organization. In fact, the persistent concurrence of these elements in the League was the root of the discord. This aspect will be brought up under a discussion of WTUL ideology.

Membership make-up, as one can see, provides useful insight into group potential. Middle class interests dominated both groups and although the NWP was extremely radical in its strategy, the class composition of the organization made it impossible for them to connect their oppression with poor women's oppression. NWP members avoided issues of race and poverty and viewed legislative reforms such as suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment as the path to liberation when, in reality, it was the path to
the white privileged woman's liberation. At an NWP convention in Washington a group of black women came forward in an appeal for their needs for the vote. Not wanting to alienate white southern women, Paul tried very hard to ignore them and largely succeeded. Afterwards, she referred to them "simply (as) an interruption, an obstacle to the smooth working of the machine."51

Combined classes in the NWTUL was in some ways, extremely advantageous in terms of allies' money, influence, connections and power. However, by encouraging Socialist women to destroy the conditions that generated revolt and engage in work that was unradical and even counter-revolutionary, allies unintentionally prevented working class women from developing a class consciousness. It may also be argued though, that conditions in America precluded a socialist movement at that time, that American society was not fluid enough anymore to allow for substructural transformation as it had been in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. All in all, the NWTUL was the only branch of the woman's movement where middle and upper class women and immigrant, socialist, poor and uneducated women came together as sisters above all else.

Strategy

Strategy may be the most important movement variable as it is the one aspect of a challenge group which is made most explicit to the public and to the power structure. Given the membership total and the resources available, it is then up to the challenge group to determine tactics which will exert influence in the desired direction. The aspects of strategy which I will deal with on the theoretical level are expounded by William Gamson in his
discussion on degrees of radicalism and tendency toward violence.

Gamson defines radicalism as the "degree of threat to existing distributions of wealth and power." The following four criterion are offered to define the degree of radicalism in a challenge group: Are these groups concerned with: 1) altering the scope of authority of all or some of its antagonists, 2) altering the procedures used by those antagonists, 3) replacing the personnel of its antagonists and/or, 4) destroying or replacing all or some of its antagonists? If a group's concerns answer negatively to these questions, then their goals are said to be limited and concerned with changing the content of a certain policy. If any one of these are answered positively, the goals are more-than-limited and challenge authority structures. Along the same lines, Gamson found that intent to displace antagonists was positively correlated with a group's failure of success. It is important to note that groups with more-than-limited goals do not necessarily aim to displace antagonists but those that do fare significantly poorer.

Some interesting facts illuminate consequences of violence used by or toward challenge groups. A common myth surrounding challenge group violence is that it emerges out of a frustration and as an angry and desperate last resort. This is, however, not the case; violence is more an act of impatience "born of confidence and rising efficacy rather than the opposite." Groups who will use violence perceive it to be a relatively safe strategy.

Gamson's study revealed higher-than-average success results for groups exercising violence. These groups tended to be large protest groups while the recipients of violence tended to be smaller groups (under 10,000), perceived to be weak and vulnerable. This point is of vital importance: groups which receive violence are attacked not only because the power structure perceives them as threatening but because they are vulnerable and may not
survive the attack.

The dichotomies implied by these factors will aid in comprehending the dissimilar strategies which the NWP and the NWTUL employed. Fundamental to this analysis is the group's specific target of influence; to whom did the organization decide to designate as the authority structure upon whom influence would be exerted? Obviously, the complexity of a system such as that of the United States, precludes any clear-cut authority representation on which groups can focus their strategy. Both groups targeted different authorities and used group-specific tactics, thereby enhancing or diminishing potential for influence and social change.

As discussed earlier, NWP tactics differed considerably from most other groups during this time period. However, many of the efforts they undertook were neither novel nor especially daring. Much of their energy went into mainstream lobbying techniques and deputations to the President. Using demonstrations and press bulletins, they publicized the issue to the public and succeeded, to a great extent, in rekindling interest in the suffrage issue. During the Congressional election when they sought to reach Western voting women, NWP members placed ads on movie house screens, used billboards and put banners across the streets, developed a literature campaign distributing pamphlets and leaflets to women in urban and rural areas and finally, prepared a comprehensive text-book which explained why women should vote with the NWP. Excerpts were submitted to editors of major newspapers in all western states.  

On another level, they conceived of extremely creative and witty devices to publicize their issue. For instance, on Valentine's Day of 1916, and shortly after President Wilson had been re-elected, NWP members
hound Congressmen with clever valentines urging support for the suffrage amendment. Examples of these valentines are as follows:

To Congressman Edward Stevens Henry on the House Rules Committee:

H is for Hurry -
   Which Henry should do.

E is for Every -
   Which includes Women too

N is for Now -
   The moment to act.

R is for Rules -
   Which must bend to the fact.

Y is for You -
   With statesmanlike tact.

To Congressman Thomas Sutler Williams, House Judiciary Committee:

Oh, will you will us well, Will,
   As we will will by you,
   If you'll only will to help us
   Put the Amendment through!

To Congressman Edward William Pou, House Rules Committee

The rose is red,
The violet's blue,
But VOTES are better
Mr. Pou.

Another imaginative plan occurred during Wilson's annual address to the House of Representatives on December 6, 1916. At a carefully planned moment, a large yellow banner unfurled before the President reading, "Mr. President - What will you do for woman suffrage?" As it came down, a messenger from the NWP appeared at the door of the press gallery and gave the door-keeper copies of an article detailing the purpose of the banner and Wilson's responsibility to American women.
To be sure, these methods were not completely representative of the NWP. More important than these efforts to cooperate with the government using clever but moderate tactics, were the ingenious and unprecedented schemes they used which served numerous functions. Before addressing what these functions were, let us turn to the strategies themselves. One must remember, moreover, that NWP members refused to present themselves as mild-mannered, fragile wives and mothers. They struggled to distinguish themselves from other women's organizations and were well aware of the contrasting images of themselves as opposed to NAWSA members, for instance. Alice Paul referred to NAWSA members as "old-fashioned, indirect, slave-minded and feminine," the last adjective meant to be particularly insulting.

The first activity of this sort was picketing in front of the White House for ten months. Although this was the most spectacular feat, it also proved to be the most expensive. Bringing NWP women in from all over the country, feeding them and providing them with rooms was extremely costly. Yet the effort was perceived to be worthwhile. Paul, anxious to begin the picketing, knew it would not be popular but was excited about the fervor it would create and the way in which it would dramatize the issue. Determined, she felt that "picketing would provide a constant, direct and public appeal made at a place where the President and the public could not fail to see it." From this act came the arrests and the intense and violent attacks on NWP members. Leaving aside at this point the reasons for this blatant
display of authority abuse, it is quite important to examine the extreme dedication members felt toward the organization. Once arrested, group members took great risks in the courtroom by remaining absolutely silent or by delivering long tirades on the righteousness of woman's suffrage. They also refused to pay fines, get lawyers or even offer their names. The confused court sentenced them each to one day in prison yet neither this punishment nor the subsequent harsher ones deterred them; they immediately resumed picketing.

Once in jail, they attempted to gain another advantage, to secure for themselves the status of political prisoners. As political prisoners, they would be exempt from prison work, would have the legal right to consult counsel (which had been denied them), could receive food and letters from the outside and would be permitted to receive books, newspapers, and visitors.59

They wished to establish themselves as political prisoners to show the public that "the very fact that we can be sentenced to such long terms for a political offence shows that there does exist, in fact, a group of people who have come into conflict with state power for dissenting from the prevailing social system."60 They wanted to make sure that the picketing for which they had been arrested would go on record as a political crime. This extremely radical and provocative statement reflected their implication that a structural and institutionalized oppressive force was at work against the NWP and others like them.
This brings one to the next case in point: NWP radicalism. As Gamson claims, goals of displacing the antagonist are highly radical and subject to failure. The NWP, fairly early in their existence, targeted the Democratic Party and undertook massive campaigns to remove Democratic Congressmen and President Wilson from their elected positions by virtue of Democratic party affiliation. This strategy was unprecedented in America and shocked many people, especially the NAWSA. Few people could understand why the NWP would oppose individual Congressmen who had proven themselves loyal to the suffrage issue, just because they were Democrats.

In the eyes of NWP members, the Democratic Party had to be defeated because it alone was responsible for the failure of the suffrage amendment. Actually, this idea was quite logical. Given that a Democratic government was in power and given that suffrage had not been promoted enough to be debated in Congress, the appropriate conclusion was that if blame was to be placed on anyone, it would certainly be on the party in power, the Democrats.

Responding to NAWSA's accusation that party control was not nearly as definitive in America as in Britain, the NWP responded that all committees in the Senate and the House of Representatives controlled legislation and had Democratic chairmen. Moreover, the Democratic Party drew up all legislative programs and decided which measures would be voted on.61

Far from being arbitrary, their strategy was well-planned and well-executed. Sending NWP women out west to establish headquarters served many functions. They succeeded in publicizing the issue of a federal
amendment and by their continual attacks upon Democrats, made big news in local newspapers. On the negative side, Paul so drastically underestimated conditions out west that she sent eighteen organizers to cover all the western states; the women became exhausted and desperate and could not possibly influence votes to the degree that would have been necessary for such a strategy to work.

One of their most basic problems was that their strategy did not provide supporters with any alternative. This indicates a lack of sophistication in their analysis and is a blatant example of their tendency to reduce situations to somewhat extreme parodies to expose incongruities in a system and to publicize the outcome merely for its effect. Furthermore, once it became clear that repressive authority forces were at work, the NWP extended their confrontational tactics to dramatize the radical cause. That is, they anticipated reactionary governmental retaliation and hoped that radicalized liberals would come to their support.62

As important as their attitude toward Democrats, was their insistence upon working for a federal suffrage amendment rather than the state-by-state effort which the NAWSA had been pursuing. A significant amount of citizens and Congressmen were opposed to the federal amendment since they felt it infringed upon states' rights. In response to this touchy question, the NWP assured those concerned individuals that the federal amendment would not infringe upon states' rights, that the Constitution would call for final ratification by states.

The outcome of these activities, as Gamson might have predicted, were not terribly successful for the NWP. Although they claimed to displace a
few Congressmen, election results proved them wrong. They probably did achieve the amount of education they claimed they asserted but overall, people were terribly resistant to this type of strategy and either ignored it or fought it in the press.

As shown above, the major thrust of most of the NWP's strategies was to expose the hypocracies inherent in institutional systems including other women's political groups such as NAWSA. Rather than offer tokens of respect to a government which did not even acknowledge their citizenship, their emphasis was on agitating systems of authority to the point of embarrassment and humiliation.

There are two clear examples of this. First, when it became clear that Washington officials were subjecting imprisoned NWP members to despicable prison conditions, many newspapers rushed to their defense and vehemently criticized these injustices. The NAWSA however, continued to dissociate themselves from the 'immature' NWP women, and insinuated in their literature that they were finally getting what they deserved. In so doing, the NAWSA gave implicit consent to this repressive government policy. In the light of the media's defense of the NWP, NAWSA was made to look reactionary in comparison. So directly or indirectly, the NWP, through their conspicuous actions, were able to use public opinion to expose such inconsistencies.

The second example is the connections the NWP sought to make between the concept of America's fight for democracy abroad (World War I) and the conspicuous lack of it on the home front (suffrage). They used their picketing as an opportunity to draw these links and many of the placards carried by picketeers had extremely implicating slogans on them. Seen by many people as a repulsive display of anti-patriotism during a national
crisis, the NWP merely exploited the moral and self-righteous nationalism occurring during this period, and applied it to a domestic issue.

A few introductory remarks can be made on the strategies utilized by the NWTUL. Generally speaking, they were not particularly imaginative in their struggle for reforms. As mentioned previously, the League witnessed the different types of techniques which the IWW used in the Lawrence Strike and, although very impressed by them, never actually exploited their potential. Seeking reforms within the legislative arena, they did have a unified purpose, but there was no underlying analysis or future-oriented plan. Certainly, their work was indispensable, but theirs was a totally reactive psychology. They never entered a strike unless invited nor did they ever agitate for one. This prevented them from being in the forefront of a very powerful labor movement.

There are two general areas of concern with NWTUL strategy. First, one should look at the two distinct structural phases in their evolution and second, at their relationship with the American Federation of Labor. By doing so, one gains clearer insight into the ultimate lack of success which the NWTUL experienced in terms of achieving their original goals of organizing women into trade unions.

The first phase of the NWTUL emphasized organizing women into trade unions. This emphasis on the actual organization of women in specific labor struggles almost vanished in the second phase (1913), when middle and upper class domination, at its height, stressed educating women in areas relevant to unionism. Legislative efforts were also strengthened during this phase. These activities were not harmful in themselves but
they did detract from union activities and reflected an overwhelming stress on the importance of knowledge and education as tools to persuade and convince the opposition. The early phase then, downplayed women's special problems in labor, and concentrated on integrating working women into the labor movement. Later on, they worked to implement demands relevant to women workers thereby highlighting gender distinction.

As noted in Chapter 1, the NWTUL was always on hand in various cities to help striking women in all possible ways. League members came to the scene of each strike and within a short period, had gained the respect of workers so that their name and capabilities were well known. Their concentration on publicity and public opinion reflected special interest in making certain that the public was informed and sympathetic.

By raising relief funds, bail money, and patrolling streets to protect striking women from harassment, League members were a vehicle through which dissatisfied women strikers could organize and fight for better working conditions. Once again, the importance of this function should not be minimized. The drawbacks become apparent though, when one considers the prospects for self-perpetuation. Although all challenge groups are bound by historical circumstance, it seems that the NWTUL made little effort to make a dent in the political system or labor movement. The major reason for this was their undeterred fidelity to the American Federation of Labor.

As detailed in the section on the evolution of the NWTUL, the AFL had a powerful hold over the League's activities. They provided safety and security as a large, organized union to the decentralized NWTUL. However, the AFL never returned the services or loyalty which the NWTUL had provided,
namely, respect for women in the labor force and the full admittance of women into all unions. When it became obvious to the Leagues that they were merely a tangential branch of the AFL (and not even affiliated), they made a conscious decision to forego their own self-determination and to follow AFL orders blindly. Dissent was present of course. After the Lawrence Strike of 1912 some women claimed that "many of those in power in the AFL today seem to be selfish, reactionary and remote from the struggle for bread and liberty of the unskilled workers." However, this discontent never reached the proportions which could have precipitated a split.

The AFL's conservative and selfish tendencies were most evident when Gompers refused to allow the League to organize unskilled workers, the majority of whom were women. Although they were well aware that this issue might terminate their already nebulous relationship, some women were determined to follow their consciences: "We have, in short, reached a crisis where the organization of the unskilled workers has become all-important question in the labor movement. The organization of the unskilled is imperative and (its cost) must be borne in part by the organization of the skilled." Many women resigned from the League because of such sentiments.

However, the League's leadership did not feel they could risk their alliance with this most powerful organization and thus complied to AFL decree. It is no wonder then, that the League, while never severing ties with the AFL, began to shift interest into a different realm, one which the federation was not threatened or actually touched by. Would the NWTUL have been more
successful had they attempted to organize women separately, apart from the AFL? It is difficult to say; perhaps, as independent organizing would have entailed far more risks, they would indeed have had more chances to fail. Yet it seems clear that the NWTUL was weakened by the AFL's dubious commitment and at times outright opposition to organizing women.

Another fundamental aspect of NWTUL strategy was the training schools they established for women workers. Provided with scholarship and encouragement, workers were able to study various disciplines relevant to unionism. Most of the capital for these schools came from money raised by allies. These schools were fairly successful, but the amount of effort and resources channelled into them, limited the NWTUL's other activities. There was also a strong effort to teach women workers to be more cultured and to provide social activities for them. Reflecting a middle class bias, these activities were present throughout the group's duration. The Settlement House mentality pervaded the league's dealings with working class women, and were internalized by these women.

In summary, of the two groups, only the NWP was perceived by the authority structure to be vulnerable enough to be constrained by violence. Of course, this was not done until they posed a threat great enough to warrant suppression. The NWTUL certainly experienced violence during the strikes they assisted. The labor movement, in its efforts to gain bargaining power, met with great resistance and women workers were not exempt. League members participating in strikes and protecting striking women were subject
to physical abuse, but since it was not directed specifically toward them as an organization, it posed no threat to their existence.

Violent authority control over the NWP was provoked by the group's persistent harassment and humiliation of the men in power. The consequence of this was to strengthen ties between group members and to reaffirm their commitment to the NWP. Moreover, muckrakers of the time swayed public opinion to the NWP's favor by revealing repressive authority mistreatment.

The degree of radicalism in the NWTUL was much less than in the NWP. With limited goals, the League sought to assist in the essential task of improving workers' conditions. There was no attempt to displace antagonists nor to alter, in any way, fundamental distributions of power and wealth. The labor movement, as a whole, had secured enough of a power base to ensure acceptance by the public and the government of the League's presence in union activities.

The NWP was more radical in their attempt to remove authorities from positions of power. In fact, that was their essential strategy. They challenged, still more than the NWTUL, the legitimacy of authority systems by constantly pointing to hypocracies in the power structure. Yet their middle class values precluded an strategic efforts toward initiating sub-structural transformations. Clearly, though, they were perceived by the general public and by other American women's organizations as extremely radical and provocative.

Ideology

Even before Alice Paul and her followers officially split from the NAWSA, there was an obvious ideological schism between the two groups. It
was not only a matter of NAWSA disapproval of NWP tactics but a more basic tension between each group's perception of women's role in society and, more specifically, to what extent women should break from their societally defined roles. The NWP was perceived by the public as the 'guerilla fighters of the woman's movement' and never attempted to alter this impression.

Although the NWP never attempted to systematically analyze women's oppression under capitalism or even the concept of patriarchy to its full extent, members certainly challenged existing societal norms with their behavior and self-concept. Standing outside the Progressive social feminist stream, their idea of what suffrage stood for was drastically different from all other women's groups. They were not working to gain suffrage so that womanly influence would be absorbed into the governmental structure. They worked on this single issue as a demand that the government remove all restrictions upon women so that they could be as free and independent as men were to pursue their interests and livelihood. The NWP's major concern was "to wipe every sex distinction, even those in favor of women, from the state and national statues."67

One should not assume though, that these women had gender identification problems and wished to be men. Rather, they were outraged by the injustice of such blatant reinforcement of unequal opportunities between women and men. These were women who, for the most part, were highly educated with elevated expectations of gratification in their life. It is no wonder that they saw suffrage as such an essential piece of legislation. The concept of suffrage and its attainment then, was transformed into an end in itself becoming more important to the NWP than the equality it was supposed to secure.68
Their concept of womanhood was perfectly consistent with that of the British feminist movement (with whom Paul was connected) and the early suffrage movement in America in the mid-1800s. These women rejected the precept that women were bound in a selfless sisterhood that viewed the state as a large family. This notion was one of the major elements which made feminism respectable by the early 1900s. Women who perpetuated this notion though, were not alert to the dangers of reinforcing the feminine mystique and of concluding that women were so different than men as to require special protective laws. Social feminists also laid themselves open to the criticism that they wanted equality in politics but preferential treatment in industry. This accurately depicts the weakness of an argument that begins by accepting the opposition's premise. 

Therefore, the NWP's sharp deviation from the prevailing ideology served to reinforce the cohesiveness and defensiveness of its membership. NWP members were ardent feminists and placed women's interests above everything else. While social feminists were working for child labor reforms and temperence laws as well as assisting the poverty-stricken in settlement houses, the NWP was the only organization, apart from the NAWSA, to concentrate solely on women's issues. Here, however, the similarity between the NWP and the NAWSA ends.

The NAWSA accused the NWP of playing partisan politics. By targeting the Democratic Party, the NWP was thought to be aligning with Republicans; actually, this was not the case. The NWP campaign text-book explained that their policy was strictly non-partisan and that if the Republican
Party were in power they would be targeted in the same way. According to the NWP, party loyalties had to be obliterated and replaced with even stronger loyalties to a women's political bloc. The only way they felt this could be achieved was by making every effort to mobilize women together around a singular issue.

This ideology paved the way for the creation of the Woman's Party which manifested all of these sentiments. Members of the NWP thought that the power elite was ignorant and unconcerned with their needs and decided to go outside of the two-party system (Note: not the party system). They began to develop a party concerned with women's needs only. This party would not be parallel to the Democratic or Republican Parties but would have a completely original format. Paul said, "We have a definite goal to reach and we cannot reach the goal over either the Democratic or Republican road. To reach our goals, (we need) a third party, a permanent political party. Women are over one-half of the population of this country and we believe that half should have its own political organization to stand for its own aspirations, and ideals, and political beliefs..."

This women's party would not sponsor a candidate and its only plank would be the enfranchisement of American women. "Peace, war, tariff, personalities; let us take no stand on these issues until after the women of this nation can stand behind us." The object was to secure suffrage by creating a single bloc vote of western voting women. They hoped to push these women to refuse to participate in any state or municipal elections, to only vote NWP, solely attempting to influence the Presidential and Congressional elections in the west.

Public response to this new party was essentially negative. First, a party based along sex lines was repugnant and shocking to many women and men. Fears of eventual separatism between men and women quickly entered people's minds. Western non-member voting women, to whom the NWP was
appealing, were, for the most part, opposed to a woman's party due to geographic loyalties. They thought the NWP was certain to be controlled by detached eastern women who knew nothing of their situation in the west and were never motivated to place their votes with the struggling party. More important than their success or lack thereof is that the NWP identified themselves as women above all other affiliations; they attempted to establish women as a separate and unique class.

NWTUL ideology differed drastically from the NWP's. Although they were both interested in improving the status of women, they each held specific ideas about what it was that held women back and what might lead to their emancipation. This sentiment was articulated very nicely by a NWTUL member who said that "for the business and professional women, who are highly trained and relatively few in number, equal opportunity with men would seem to be mainly a matter of removing restrictions based on sex prejudice. For the masses of women in industry, the chief inequalities are due to differences in bargaining power, first between the woman wage-worker and her employer, and secondly between working men and working women."76

One of the most striking aspects of the NWTUL is that the organization seemed to be caught in a number of dichotomies. That is, there were contradictory proposes existing in the NWTUL which were never confronted and resolved.

The first set of elements at variance with each other is linked to one of the basic reasons for their existence. From their inception, the WTUL stressed the importance of interpreting the needs and objectives of the laboring classes to middle and upper class women. Reasoning that the separation created by the antagonism of class differences alienated women from one another, the middle and upper class leadership of the League idealized a situation whereby working women would share their experiences and thereby
help allies empathize with the working woman’s plight.

What resulted was a peculiar combination of romanticizing the working women’s poverty on one hand and also viewing them as piteous creatures. For example, in 1905, Agnes Nestor, a member of the Chicago League, was asked to speak before a convention of the Illinois State Federation of Women’s Clubs. This was the first instance of an industrial woman appearing before a group of club women. She spoke to them about factory work and the life of a working woman. The audience was very moved and impressed with this new facet of reform work.77

An insightful allied leader wrote, "If the League is to grow until it becomes the universal expression of the woman’s participation in organized labor, then the privilege of assisting with financial help (allies) the ordinary activities of the League, can be hers only during the infancy of the body. No organization can draw its nurture permanently from sources outside of itself."78 These sentiments indicate how allies viewed working women as the core of the League and themselves as vehicles or tools for working class women's own self-defined liberation: organizing themselves into affiliated unions.

On the other hand, there was a substantial effort to make trade unionism respectable. Clearly, one can see a consistent progression of this imposition of allies' values onto working class women. Allies felt that if they could, in some way, raise unions to a middle class institutional level, working women would benefit from a heightened self-concept. Hence, the aims were not only to expose them to culture but also, unintentionally of course, to undermine any serious discontent. The issue of class interest is crucial here. Allied women had certain interests to protect and as genuine as their concerns were for working women, they had no intention of relinquishing their place in society; they had vested interests in maintaining the status...
The most pronounced contradictions within NWTUL ideology was their loyalty both to the feminist movement and to the labor movement. To start with, the League always considered themselves to be necessarily linked to the woman's movement. As it happened, "it was concerned women in the women's movement who became interested in the special problems of women wage-earners" and not organizers in the labor movement becoming sensitized to the same. The League's commitment to the suffrage amendment was deeply held by all members. They were invited to and present at all major inter-group women's conferences, including international conferences.

Obviously, their dedication to women's needs pervaded all of their actions. They compiled an extremely concise analysis of women's unique and inferior place in the labor force and the obstacles they encountered. Organizing men, they claimed, is more clear-cut; either a man is a trade unionist or not. With women, the situation is more obscured. First, most women, more married than single, work in the home (theirs or others), and since a home is not considered to be a work-place, they are not considered wage-earners.

The second explanation is the tendency for male unionists to discourage women from organizing themselves because of the implied permanence and commitment to the job situation. Union men, afraid that women might steal jobs away from men, often refused to admit women into their unions and, as evidenced by the AF of L, made no effort to encourage women to organize separately. Many women themselves resist organizing because they may see their work as temporary and their income as supplementary, even if this is not the case.
Thus, it is in this realm that the League faltered ideologically and hence, strategically. The contradictions implied by allegiances to both the woman's movement and to the labor movement were never confronted. Members of the League were torn between considering themselves workers or feminists first. League members felt incomplete either way. If a member devoted herself to issues which concerned only women workers, like protective legislation and suffrage, she was accused of dividing the working class. (Note: the AF of L was not opposed to these issues but was hostile toward women who made them their highest priority). Yet if she stayed away from women's issues she was guilty of ignoring women's real problems in the work force.81

The issues themselves were very complicated. In February of 1922, the League called a Conference of trade union women to discuss the Equal Rights Amendment proposed by the NWP. The Conference resolved to oppose the amendment on the grounds that such a "blanket legislation would probably be construed as invalidating labor laws which applied to women and not to men, and that inequalities should be removed by specific measures without sacrificing laws which working women consider beneficial."82

Some members, before joining the League, had tried to cooperate with organized women in general. It is impossible to generalize where members stood on this issue of dual exploitation. For example, Helen Marot, secretary of the national organization and an ally, viewed women workers as workers, first and foremost. She felt that any other perspective would divide and impede class solidarity. The woman worker should be inseparable from the male worker.
There were also women like Harriet Stanton Blatch and Leonora O'Reilly who represented another strain in WFTUL ideology. Blatch, an ally, viewed unions as only one aspect of women's problems. The primary issue was the vote; class issues were to be subordinated. O'Reilly, who was a wage-earner, similarly felt that only with the vote could women obtain the much-needed respect in the labor movement. She felt very strongly about the necessity for organizing women and realized that any attempt had to be both feminist and labor-based. For the majority of women workers, the issue was not as clear-cut. Workers identified with their class backgrounds but there was also a strong feminist consciousness among them (although working class women were less likely to have been involved in the organized women's movement. They appreciated the League as it "gave them more opportunities for responsible, autonomous roles than the male-dominated unions."

This underlying tension to resolve the issue of dual exploitation (were women workers oppressed because they were workers or because they were women?) was never addressed systematically. In retrospect, it appears clear that the optimal solution would have been to reject the 'either/or' analysis and create a synthesis combining both facets of the woman wage-earners' exploitation. This would have demanded a complex theoretical analysis based on the above factors. Unfortunately, this was never accomplished and resulted in an unnecessary fragmentation in WFTUL ideology.*

*This is very similar to what is occurring in the contemporary feminist movement. Many women are caught between a class theory viewing capitalism as the most oppressive system, and a radical feminist view which perceived men (patriarchy) as the primary oppressors preceeding even capitalism. Attempts to synthesize a Marxist class analysis with a feminist analysis have been few and fairly reductionist but at least the efforts are being made.
A salient point in comparing the ideology of the NWP and the NWTUL is the way in which each group felt that women's needs could best be met. The NWP started from a self-determined middle class perspective and wished for men and woman to be equal under the law so that women could actualize their potential. The NWTUL, opposing this ideology, was more in line with the mainstream definition of womanhood as a dependent group to be protected. The ideal woman was selfless and worked for social change on a broad level and not merely for something which would benefit only herself. Although suffrage was their only major issue, NAWSA even differed with the NWP in their view of its importance; they saw suffrage as a crucial reform which would lead not only to women's improvement, but even more importantly, to society's betterment as well. As an example, one of the planks listed in the WTUL's Constitution is the belief in the organization of all workers, not only women.84

One of the NWTUL's most basic problems was that any possibility for a collective ideology was negligible due to the tensions created by women's dual exploitation. Perhaps they might have chosen one allegiance over the other for a more consistent doctrine to which they could have committed themselves. For instance, the League could have cultivated stronger ties to the woman's movement and developed enough resources to organize women in unions apart from the AF of L. This might have strengthened the organization immeasurably and given them a single feminist-oriented direction without negating their intrinsic labor connections.

At any rate, this led to a less-than-unified organization. The NWP had no such problems; they focused on one type of oppression, the oppression that they suffered as women. This narrower vision may have been fallacious in terms of ignoring the trans-class, trans-racial differences, but it
certainly united the members in a way the League was never able to do.

What is somewhat ironic is that the NWP with its solely feminist perspective, wanted to consolidate all women as a political bloc but they never actually proved themselves capable of attracting all kinds of women. At least the NWTUL attempted to unite different classes of women, to expose them to each other's problems and needs. However, the League's problems were compounded by the fact that members thought they would transcend class boundaries and avoid inter-group friction. These two groups contrast in major ways and represent divergent feminist ideologies during the Progressive Era. Obviously, neither group was able to create an ideology which could answer to needs of women of all classes.

Leadership

In light of the information on leadership which has been dispersed throughout other discussions on the NWP and NWTUL, I will elaborate only on the most central elements of this variable. What is most intriguing is that the links between all of the movement variables are personified in the type of leadership or leadership network which a group boasts. As a point of departure, Robert Tucker provides valuable acumen into the nature of charismatic leadership. Tucker states that the "key to charismatic response lies in the distress that followers experience." and that "the charismatic leader is one in whom, by virtue of unusual personal qualities, the promise or hope of salvation-deliverance from distress-appears to be embodied."85
These thoughts bring to mind Alice Paul's leadership of the NWP. It is safe to say that the NWP was indeed a charismatic movement. Tucker's criterion, by which one can judge a leader's charisma, can be used to check the assertion. First, the leader must have visionary powers and must be able to communicate that vision as well. Second, s/he must have the usual leadership qualities common to any person who takes the responsibility of being in the fore of a group. Furthermore, Tucker states that the leader must have a peculiar sense of mission, a belief in the righteousness of the group's existence. From this, s/he must exude self-confidence and a sense of purpose. The leader must also accentuate the urgency of the group's plight; "oppression must be made still more oppressive; the shame still more shameful by publicizing it."86

Alice Paul retained control over the NWP throughout its existence. As mentioned previously, Paul modified the organizational structure of the NWP, not to make it more democratic, but to consolidate her power and exercise control more effectively. Her leadership abilities fit neatly into the above model. Her powers of vision placed her at least one step ahead of other members. Whatever happened, whether it was an unsuccessful campaign or tactic, she immediately averted tensions by presuming and answering the unasked question - 'Where do we go from here?' Always with a plan detailing the next move, NWP members were dependent upon her vision.

Any woman who came in contact with Paul was touched by her aura, by her exceptional talent for inspiring people to act. "Other leaders (of the woman's movement) were widely admired, even loved, but Miss Paul was
the only one whose example led women of all ages and stations to risk jail and worse."\textsuperscript{87} It is better to let members speak for themselves.

Doris Stevens, a member who recorded the NWP's history, wrote:

"I realize how little we know about this laconic person, and yet how abundantly we feel her power, her will and her compelling leadership. In an instant and vivid reaction, I am either congealed or inspired; exhilarated or depressed; sometimes even exasperated, but always moved."\textsuperscript{88}

Stevens described Paul's appeal as "a naked force, a vital force which is undefinable but of which one simply cannot be unaware."\textsuperscript{89}

Another woman writes, "She is as impersonal to herself as she is to others. Others are better equipped for the foreground and for public applause. She puts them there. She herself remains in her office, planning the next spectacle studiously. There is no Alice Paul. There is suffrage. She leads by being - not by being for - by being her cause."\textsuperscript{90}

The intensity with which Paul led the organization and the high demands she placed on members created a certain anxiety which members internalized. In so doing, they absorbed feelings of distress and of urgency to accomplish their goal. Along with this intensity was a quality of confidence which pervaded her actions, and which spread to all NWP members.

The NWTUL contrasts sharply with the NWP in this realm. William Gamson, in a discussion of leadership, notes that "decentralized groups lack such a single center of power. Typically...there are chapters or divisions of the organization that maintain substantial autonomy and the freedom to decide whether or not to support collective action as a whole."\textsuperscript{91} To reiterate, "centralization of power...is the way in which challenging groups deal with the problem of internal conflict through which they are able to achieve unity of command."\textsuperscript{92} To understand NWTUL leadership, one
must recall the League's decentralized structure and the locally-oriented nature of their struggle.

Many great leaders sprang from the NWTUL or from local branches. Allies and working women such as Agnes Nestor, Melinda Scott, Leonora O'Reilly, Rose Schneidermann, and Margaret Drier Robbins were a few of the women who dedicated the greater parts of their lives to helping women wage-earners participate more actively in unionism and to lead fuller, more enriched lives. What is unique to the NWTUL is that there was no opportunity for one woman to emerge as a central dominating figure.

Margaret Drier Robbins was President of the National League from 1907-1922. Members loved and respected her yet she did not possess the same qualities which commanded the awe and total commitment that Alice Paul had. Her rhetoric was just that; it was full of religious undertones and feminine moralism. As an example, the following is a quote from one of her speeches:

"Today, as yesterday, when there is no vision the people perish and today, as yesterday, the spirit must be born to see the vision, to hold it, to live and die for it. To release and set free this spirit, ... to bring hope, faith, courage to those held in bondage and crushed under the weight of wrong and to give them the message, 'to you, too, has been given dominion over life,' this is our task."^{93}

The rhetoric is timeless and universal; any leader could be delivering such a speech to any group at any time. The wording, representative of many of her speeches, seems empty and not particularly inspirational. However, Mrs. Robbins did not need to be inspirational as she was not expected to provide the complete guidance and direction as Paul was.

In view of these facts, no single leader in the NWTUL was destined to be all-powerful. Many women carved places for themselves within the
WTUL on local levels, and stood out as astute organizers of women. However, as a result of the League's decentralization, the previously discussed need for 'defensive structuring' and 'unity of command' was non-existent. Alice Paul, on the other hand, distanced herself from members and was mythified by them. She conspicuously dictated every NWP move and kept her relations within the organization on an impersonal and business-like level. She was considered infallible and untouchable by her constituency.
Chapter 6
Authority Control of Discontent

As indicated elsewhere, American society, because of historically-based complexities, precludes any central targets for challenge groups to direct energies toward. A multitude of persons and institutions holding power exist; reflections of our pluralist society, and they offer platforms for discontent. As William Gamson states, "The brilliance of pluralist thinking is illustrated by its ability to handle multiple problems simultaneously - the prevention of dominance by a single group of individuals, responsiveness to the needs of its citizens, and the prevention of extreme or violent conflict."94 Hence, the lack of domination by a single group and also the impermeability of the American system inhibit any fundamental changes being made. From this one can assume that the closer a protest group challenges fundamental social and economic relations, the greater the perceived threat to the system and the more resistance and control will be enforced against them.

However, the ways in which a power group will exercise control over a challenge group is not at all clear-cut. "The constant use of open force is expensive, dangerous and does not lend itself to the gratification of other needs among those with great power."95 Many alternatives are available for social control, such as cooptation, violence, avoidance, etc. The central questions here are to whom is the challenge group targeting its strategies and demands, to what extent the challenge group is threatening basic societal relations, and in what ways do power authorities choose to exercise social control?

It may be helpful to briefly review Gamson's information on the relation-
ship between social control and the amount of trust which authorities have toward different challenge groups. When trust is high and basic premises of both sides are common, persuasion will most likely be used on the part of authorities. The group, by virtue of their compatibility with the authority structure, may be said to be 'confident.' With neutral groups, "authorities are cast more in the role of broker or referee among competing groups." However, with neutral groups, constraints are not necessary and hence, neutral groups are not alienated. On the other end of the spectrum from confident groups, lie alienated groups. When underlying assumptions and trust do not exist, constraints are more likely. The most protective action an authority structure can take for itself is to prevent the group's access to resources and their ability to use them. In this way, physical force as a means of social control is not necessary. 

The specific means of social control which will be referred to are punishment either through physical or rhetorical sanctions, cooptation, attempts to ignore the challenge group, or a modification of a previous decision to fit a persistent threat. The response to the NWP provides examples of all of these methods and through the evolution of the party, one can trace the progressive degrees of threat which this organization posed to the authority structure.

Since the NWP's tactics were, to a large extent, deviant from mainstream feminist strategies of the time period, it was fairly predictable that the government would not initially respond harshly but let public opinion judge and weaken the NWP. The media and the public did, in fact, either ignore or ridicule the group's militant ideology of displacing the Democratic Congressmen. Hence, two strands of feminist organizations were pitted against one another.
When the NWP commenced their picketing in January, 1917, the beginning of a continued series of threats to the government began to emerge. Initially, the picketing was thought to be harmless; twelve to fifteen women marched silently in front of the White House every day. For six months they were ignored, but by mid-summer a new national consciousness was emerging, resulting from America's entrance into the World War.

It was hardly a singular event which enraged the spectators, but banners like the following certainly provided the necessary impetus to provoke a confrontation. This banner greeted a mission of Russian allies:

"President Wilson and Envoy Roots are Deceiving Russia. They Say, 'We Are A Democracy, Help Us Win The War So That Democracy May Survive.'

We the Women of America, Tell You That America is Not A Democracy. Twenty Million American Women are Denied The Right To Vote. President Wilson is the Chief Opponent Of the National Enfranchisement.

Help Us Make This Nation Really Free. Tell Our Government It Must Liberate Its People Before It Can Claim Free Russian As An Ally."

Other banners they used quoted President Wilson in an effort to make his statements appear ridiculous and contradictory to his behavior:

"I tell you solemnly, Ladies and Gentlemen, we cannot postpone justice any longer in these United States, and I don't wish to sit down and let any man take care of me without my having at least a voice in it...

We shall fight for the things we have always held nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government.""

Here then, lies the basis of their first threat to America. Entering a World War to fight for democracy was in many ways, too abstract. As indicated in Chapter Two, public opinion toward the war was not consolidated and great efforts were being made by the government to remedy this. Thus,
when a group of women were plaguing the White House and exposing the inherent inconsistencies of fighting a war for democracy abroad with the most obvious lack of it at home, the Administration justifiably became quite nervous. "As America's role as a world leader of democracy became more significant, and as a number of European nations began to grant women suffrage, enfranchisement began to seem important for the nation's image."

The first attacks on the NWP were by spectators and were harbingers of the more repressive action that was soon to be taken by the Administration. Thus, when it became clear that the vigilantes would not cease their attacks, the government was forced to step in. Entering cautiously, the Administration ordered police to arrest the woman in hopes that the picketers would cease, yet they did not.

Increasingly frustrated by the women's refusal to cooperate in court and their subsequent demands to be treated as political prisoners, the Administration realized that the women were becoming threats to the national security. In theoretical terms, the NWP was an alienated group in whom the Administration did not have much trust, and was appropriately accorded punishment by the authorities. With little at stake, the administration felt comfortable in activating negative sanctions against these women.

The nature of these sanctions changed considerably over time, becoming progressively harsher. The arrested women were taken to Occoquan Workhouse and subjected to cold cells, coarse prison clothes and inedible food. While in prison, officials tried to extinguish morale among NWP members by perpetuating various lies. For example, they were told that no effort was being made from the outside to reach them; second, that their attorney had been called off the case. Third, while the hunger strike was taking place,
each women, separated from the other, was told that she was the only one who was refusing food.\textsuperscript{101}

It was evident that the Administration wanted to keep all the women separate and prevent them from organizing within the prison confines. Especially important was the attempt to separate Alice Paul, their leader, from the rest of the group. Placing Paul in the psychopathic ward was the ultimate display of the threat she represented to the authority's control over the women. By severing physical ties between Paul and her followers they felt the group would disintegrate. However, the women were suspicious of all these techniques and through an underground network of communication, they were able to spread information around the workhouse and outside of it.

Upon learning of these activities, the newspapers generally sided with the NWP. A widely-held sentiment was expressed by the St. Paul Daily News. This article expressed concern that the sixteen NWP members were sentenced to serve 60 days each in the workhouse for criticizing the government. "Regardless of whether or not we agree with the women, we can only regard their arrest as a petty display of intolerance of criticism, and an abridgment of fundamental rights of an American citizen... The American people will not be filled with greater enthusiams for a war for democracy abroad which begins with the suppression of democracy at home."\textsuperscript{102}

The Boston Journal also commented on the arrests:

"That higher authorities than the Washington police were responsible for the amazing policy of roughhouse employed against the suffrage pickets has been suspected from the very beginning...In our nation's capital, women have been knocked down and dragged through the streets by government
employees, including sailors in uniform. The police are strangely absent at such moments...Perhaps the inscriptions on the suffrage banners were not tactful...But right or wrong, the suffragists in Washington are entitled to police protection, even though in the minds of the Administration they are not entitled to the ballot...President Wilson's word would carry the question into Congress...Would there be any harm in letting Congress vote on a Suffrage resolution? That would end the disturbances and it would make our shield of national justice somewhat brighter."103

The parallel had been drawn between the fight for suffrage and the fight for democracy in Europe. This parallel was further extended by the press to include the violent suppression of the protest. This is precisely what the NWP had hoped to accomplish. Their threat was simply becoming too great.

The NWP's most harrowing experience occurred following the arrests of the forty-one women on November 14, 1917. News of this 'Night of Terror' was the event which fully triggered the sympathies of journalists. The tale is indeed shocking. A woman named Mary Nolan, a 73-year old NWP member described the evening:

"It was about half past seven at night when we got to Occoquan workhouse. A woman was standing behind a desk when we were brought into (the) office, and there were six men also in the room. Mrs. Lewis, who spoke for all of us, refused to talk to the woman (who answered), 'You'll sit here all night then.' I saw men beginning to come up on the porch through the window. But I didn't say anything about it. (The woman) called my name, but I did not answer. 'You had better answer it or it will be the worse for you,' said one man. 'I'll take you and handle you, and you'll be sorry you made me,' said another. The police woman who came in with us begged us to answer to our names. We could see she was afraid. Suddenly the door burst open and Whittaker rushed in like a tornado; some men followed him. We could see the crowds of them on the porch. They were not in uniform...They seemed to come in and in and in...Mrs. Lewis stood up but she had hardly begun to speak when Whittaker said, 'You shut up! I have men here glad to handle you. Seize her!' I just saw men spring toward her. (At that point), I was jerked down the steps and away into the dark. It was very black. The other building, as we came to it, was low and dark...We were rushed into a large room that we found opened on a long hall with brick dungeons on each side.
In the hall outside was a man called Captain Reems. He had on a uniform and was brandishing a stick as thick as my fist and shouting as we were shoved into the corridor. 'Damn you, get in here!' I saw Dorothy Day brought in. She is a very slight girl. The two men were twisting her arms above her head. Then suddenly they lifted her up and banged her down over the arm of an iron bench — twice. As they ran past me... I heard one of the men yell, 'The ______ suffrager! My mother ain't no suffrager.' I'll put you through ______!

At the end of the corridor they pushed me through a door. I lost my balance and fell on the iron bed... We had only lain there a few minutes trying to get our breath when Mrs. Lewis, doubled over and handled like a sack of something, was literally thrown in by two men. Her head struck the iron bed and she fell.

...We were roughly told by the guard not to dare to speak again, or we would be put in straight-jackets. We were so terrified we kept very still...Mrs. Cosu was desperately ill as the night wore on. She had a bad heart attack, and then vomiting. We asked them to send our doctor because we thought she was dying; there was a woman guard and a man in the corridor, but they paid no attention...."104

This account was confirmed by all of the women involved. One can see then, from this chilling and most violent event, that the Administration would not permit anymore of their indolence. They saw no alternative but to take violent action against these women. Again, whether or not President Wilson himself actually ordered these things to be done is not the point. The fact remains that he was aware of the arrests and convictions and was held accountable when the media received word of this abuse.

Not only did the Administration at first attempt to ignore and then suppress their tactics, but another element of authority control was utilized as well. Twice, members of the authority structure modified their original decisions to control the women's discontent more effectively. After the first convictions, the court decided to pardon the women. Their original
intention, to scare the women into ceasing the picketing, was not meant to be taken any further. On another occasion, NWP members tried to rescue imprisoned members by obtaining a writ of habeus corpus to move the women from the Virginia prison to one in Washington. Washington officials were so nervous at the prospect of exposing the weakened women to public view that an emissary was sent by the Administration to NWP headquarters to "beg them" to wait a week in which time they would move the prisoners voluntarily.\(^5\) Obviously, this attempt to modify a decision, which was refused by the NWP, stemmed from a justifiable fear that the frail women would shock the public and cause the women to be seen as martyrs.

The NWP then, resisted repression and control as well as they could. In fact, one might view their unwillingness to 'behave themselves' in court as a resistance to cooptation. That is, a resistance to being absorbed into and accountable to a system to which they felt they did not belong. As Paul claimed, "We do not consider ourselves subject to this court, since as a unenfranchised class, we have nothing to do with the making of the laws which have put us in this position."\(^6\)

Challenging America's claims which allowed citizens the right to protest was not the only threat which the NWP posed to the internal stability of the nation. In a more subtle and even fundamental way, the NWP was calling into question the very foundation upon which society was built; the relations between men and women. Especially intensified during the war was the encouragement for 'men to do their part and for women to do theirs.' Moreover, the nuclear family was to be a major stronghold for Americans. Social controls become extremely magnified during a national crisis as a power structure wants to make certain that internal tensions do not weaken the country's morale and hence, decrease faith in the country's
leadership. This will be elaborated on later.

In essence, the strictest social controls were exercised by the AFL over the NWTUL. Although the AFL was largely indifferent to many NWTUL activities, they had an interest in keeping them dependent and working for them, rather than independently of them. Although individual members of the League may have felt inhibited and frustrated by the AFL, the League as an organization was forced to abide by AFL decrees because of their perceived need for AFL legitimacy and legitimization.

On only a few occasions did the NWTUL seriously externalize their doubts as to the validity and efficacy of the alliance. On this occasion, as referred to earlier, the AFL ordered the League to withdraw their support from the Lawrence Strike of 1912. Complying with the order yet hesitant about their feelings, the potential for inter-group conflict increased. To allay a severing of ties, the AFL coopted the League by granting them $150.00 a month which they gratefully accepted. Still, they were never granted votes on the executive board nor were they granted official affiliated status. The League, then, was coopted into the AFL's ideology by trading off the right to oppose AFL policy for a monthly salary.

Other powerful social controls were applied. For example, Samuel Compers, President of the AFL, wrote the National League a letter attacking them for their support of protective industrial legislation for women. The AFL felt it to be an "infringement upon individual freedom" and thought it would endanger the liberty of male wage earners. However, as frustrated as they may have been, the League could not fully express their opposition because of the power imbalance.
The League's goals were in conflict with the general power (the government) insofar as they threatened the security of government and big business. Assisting strikes in progress, they were subject to many of the same negative sanctions which befell the strikers themselves. However, since their primary purpose was to assist the strikes, they were not perceived by the power structure as an autonomous group whose very existence was threatening. The League rose to meet particular crises, and their energies outside of this were directed to educating women in ways that were hardly threatening to the power structure.

It is clear that with regards to the general power structure, the NWTUL shifted periodically from acting as a 'neutral' group to a 'confident' group. Basically, the League's goals were compatible with those of the authority structure. This however, is not to negate the powerful threat which the labor movement posed to authorities but after the first decade of the twentieth century, trends were to check business monopolies and controls and to guarantee workers safe and humane conditions. The League and hence, the labor movement, was not demanding any fundamental alterations of distributions of wealth and power. Also, as the middle and upper class women brought their values and interests into the organization, working class aims were moderated, subverted and perceived as less threatening. Cooptation was highly predictable for the NWTUL and occurred when prominent women were selected to serve on various national defense councils during the war.

Although the NWTUL was less threatening than the NWP, points of commonality can be found which would have made both the AFL and the general authority structure similarly threatened by the women's organizations. Both groups' targets of influence were elites insofar as they maintained power over the women. Not only was the
NWP exposing the hypocracies of American democracy, it was also challenging the legitimacy of male domination and power. Likewise, the NWTUL was the first organization to respond to the needs of working women. This underlying and subtle threat to the targets of influence was and is still not recognized as easily as are other types of threats. Let us explore this further.

Woven throughout this paper has been an attempt to convey the different images which the NWP and the NWTUL have projected. Granted, these images contrast considerably, but the respective authorities' reactions to their agitation stem from the same source, that is male-female dynamics in the existing society. First, it may be wise to highlight the two groups' conception of women as reflected in their strategies and ideologies.

The NWP, through their insolent and militant behavior, deeply offended the public. Repeatedly, one detects a revulsion toward NWP members who were declaring independence by resisting their societally designated roles. These were women who, for the most part, were not married and used tactics which were not only radical but extremely unfeminine as well. By refusing to conform to mores of docility, politeness, and patience, members of the NWP were highly threatening to society's concept of women, especially in a time period when social feminism or feminine feminism, was at its height. This sentiment is illustrated in the statement quoted above: "My mother ain't no suffrager." The NWP had clearly overstepped the boundary of propriety for women and much of the antagonism they received was due to this element. By extending their influence beyond the domestic sphere and into the public sphere, both groups of women were resisting male social concepts which kept them in the home. Simply in view of the fact that these women were mobilizing without men was a threat to the continuation of male domination. This factor must be considered in light of the public's
intense reactions to the groups (especially the NWP).

However, the NWTUL did not go to such extremes; they clearly were not crossing over into male territory or shaking the structural foundations which placed women in a subordinate position. Never striving to assert themselves independently, the NWTUL was forced into a subservient 'feminine' role under their patriarch, the AFL. The League was constrained by placing their ultimate faith in the AFL, by assuming that men in the Federation were stronger, more experienced and could give the women the strength which they did not have on their own. Certainly, as indicated earlier, other important factors such as class were involved. Yet although the NWTUL did not, through their actions, threaten male social conceptions, their very existence must be considered an issue. The gender element is vital to an understanding of the complexities of male-female dynamics within the histories of both groups.

As different as the NWP and the NWTUL were, authority reaction clearly portrays male antagonism toward female mobilization. For instance, Gompers supported the belief that women had a right to work but held to the view that this right should not be exercised unless absolutely necessary. Furthermore, he contended that women's greatest contributions were to their homes, in the roles of wife and mother. As an example, he supported a Boston Local which forced women out of the core-making trade as he felt their participation would lead to the denigration of womanhood. Women who wished to organize, as tame as this may seem today, were making a powerful statement at that time; that their work was worth organizing for and that their participation in the work force was valid and would be permanent.
Hence, the divergences between the NWP and the NWTUL fade somewhat on this point. Both groups, in different ways and to varying degrees, were challenging certain male-defined premises. This is a particularly difficult factor to analyze in terms of authority's response to the challenge groups. Gender roles as opposed to class differences tend to be more abstract and difficult to monitor. Especially in the case of the NWP however, the issue of the role of women would seem necessary to an explanation of why such irrational violence was perpetrated upon them. Organizing a single-sex political party and pursuing aims in non-traditional ways for women only, anticipated threatening changes in stable male-female relationships. The issue was augmented by the wartime propaganda which emphasized the stable and traditional American family.
As one gains insight into the specific historical climate, the interaction between authorities and challenge group members gains increasing clarity. Each historical time period has a specific material reality which sets the stage upon which all events are enacted. Structures of thought and patterns of behavior both derive from and are constrained by economic, social, and political orientations or what are called "existential factors." Generally speaking, "ideas interact with existential factors which serve as selective agencies, releasing or checking the extent to which political ideas find actual expression." In this respect, a tool for understanding challenge groups emerges. Starting from a premise which assumes that the liberal and pluralist American Tradition is based on a Protestant work ethic, the historical trends which come out of this condition become discernible. Certainly, there is cyclical and perpetual exchange process transpiring but it is possible to single out important elements or events which most drastically constrain challenge groups.
One of the most important determinants of organizational structure was the Progressive emphasis on bureaucracy. American society, growing larger and more complex, sought efficient forms of organization. Max Weber attributes the following characteristics to bureaucracies: specialization of workload, hierarchy of command, positions achieved on account of competence, rules and procedures for performance and career lines\textsuperscript{112}. In conjunction with the development of bureaucracies were new propensities toward education and investigation.

The NWTUL perfectly adhered to these qualifications. Although decentralized, the League's stress was certainly on efficiency of organization, mostly to gain credibility. Perceiving the organization of society to be fundamentally just and ordered, the League emphasized the use of persuasion to educate and enlighten the public to the needs of union organization for women. Carrying out investigations, they had faith in the Progressive American process. They assumed that the 'facts', once attained and dispersed, would convince people of the need to change conditions accordingly. In other words, all social ills were definable and curable. One simply had to locate the problem, study it, and make recommendations to the appropriate persons whose job it was to carry out the policy.

The NWP did not follow this path. Although they recognized the need for and developed a bureaucratic organization, (especially with branches covering the United States) they did not dwell on uncovering causes of problems in such a way. Their aims were more to shock and expose people into realizing the unavoidable necessity of enfranchising women.

Since the NWP leadership had British roots and was comprised mainly of younger women, there was a greater likelihood of rebellion against externally imposed constraints. Younger, less integrated individuals are
more apt to attack the system. This indeed was the case.\textsuperscript{113}

Another way in which American liberalism structured these two movements was their respective antagonisms toward radicalism. The NWTUL expressed the fear that:

"If the whole burden of remedying unfair industrial inequalities is left to the oppressed social group we (may be left with) the crude and primitive method of revolution. To this the only alternative is for the whole community, through cooperative action, to undertake the removal of industrial wrongs and the placing of industry on a basis just and fair to the workers."\textsuperscript{114}

This explicit confession of, perhaps, unconscious ulterior motives for middle and upper class participation in the League, reflects their attitude toward militancy and actual working class solidarity. The controls enacted to prevent a proletarian mobilization were strongly felt during this time period.

Likewise, the NWP showed similar tendencies in the concentration on elevating the status of middle class white women only. The NWP had never thought to enlarge the nature of their analysis beyond the vote and beyond white middle class women. In fact, the NWTUL had greater potential for doing this but their history was part of a labor movement which had become increasingly conservative. In this way, it might be said that prevailing conditions dictated the demands that the women could construct.

As one social movement writer maintains, "American ideology with its themes of success and nationalism inhibited radicalism among American workers.... Equally important, what radical organization did develop among proletarians could be suppressed by the ideologically committed groups - namely the urban middle class as a whole."\textsuperscript{115} Furthermore, "these conditions of integration were actively strengthened by urbanization,...by the growth in cultural and political power of the society's center."\textsuperscript{116}
As middle class professionals were concentrated in the cities, their power in social reform work also consolidated. The increasing centralization of American power prompted the NWP to establish headquarters in Washington and to furthermore, push for a federal amendment. Regional activities, though still important in the labor movement, were not accomplishing goals fast enough.

Coinciding with a period of economic distress from 1913-1915, was the beginning of the League's second phase. Anti-union feelings were rising and the potential for continued union leverage was decreasing. Thus, the League was forced to shift its activities from encouraging the unionization of women to less threatening activities such as education and legislation. This is an example of a prevailing economic situation determining the structuring of an organization's activity.

Another element to be considered are the traditional attitudes which held toward women and which women had internalized about themselves. These values shaped every aspect of these challenge groups and again, if it had not been for the unique circumstances surrounding the NWP, they would have paralleled more closely other women's reform organizations. This primary element which can be viewed on both the psychological and social level, basically determined the extent to which their self-concepts would hinder or encourage their political activities.

America's involvement in World War I provides the clearest example of the direct relationship between societal circumstances and movement activity. As America's involvement in the war became imminent, many women's organizations decided to drop their feminist activity and help Wilson mobilize the country's energies toward war work. As pressures for patriotism and
conformity were increasing, dissent was a serious problem. In fact, this was a major reason why the Administration could not accept the NWP's demand to be treated as political prisoners. If they had, then perhaps war protesters would have demanded the same right and such a standard would have had to be institutionalized. ¹¹⁷

The NWTUL, as might be expected, suspended many of their activities during World War I. Many of the League's leaders were subsumed under governmental positions and there was an overall shortage of financial contributions. Also, the concerns of the government were narrowed and channelled solely into war issues. The League respectfully accommodated this shift.

The NWP though, had different plans. Alice Paul refused to suspend the organization's fight for suffrage with the same, if not increased, force. One of the things she did was to prove that suffrage was indeed a war issue. In an article written immediately following America's entrance into the war, Paul wrote,

"The Democrats have decided in caucus that only war measures shall be included in their legislative program and have announced that they will take up no new subjects unless the President considers them of value for war purposes. Suffrage has not yet been included under this head....No 'war measure' that has been suggested would contribute more toward establishing unity in the country than would the giving of suffrage to all the people. It will always be difficult to wage a war for democracy abroad while democracy is denied at home." ¹¹⁸

The NAWSA was horrified by this stance and afraid that the suffrage amendment, so close to being passed, would suffer as a result. In a press release, NAWSA stated:

"We have no sympathy with the militant tactics of the small 'British' group called Suffragettes. No President since Lincoln has had such serious and delicate problems to solve...as Mr. Wilson...We are distressed that any person in the name of our cause should have attempted to
intrude upon his peace of mind...Although the denial of the vote to American women is a monstrous injustice, there is neither sense nor logic in harrying the President over it."119

The reason for NWP's adamant position relates again to their heritage. Paul remembered that at the outbreak of the Civil War, the Suffragists were asked to put down their suffrage work for war work. Susan B. Anthony complied with reluctance and hoped that they would receive the vote at the end of the war along with the Blacks. At that point, though, they were told that it was "the Negro's hour"120 and the Black vote could not be jeopardized by a problematic link with women's suffrage. Paul did not want to repeat the same mistake and in fact used the war to emphasize the inconsistencies of the American political system.

The Progressive Era structured a consciousness out of which came symbols and ideas for social change. Perhaps the advances which had been made for women in the late nineteenth century and the respectability which feminism could claim by the outset of the twentieth century halted further important gains for women. But all of this was part of an overall social process which stemmed from economic and social conditions and curbed activities. One need only look at the vehemence with which the government constrained the NWP to understand the limit to which political organizations were permitted to go.

This period of time is intriguing because of the following paradox: One of the traits of the Progressive Era was freedom of self-determination and self-expression: freedom from government intervention. Also typical of this period was a concern for the poor and the helpless. While the less threatening organizations indeed exemplified these characteristics, those which actually carried this ethic to the extreme and enacted their 'God-given freedoms' were punished horribly for it. Janice Trecker speaks of
of the 'Progressive Dilemma' in reference to the irony based on America's encouragement of its citizens to criticize the government and to have a voice in its processes and, on the other hand, resisting change so adamantly either in subtle or overt ways.\textsuperscript{121}

The rise of the new middle class which was concentrated in the cities determined the membership for both organizations. The NWTUL was dominated by a middle and upper class ethic despite working class influences. As professionals with vested interests in a smooth-running, rational and friendly system, the middle class strata of the League confined their efforts to activities consistent with their class interests. Their primary objective was social reform above all else with an emphasis on expertise and education. The NWTUL then, was most typically Progressive. With sympathetic allies encouraging working class women to understand their situation and to reform it, the Progressive impulse was successfully disseminated.

The NWP, although deeply ingrained in a middle class pioneering ethic, was the only women's organization during this time period to reject this 'social impulse'. They fought militantly for their demands and were ridiculed, ignored and even violently abused. Symbolizing the radical women of the first feminist wave during the mid-nineteenth century, members of the NWP were similarly inflexible in their struggle and refused to allow anything to deter their activities. This fact is unique in light of the historical conditions which pressured an organizations to expand their goals to include broader aspects of social welfare.
Chapter 8

Conclusion

A few paramount issues should be restated at this point. First, where a particular challenge group fits into the social process is central to an understanding of conflict in a given society and the methods used to contain it. How does an authority structure legitimate its power and most effectively control its constituents? The Sociology of Knowledge provides a useful tool for comprehending the important determinants of challenge group action and hence, may clarify particular causal factors which, if altered, will lead to social change.

Indicative of the American mind was the way in which the authorities responded to challenge group discontent. At first the government ignored the NWP and then, realizing their threat, violently suppressed them. They were an alienated group on the periphery of society. The NWTUL however, tapped into mainstream challenge group processes, yet because of underlying class tensions which were never confronted directly and a binding loyalty to the AFL, they were never as successful as other social reform organizations.

More specifically, there are two issues which expose the basic dilemmas and impediments which the NWP and the NWTUL encountered. The issue of gender and class continually emerge in discussions of both groups. The NWP wanted to extinguish gender differences and receive equal treatment with men. However, they failed to realize that their aims were not going to serve all women but rather, only women like themselves: privileged and middle class.

Likewise, although the League highlighted gender differences in their second phase, they strived to conceal them and place themselves on par with men in their first phase. Furthermore, their middle class inability to
account for the limitations of class differences in the well-intended effort to join together, reflected their naivete and their reluctance to examine the existence of their own class interests.

By emphasizing gender distinctions, the League defeated their opportunities for rising above the elements which were oppressing them. Protective legislation and their stand against the ERA were examples of their emphasis on preferential treatment for women. However, if this seems at all conservative, one must recall the appalling working conditions and the battles the labor movement had to fight to attain what it at last did. From this perspective, the League was reacting to conditions beyond their control and as their primary aim was to help women wage-earners, protective legislation was indeed the way to do just that.

It is fruitless to say that either of these groups succeeded or failed. Both improved the position of women in various ways, the most important of which was that they existed, providing ways for women to enter the political arena. They also made errors and since the NWP took greater risks, they more often and more conspicuously had greater defeats.

This takes one back to the first premise; that is, that the histories of the organizations were socially-situated and were products of existential historical phenomena. Out of this came specific interactions between an authority seeking the maintenance of power and the organizations themselves desiring influence on the authority and change in a certain direction.

The issues referred to above can be helpful as background to contemporary subjects of thought in the woman's movement. Is it more profitable to de-emphasize women's biological structure to gain equal status with men or should the woman's movement accentuate those differences and build on them either in an alternative setting or within the established societal structure?
Likewise, is it conceivable that what is now a mainly white and middle class movement will ever attract minority and poor women? To what extent is this mainstream feminist ideology reaching out to non-professionals? The final question to be asked is: what degree of success can women hope to achieve if they neglect to provide a comprehensive analysis not only of patriarchy and capitalism but also of relevant contemporary issues which will connect the interests of all women and will build a broad-based movement?

The NWP and the NWTUL are interesting examples of some of the first attempts of women to organize with other women around political issues. Their different ideologies and approaches were born from separate sources.

The NWTUL's roots and energy were drawn from the Progressive Era and the impetus for the new middle class to work in the model of social reform which they created. Their goals were not to separate and assert but to build a more fair and solid American society.

The NWP, with its roots in a foreign country and with energy of young unattached women, shocked Progressive America since it chose to separate and assert a moral and political right for women. It certainly was affected by American circumstances but mostly insofar as they reacted against them. This may be a determinant as to why they ignored class issues; such a concern for the poor was so linked with the Progressive reform attitude that its exclusion from their ideology was inevitable.
FOOTNOTES

2 Ibid., p. 69.
3 Ibid., p. 75
4 Ibid., p. 195.
6 Ibid., p. 223.
8 Ibid., p. 439.
10 Ibid., p. 149.
11 Ibid., p. 148.
13 Ibid., p. 24.
15 Ibid., 129
16 Ibid., 138.
17 Ibid., 157.
18 Ibid., 169.
19 Ibid., 186
20 Ibid., p. 198.
21 Link, p. 118
22 Ibid., p. 124.
23 Ibid., p. 124.
24 Ibid., p. 124.
25 Ibid., p. 197
26 Ibid., p. 213.
27 Ibid., p. 245.
29 Ibid., p. 205.
33 Ibid., p. 84.
34 Ibid., p. 98.
35 Ibid., p. 103.
38 Ibid., p. 95.
39 Zimmerman, p. 98.
40 Ibid., p. 102.
41Boone, p. 152.
42Ibid., p. 41.
43Ibid., p. 88.
44O'Neill p. 105.
47Ibid., p. 46.
48Friedman, p. 189.
49Ibid., p. 292.
50Ibid., p. 290.
51Ibid., p. 288.
52Freda Kirchewey, "Alice Paul Pulls the Strings," The Nation 112 (1921):333.
54Ibid., p. 47.
55Ibid., p. 81.
57Ibid., p. 176-177.
58Zimmerman, p. 121.
59Ibid., p. 224.
60Stevens, p. 179.
61Ibid., p. 181.
62Zimmerman, p. 205.

64 Zimmerman, p. 278.

65 Boone, p. 106.

66 Ibid., p. 107.

67 Henry, p. 78.


69 O'Neill, p. 284.

70 O'Neill, p. 35.


73 Zimmermann, p. 179.

74 Ibid., p. 290.

75 Boone, p. 138.

76 Ibid., p. 75.

77 Henry, p. 88.

78 Boone, p. 16.

79 Henry, p. 80-83.

80 Papachristov, p. 294.

81 Boone, p. 138.

82 Papachristov, p. 295-295.

83 Ibid., p. 295.

84 Boone, p. 250.

86 Karl Marx quoted in Tucker, p. 750.
87 O'Neill, p. 124.
88 Stevens, p. 10.
89 Ibid., p. 10.
92 Ibid., p. 93.
93 Boone, p. 69.
96 Gamson, Power and Discontent, p. 181.
97 Ibid., p. 180-183.
98 Papachristov, p. 179.
99 Ibid., p. 179.
101 Stevens, p. 206.
103 Ibid., p. 179.
104 Ibid., p. 181-182.
106 Ibid., p. 212.
107 Kenneally, p. 52.
108 Papachristov, p. 170.
109 Kenneally, p. 45.
110 Merton, p. 218.
111Ibid., p. 239.


114Boone, p. 99.

115Ash, p. 125.

116Ash, p. 125.


118Papachristov p. 178.

119Ibid., p. 184.

120Ibid., p. 56.

121Trecker, p. 49.
Address of the President: Mrs. Raymond Robbins, at the Sixth Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League.


Davies, Margaret, L., ed. Life As We Have Known It by Co-operative Working Women. London: Virago Ltd., 1977.


