

UPPER-CLASS WOMEN: POWER, CLASS AND SEX CASTE

UPPER-CLASS WOMEN: POWER, CLASS AND SEX CASTE  
IN  
NEW YORK CITY, 1880-1920

By

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the impact of social class and sex caste influences on upper-class women. Preceding analysts have tended to suggest either that upper-class women are, as women, essentially powerless and irrelevant to the broader socio-historical context or that they are, as members of the upper-class, powerful and, on occasion, important historical actors. This research addresses these issues in a more systematic and comprehensive fashion than previous attempts.

Specifically, the thesis of this dissertation considers three questions: 1. Do active upper-class women exercise power? 2. Is this exercise of power socio-historically significant? and 3. Through this exercise of power do active upper-class women seek to advance their social class or their sex caste? In order to pursue this inquiry, 'power' must be conceptualized as a broad range of activities through which individuals directly or indirectly exercise their will or serve their own interests. This expanded understanding of power is receptive to woman's experience of social reality.

The particular 'strategic' research population selected for this investigation is upper-class women who were active in New York City between 1880 and 1920. The socio-historical milieu in which these women lived was a vortex of powerful social class and sex caste forces - the role of women was in

the midst of sweeping reformulations and the class system was embroiled in crucial struggles. Active upper-class women's activities in this context are investigated by means of cumulated biographies.

Using standard biographical sources, biographical dossiers (detailing family background, organizational affiliations and so on) are assembled for 412 subjects. This information is then analysed, first, in terms of the general characteristics of the research population (for example, their distinguishing social traits) and, secondly, in terms of their involvement in three key fields - social welfare, ideological domination and the status of women.

The results from this analysis suggest, first, that upper-class women did wield power (they held important executive offices, were influential figures or were founders, leaders or benefactors of movements, organizations or institutions). Secondly, their exercise of power was of socio-historical significance (many of the organizations, institutions and movements in which they exercised power played an important role in social and historical events.) Finally, although substantial evidence indicates that many research subjects aided on-going projects of the upper-class, worked with class colleagues and defended the interests of the upper class, sex caste affiliation was also an important consideration. Many of the research population's activities were undertaken through woman-only organizations or were

directed specifically to women. In a few significant instances concern with sex caste issues led some active upper-class women into conflict with traditional upper-class values.

The research indicates that upper-class women's social activities and historical role cannot be viewed simply as expressions of either class or caste influences. Rather, analyses must recognize an interplay between the two factors. Further, the inquiry suggests that the family (with female as well as male components considered) must 'in a real sense' be conceptualized as the foundation of the upper class.

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## INTRODUCTION

The following inquiry is fundamentally concerned with the relationship between social class and sex caste.\* It seeks to illuminate the way in which and the degree to which each of these two dimensions influence social behaviour. More importantly, it examines the interplay between these two key social variables.

These issues are addressed by means of an investigation into upper-class women's socio-historical role. Caught between powerful social class and sex caste influences these women constitute a strategic research group. An examination of their social activities reveals an important juncture between class and caste forces.

### 1. The Sex Caste Position

There have been two basic positions on upper-class women's role in society: the social class and the sex caste perspectives.\*\* The exponents of the sex caste view maintain

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\*Sex caste is used here to refer to the influence of sexual identity. The term 'caste' rather than 'role' was selected because of its theoretical implications - sex caste when applied to women suggests a rigidly defined, subordinate social position that cannot be altered by the actions of solitary individuals.

\*\*The two positions outlined above are not absolute antitheses of one another. Rather, they are distinguished by the relative emphasis each places on sex caste and social

that upper-class women, owing to their status as women, are the flotsam and jetsam of history and that their historical destiny, which they share with women in general, is to be essentially passive and reactive. The most formal sociological exposition of this viewpoint appeared in 1899 when Thorstein Veblen in his Theory of the Leisure Class portrayed women of the upper class as almost inanimate objects in the rituals of conspicuous consumption.

Subsequently much sociological research has tacitly accepted Veblen's arguments. By ignoring or trivializing the role of women in the upper class sociologists have implicitly accepted that sex caste is the principal determinant of these women's social role. From this vantage point upper-class women have only minor roles in society's principal dramas and therefore they are essentially irrelevant to serious socio-logical analyses.

Recently, several spokswomen for the modern women's movement have adopted and advocated a sex caste perspective on upper-class women. Phyllis Chesler and Emily Goodman confidently argue that upper-class women do not differ in any important respect from women in general - that is, upper-class

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class influences. For example, exponents of the sex caste position are inclined to view sex caste as the 'principal' determinant of social values and social identity. They may include social class as an important, albeit secondary, factor. Similarly, proponents of the social class perspective may grant that sex caste has an important intervening impact on social phenomena.

women, like all women, are basically powerless. Social class only appears to set these women apart from ordinary women.

Further, proponents of the modern women's movement have extended the sex caste perspective by arguing that all women - women of all social classes - are united by their common sex caste identity. For example, Simone de Beauvoir in her now classic work, The Second Sex, argues that womanhood is an existential rather than a social reality. It follows that, as such, sex caste supersedes purely social factors such as class. From this position it could be anticipated that upper-class women's activities would be expressions of their roles as women; that is, they would identify themselves primarily as women and their actions, and perhaps loyalties, would reflect the realities and interests of women in a male-dominated society.

In brief, the sex caste position tends to emphasize the pre-eminent influence of sex caste. The result for upper-class women is that they have been viewed as sharing women's common estate - social powerlessness.\* In addition, upper-class women's identity, actions and loyalties have been seen as a reflection of sex caste rather than social class considerations.

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\*A few exponents of women's distinctiveness argue that women as a social group are socially and historically powerful. Mary Beard is one of the foremost spokewomen for this view. In general, however, theorists and researchers who focus on sex caste emphasize the resultant powerlessness and subordination of women's position.

## 2. The Social Class Position

The opposing orientation - that class may override sex caste - has been equally enduring although it has acquired academic respectability only recently. There has been a long-standing popular advocacy of the position that upper-class (wealthy) women were powerful; that they were, for example, Machiavellian manipulators of historical events.\* Chroniclers of 'high society' such as Dixon Wecter and Cleveland Amory point to the important and powerful societal role upper-class women play.\*\* In 1946, attempting to disprove the sex-caste perspective, Mary Beard in her Women as Force in History stressed the powerful role upper-class women played in history:

All in all, this is to say: In the royal and the aristocratic families which governed most of Europe for centuries, women displayed great force, directly and indirectly, in the affairs of state and in the management of the underlying economy which sustained the monarchy.

Not until the commercial and political revolutions, accumulating full force in the eighteenth century, actually disrupted the solidarity of royal and aristocratic families founded on a landed wealth did women alike with the great families to which they belonged lose most of the power which they had so long exercised in the affairs of State and Society. 1

In 1970 G. William Domhoff in The Higher Circles ended

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\*Lady Macbeth is the literary personification of this view. Catherine De' Medici is one of the outstanding historical examples cited by advocates of this perspective.

\*\*Wecter and Amory, however, leave the impression that while upper-class women are powerful in societal affairs, their power has little, if any, socio-historical significance.

sociology's essential disregard of upper-class women. Domhoff, pursuing the logic of class analysis, argues that upper-class women are an important element in the upper class. "The feminine half of the upper class plays a role in the functioning of the American system."<sup>2</sup> For Domhoff upper-class women cannot be viewed simply or solely as women. Rather, they must be studied in terms of their relationship to and their role in the upper class.

Domhoff portrays upper-class women not only as sharing in the power of the upper class but also as exercising this power in the interests of the upper class. He points out that they not only provide "...the framework within which the members of the class get to know each other"<sup>3</sup> but they also help mediate between the upper class and the broader social order by "...taking the rough edges off..."<sup>4</sup> the socio-economic system. For Domhoff, upper-class women's actions and loyalties appear to be firmly rooted in their class identity.

In short, the social class perspective tends to focus on social class as the decisive variable. As a result of their class position upper-class women have access to power. As a result of class loyalties and interests, they exercise this power in a way that is consistent with and supportive of the continued hegemony of the upper class.\*

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\*This power may, for example, be exercised through sex caste-related organizations - such as women's organizations. The crucial point is that the power is exercised as a result of class position and that the exercise of power basically reflects class interests and values.

### 3. Upper-class Women's Relation to Power, Class and Sex Caste Re-examined

The present research reopens the basic questions: do upper-class women exercise power\* - socio-historically significant power - and does this exercise of power reflect sex caste or social class interests?\*\* These questions are exposed to a more clearly defined, more systematic and more closely controlled empirical analysis than has heretofore been the case. Rather than considering a broad panorama of history and a vast array of individuals, as for example Beard and Veblen were inclined to do, the focus is on a single large metropolitan centre during a relatively short historical period. Rather than including women of diverse backgrounds as Beard did, the concern here is solely with those women who belong to the upper class. Finally, unlike Domhoff and others who selected out a few particular women for consideration, this study deals with a relatively broad cross-section of upper-class women. This format allows for a detailed and structured

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\*As indicated in the following chapter, the concept of power must be somewhat revised before being applied to women.

\*\*The present research cannot hope to unequivocally resolve the class versus sex caste debate. It is, after all, improbable that this is a simple either-or situation and it is more likely the case that there is a complex blending of the two factors, dependent, for example, upon attendant historical events and pressures. The inquiry can, however, shed some light on what kinds of woman-issues and upper-class causes women of the upper class are moved to either support or oppose and under what historical circumstances.

investigation into the social-historical significance of upper-class women's activities.

Specifically, the research questions are approached by means of a biographical investigation of the lives of upper-class women who were active in New York City at some time during the period from the late 1800's to the early 1920's. New York City was selected because it holds a pivotal position in the economic, social and political matrix of American society and because it was, at that time, a veritable mecca for the national upper class.\* The particular time frame was selected since it constituted a crucial transitional era in American history, a period during which labour unrest and violence along with economic instability threatened to overturn the class system and the newly-arisen women's movement was striving to transform the traditional role of women.

The list of 'possible' research subjects was arrived at by scanning standard works on 'high' society, studies on elite institutions, listings of male members of the upper class and published research on specific upper-class families. Confirmation that a 'possible' not only met the criteria for upper-class membership, but also was formally active in one or more public undertakings\*\* in New York City or vicinity at

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\*For these reasons it is also rich in historical sources.

\*\*This activism does not prejudice the research question since any public endeavour, regardless of its historical inconsequentiality, would satisfy this criterion.

some time during the research period meant admission to the research population. Ultimately, this procedure turned up 412 research subjects. Biographical dossiers were compiled for each of these women by using standard reference sources along with, where available, biographical or autobiographical information. Inevitably the quantity and depth of data on each individual varied tremendously. However, in general the dossiers contained, at the least, vital statistics, family background, club memberships, public benefactions and organizational or institutional memberships and offices.

This biographical information was then collated and analysed. First, the basic patterns of marital status, educational level, career choice, kinship ties, organizational affiliations were examined since, together, these elements constituted the principal parameters of upper-class women's existence. These data indicated the distinctive reality within which the research subjects functioned and some of the power resources at their disposal. Having established the general setting, the analysis proceeded to a detailed consideration of the three general fields of activity that were most attractive to the research group: social welfare, the status of women and ideological domination.

In each of these three fields the intent was to locate the research group's actions within the broader history of that particular field of activity and to gauge whatever power was wielded within that context by various members of the

research population. This portion of the analysis was in large part an unearthing of the principal organizations and developments in each field and a consideration of the role research members played in founding, funding and directing key institutions and organizations. Existing histories, analyses and contemporary newspaper accounts of bodies such as the Women's Trade Union League and the Working Girls Vacation Association were used to uncover the kinds of goals and values members of the research population helped to advance, the kinds of social, political and economic events to which they were moved to respond and the kinds of individuals and social groups with whom they were brought into association. In each of the three fields the analysis concluded with an examination of the broader implications of the research group's activities in terms of history, the upper class as a whole and women in general.

Overall, the research reaffirms the need for an expanded sociological concern with the role of women. If the etiology of society and its institutions or the functioning of pivotal social groups such as the upper class are to be properly and comprehensively investigated, the traditional male-oriented approach must be discarded. The conceptualization and methodological implementation of social research must reflect the female as well as the male dimension in social reality.

Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Mary Beard, Woman as Force in History (New York: Collier Books, 1946) p. 317.

<sup>2</sup>G. William Domhoff, The Higher Circles (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), p. 33.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

# I

## WOMEN AND POWER: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

### Introduction

Whether or not upper-class women wield historically significant power and whether they represent class or sex caste interests is of consequence to both the sociology of power and women's studies. The following chapter draws upon these two fields to develop the research question and to both clarify and formalize the conceptualization of the issues. In so doing the discussion not only focusses upon the limitations present in existing sociological and feminist perspectives but also points to the need for new theoretical formulations in each.

#### 1. The Sociological Approach to Power

The two research hypotheses, stated in their simplest terms, are that at least some women of the upper class play a significant role in history and, secondly, that this role reflects not only their class position but also their caste status as women. The relevant implicit sociological dimension is power. To restate the inquiry in a more sociological frame of reference, it is hypothesized that upper-class women, of the historical period in question, exercised power, that the power they wielded was of socio-historical consequence and that

it was used as an expression of both sex caste and class interests. What is meant by power and how this usage relates to various existing theoretical formulations in sociology will be discussed below.

It is necessary to preface any consideration of the sociological approach to women and power with a brief overview of sociology as an enterprise. As recent research has made increasingly clear, sociology is a masculine undertaking; that is, it is a profession founded by men, dominated by men who hold key positions at key institutions, pursuing research formulated by men with male interests in mind. Consequently, in terms of theory, sociologists have tended to adopt a masculine orientation that is often inimical to women's experience of and understanding of social reality and, as a result, in terms of research they have in general been ill-equipped and/or unwilling to focus on women outside their traditional roles as wives and mothers.<sup>1</sup>

The point is not that individual male sociologists are necessarily misogynists, but rather that there is a sexist bias woven into the sociological endeavour. Because the professional structure of sociology is now and has been since the founding of sociology dominated both numerically and influentially by men, and because sociological theory and research have been developed almost exclusively by men, there has been an inevitable tendency to view the world through men's eyes, to focus on their concerns and to take into

consideration their interests.\* Only in recent years, as relatively more women have entered the field, and with the publication of papers such as Dorothy Smith's "Women's Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology", has it become clear that there is a distinctive female orientation to social reality and that the male perspective, despite its preponderance, is not universal, all-encompassing or entirely valid.<sup>2</sup>

Given this context, it is not surprising when turning to specific areas of inquiry such as power, not only to find women by and large left out of the literature but also to discover power conceptualized in such a way as to tend to preclude women from consideration. Reflecting not only the biases of their discipline but the prejudices of their culture, sociologists have tended to consider power from a masculine frame of reference. Consequently, women, when they figure at all, appear as aberrations or as the quintessential representatives of relative powerlessness.

In its crudest, most elementary form, masculine power is based on brute strength. In the most rudimentary social situation, the man who is powerful, who get his way and who makes the decisions is the physically strongest man. He can back up his will and overcome opposition by using physical strength and prowess. The social situation can be made more sophisticated by the introduction of technology, notions of

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\*As a result, for example, most empirical research focusses on men.

private property and so forth, but the basic elements of the power relation remain the same.

It is these conceptions of the powerful man, the nature of power and the dynamics of the power relation which seem to have underwritten sociological theorizing on power. Power is the exercise of one's will by the actual, threatened or implied use of force to overcome opposition. The power relation is in essence a struggle or conflict between the will of one individual or group and the resistance of another or others.

Max Weber helped lay the foundation for this orientation with his now classic definition of power as "...the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action."<sup>3</sup> For Weber, resistance is a delimiting feature of power relations. A host of sociologists have followed in his path, each reaffirming the pivotal role of resistance.\* Richard Emerson states, "The power of actor A over actor B is the amount of resistance on the part of B which can be potentially overcome by A."<sup>5</sup> C. Wright Mills reiterates this position, "To be powerful is to be able to realize one's will, even against the resistance of others."<sup>6</sup> Marvin Olsen is particularly adamant on the necessity of

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\*In contrast, authority which will be discussed later is, according to Weber, distinguished by its legitimacy and, hence, by the absence of resistance. 4

including resistance in any conceptualization of power, "The second qualification [that power necessitates overcoming resistance] is semantically redundant, since the idea of affecting social activities logically implies overcoming whatever opposition or limitations may be encountered."<sup>7</sup>

Robert Dahl takes an equally firm stand, "...it would seem reasonable to require as a necessary although possibly not a sufficient condition that the issue should involve actual disagreement in preferences among two or more groups. In short, the case of indifference vs preference would be ruled out."<sup>8</sup>

Others, however, have pushed this formulation further, implying that real power is ultimately characterized not simply by resistance but by an intense process of struggle and domination. Amitai Etzioni states, "Power is a capacity to overcome part or all of the resistance, to introduce change in the face of opposition...."<sup>9</sup> He adds, "As the concept is used here the notion of resistance is central..."<sup>10</sup> and "While power and conflict are not Siamese twins, they are intimately connected and frequently appear together."<sup>11</sup> In a similar vein Robert Bierstedt comments, "Power itself is the predisposition or prior capacity which makes the application of force possible. Only groups which have power can threaten to use force and the threat itself is power. Power is the ability to employ force....Power is the ability to introduce force into a social situation...."<sup>12</sup> For Bierstedt, "Power thus appears both in competition and in conflict and

has no incidence in groups which neither compete nor conflict...."<sup>13</sup>

Some theorists go so far as to argue that only openly conflictual relations can be legitimately subsumed under the rubric of power. Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, for example, wish to reserve the term power for relational and rational conflict of interests involving the threat of sanctions.<sup>14</sup> According to their schema, authority, force, influence and manipulation must be considered as processes different from power.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Bierstedt maintains that force, influence and authority must be distinguished from power.<sup>16</sup>

The difficulty with these kinds of formulations is that they are rooted in a masculine understanding and experience of reality and, as such, are predisposed to ignore most women. The more power is conceptualized in terms of resistance, force or domination, the less it relates to women's sphere (except insofar as women are subjected to this kind of power). Traditionally men, not women, have been the repositories of direct forms of power (physical, economic, military and so forth), and culturally men, not women, are expected, even encouraged to use force to ensure submission. As Thorstein Veblen pointed out, "The general range of activities that come under the head of exploit falls to the male as being the stouter, more massive, better capable of a sudden and violent strain, and more readily inclined to self-

assertion, active emulation and aggression."<sup>17</sup> Veblen's rustic anthropology essentially reflects the dominant social ideology, "...it becomes the able-bodied man's accredited office in the social economy to kill, to destroy such competitors in the struggle for existence as attempt to resist or elude him...."<sup>18</sup>

Sociologists have tended to take this kind of masculine imagery and posit it as the basis for a definitive analysis of power. The result has been a conceptual approach that is inclined to be blind not only to women's role in power relations but also to more subtle manifestations of power. Since, as is apparent from Veblen's remarks, women tend not to be participants in the dynamics of force and struggle, they tend also not to figure in the sociological analysis of power or, at best, to be relegated to supposedly inferior, limited (hence inconsequential) manifestations such as personal power - the power of the courtesan.

Predictably, given this conceptual bias, the empirical literature on power has had little to say about women. The few exceptions to this rule tend not to undermine the masculine orientation to power but rather to reaffirm its dominance in the sociological perspective. Women are considered, but only in a manner wholly consistent with their assumed irrelevance to the real spheres of power.

For example, Joan W. Moore in "Exclusiveness and Ethnocentrism in a Metropolitan Upper-class Agency" examined

upper-class women's participation on upper-class hospital boards.<sup>19</sup> Dean D. Knudsen in "Socialization to Elitism: A Study of Debutantes", and James H.S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll in "Rite of Passage - A Contemporary Study"<sup>21</sup> investigated a distinctly upper-class socialization ritual for women. John Finley Scott researched the role of the sorority in ensuring upper-class endogamy<sup>22</sup> and, more recently, Mary Percival Maxwell and James D. Maxwell studied the role of the elite girls' school in inculcating a class-appropriate conception of social reality.<sup>23</sup>

Although each of these studies is relevant to the discussion of women and power, each takes a tangential approach. Women are considered not as the agents of power but more as its accoutrements. They are discussed as objects rather than as actors; the focus is on their characteristics, values, attitudes and beliefs more than their activities. They and their institutions and organizations are portrayed more as yet another distinctive facet of upper-class reality than as dynamic, noteworthy expressions of that class and its interests.

Even the subject matter of much of this research makes it clear that the real actors are the upper-class men. It is they who are the core of the drama, while the women are significant only through their relation to these men. For example, Maxwell, Scott, Knudsen, Bossard and Boll are all very much concerned with the mate selection process. The

debut is important in that it proclaims marriageability and maintains class endogamy. Similarly, the private school warrants consideration because it paves the way for marriage and its responsibilities.<sup>24</sup>

In short, this body of research works from the premise that women are daughters, wives and mothers rather than leaders, decision-makers or power-wielders. It in no way challenges the notion that woman's sphere is bounded by her husband, her family and her local community. There is no consideration of the possibility that these women might play a significant role in the social, historical, cultural or political development of their society.

Until recently the only exception to this general dismissal of upper-class women was Ferdinand Lundberg's attack on Mills in The Rich and the Super-Rich. "Women, moreover, belong more than passively to any hypothesized 'power elite'\* as the physical presence of Perle Mesta, Clare Boothe Luce, Cissy Patterson and similar female politicos shows.

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\*It must be noted that the sociology of power and stratification is built around a somewhat confusing array of terminology. As apparent from the literature cited in the above discussion, authors have developed a variety of terms, such as elite, ruling class and upper class to distinguish amongst social groups. The use of these different terms reflects both significant differences in ideological orientation<sup>25</sup> and important distinctions among social phenomena. Raymond Aron suggests, for example, the following separation of terms: "I use the term elite in the broadest sense: all those who in diverse activities are high in the hierarchy, who occupy any important privileged positions, whether in terms of wealth or of prestige. The term political class should be reserved for the much more narrow minority who actually exercise the political functions of government. The ruling class would be situated between the elite and the

Mills inclines to accord women, by reason of such butterflies as Barbara Hutton and Doris Duke, a purely passive role in his mythical elite."<sup>29</sup> Ironically Lundberg's own research contains questionable pronouncements on the insignificance of rich women, suggesting that the women cited are for Lundberg notable exceptions, "Women simply do not occupy the money-making positions in finance, industry and politics. But they have been heirs....Women, owing, to their inexperience with financial affairs, are generally poor estate managers....They are more easily victimized by specious schemes, fail to take advantage of obvious opportunities ...."<sup>30</sup>

In sum, from the works of Weber and Veblen to those of Lundberg and Mills, the sociology of **class and power** has been essentially patriarchal. Only in the last several years has

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political class: it includes those privileged people who, without exercising actual political functions, influence those who govern and those who obey, either because of the moral authority which they hold, or because of the economic or financial power they possess."<sup>26</sup>

Domhoff presents an alternative usage, "I define the power elite as active, working members of the upper class and high-level employees in institutions controlled by members of the upper class."<sup>27</sup> The present research, while acknowledging the significance of the distinctions proposed by Aron, Domhoff and others, considers terms such as elite, ruling class and political class as, basically, sub-categories within the more comprehensive and encompassing term, the upper class. Elite and ruling class, for example, are interpreted as referring, essentially, to those members of the upper class who more visibly and directly affect the social order. This usage seems to be consistent, for example, with Aron's suggestion that the 'elite' rules the community...."<sup>28</sup> This interpretation, while it admittedly clouds over some noteworthy theoretical distinctions, appears to capture the basic meaning of the texts cited and meets the requirements of the present study.

there been any important erosion of the male-oriented consensus. In The Higher Circles G. William Domhoff challenged sociological traditions and suggested that upper-class women play roles and perform functions that are of real significance to the power structure. He stated categorically: "The feminine half of the upper class plays a role in the functioning of the American system."<sup>31</sup>

Specifically, Domhoff proposed that upper-class women perform three important functions: "...they are the mistresses of the social institutions that keep this collection of rich families an intermarrying social class", they set "...the social and cultural standards for the rest of the population" and, finally, they are "...involved in welfare movements which attempt to improve the lot of the general population."<sup>32</sup> Domhoff at least reopened the question, though admittedly within restricted parameters and suggested that the long-standing sociological position on women was both inadequate and erroneous.

However, Domhoff faltered in his attempt to provide a wholly satisfactory conception of women's relation to power. Basically, his research, although ambitious, ends up somewhat sketchy and ill-defined. There are the standard references to the more distinctive elements in upper-class social reality, for example, the private school and the debut.<sup>33</sup> Yet, as to the role women played in setting social and cultural standards, there is little indication of either the significance or content

of women's activities. For example, Domhoff's reference to Jackie Kennedy's fashion-setting function would do little to convince critics of the consequence of upper-class women's activities.<sup>34</sup>

Domhoff was on firmer ground in his more detailed research into upper-class women's role in promoting welfare movements during the Progressive Era.<sup>35</sup> Yet, even here the research, while thought-provoking, is essentially anecdotal. The women he pointed out as important can be dismissed as scattered exceptions; there is no way to evaluate the nature or significance of the role they played.

Finally, because Domhoff did not completely extricate himself from the male-oriented conception of power, his analysis cannot shake off the tendency to characterize upper-class women as glorified lackeys whose primary function is to conscientiously serve the needs of their patrons, upper-class men. Domhoff remarked, "In short, a distinctive point of view is brought to areas in which men of the upper class do not have the time or the inclination to participate."<sup>36</sup> The implication, which Domhoff did not challenge (and which will be shown here to be ill-founded), is that upper-class men are too preoccupied with the realms of real power, notably, politics and finance, to concern themselves with such relatively trivial matters as social welfare or cultural activities. These areas, since they are insignificant, are left to the women.

In sum, even though Domhoff's work was important and seriously posed the question of upper-class women's historical role, it suffered from key limitations. In particular, Domhoff failed to escape the traditional assumptions about the nature of power and its relation to sex roles. What is required and is attempted here is a reformulation of power so that, although the concept does not lose its basic meaning, it does not preclude most women a priori.

## 2. Women and Power: Feminist Views

Surprisingly, the modern women's movement does not proffer an antidote to the male-oriented perspective on power. Indeed, if the position adopted by much of modern feminism could be summed up in a simple formula, it would be that women are fundamentally powerless. In Simone de Beauvoir's classic account, The Second Sex, the work which signalled the rebirth of feminism and which was to become the wellspring for the women's movement, women's powerlessness was firmly and centrally established. For de Beauvoir, the very core of women's existence is domination by and submission to the power of the other, the male. She states, "Throughout history they [women] have always been subordinated to men..."<sup>37</sup> and "...woman has always been man's dependent."<sup>38</sup> Much subsequent feminist literature is, in many respects, a continued exegesis on this categorical position: men have power; women are without power.

According to this perspective, women are powerless

because they are not now (nor have they ever been) free (except in exceptional and uncharacteristic instances) to make significant decisions, to exercise their will on important issues, to make crucial choices, to direct others or to affect persons and events in pertinent ways. Women are trapped, confined, restricted; they are more object than actor. Men, by contrast, as steeped in potency. They act as well as react; they decide, choose and venture. For much of the feminism of the nineteen-sixties, the masculine-feminine power differential is the foundation of women's reality, "The castration of women has been carried out in terms of a masculine-feminine polarity, in which men have commandeered all the energy and streamlined it into an aggressive conquistatorial power, reducing all heterosexual contact to a sado-masochistic pattern."<sup>39</sup>

Many of the more recent developments in feminism and related thought are made up essentially of further renditions of and refinements upon this theme. For example, a number of analyses, adopting the classic sociological view of power as force, have focussed on rape as the symbolic embodiment of women's powerlessness.<sup>40</sup> Vivian Gornick and Barbara Moran's Woman in Sexist Society, subtitled Studies in Power and Powerlessness, and Susan Brownmiller's Against Our Will give immediate evidence of this continued emphasis on the presence of masculine power and the absence of a female counterpart.

The male liberation movement, one of the more significant

offshoots of the women's movement, has tended to reinforce this preoccupation with power. Spokesmen for the movement have suggested that the power relation between men and women - the domination of women by men - is crucial. Jack Sawyer remarks, "The affairs of the world have always been run nearly exclusively by men, at all levels. It is not accidental that the ways that elements of society have related to each other has been disastrously competitive, to the point of oppressing large segments of the world's population....But women, being deprived of power, have also been more free of the role of dominator and oppressor; women have been denied the opportunity to become as competitive and ruthless as men."<sup>41</sup>

More recently, Phyllis Chesler and Emily Jane Goodman have written a book, Women, Money and Power, which is, in many respects, the summation of and logical culmination to much modern feminist thought. Addressing directly the question of women's relation to power, they argue unequivocally that all women are without any form of real power. By power they mean primarily capital since it is the key to all other dimensions of power in a capitalist society, but they also encompass more esoteric manifestations such as sexual power, religious power and so forth. For Chesler and Goodman, women do not have access to, do not possess and are not likely to possess power in any of its forms, "Why a book on money and power? Because women have neither."<sup>42</sup> This powerlessness conditions (deforms) the totality of women's experience,

"Female 'options' are so few and so narrow as not to be real options or choices. A woman's choices are among the available ways to survive."<sup>43</sup>

This line of thinking is, in turn, reflected in the feminist perception of women's role in the social order. Woman's roots are in the private realm, the home and the family; this is the core of her existence. Everything else that a woman may become must grow out of and be consistent with this source:

How are women characterized in our culture and in psychology? They are inconsistent, emotionally unstable, lacking in a strong conscience or superego, weaker, nurturant rather than productive, intuitive rather than intelligent, and, if they are at all 'normal' suited to the home and family. In short, the list adds up to a typical minority-group stereotype of inferiority: if women know their place, which is the home, they are really quite lovable, happy, childlike, loving children.<sup>44</sup>

However, for males, the public realm is their natural sphere; it is the social space in which they spend most of their lives and to which they devote most of their energies. Women enter this space as disadvantaged and disdained aliens. "In a world that values force, money, selfishness and assertiveness, women are considered only ignorant, weak, and foolish."<sup>45</sup> As a result, women's involvement in the public realm is constricted on the one hand by her relationship to the private sphere and on the other by male domination of almost all (virtually all important) public activities.

According to this perspective, woman's public role in the political realm is, for example, essentially an outgrowth

of the supportive role she plays as wife and mother. Women work as campaign workers, not candidates, as behind-the-scenes help, not public figures. They involve themselves in political movements with palliative concerns. As mothers they seek to care for the community; as housewives they try to extend the purity and order of their kitchens to the social surroundings. In no sense do women use politics as a path to personal and social power, "Women are geared to an almost other-worldly practicality. Since women are so removed from power networks in this world, they neither understand nor really believe that laws, revolutions, and male governments or bureaucracies will ever change anything."<sup>46</sup>

Similarly in the economic realm, an obvious path to at least the resources of power, women are seen to falter. The structure of economic realities (misogyny, male domination) combine with woman's self-perception (wife and mother) to make her economic role both a reflection of (subordination, dependency) and reinforcement of (economic insecurity) her powerlessness in the private domain. Joan Trey's comments are representative of this line in feminist analysis:

Woman is kept in her place by certain economic policies and strictures on her employment which make it possible for her to be manipulated in and out of the labor force when necessary. This is done within the superstructure of an ideology which tells women that they are supposed to love being housekeepers and mothers and that if they as individuals feel like rebelling, they are victims of a terrible social illness. 47

In sum, this approach maintains that with the exception

of 'high society' (which is frivolous and insignificant and which is simply an extension of the interpersonal reality of the family), women, with few exceptions, are allowed no noteworthy role to play in the public domain. Women's reproductive and productive responsibilities as wife and mother coalesce with long-standing social structures to consign women to public and historical oblivion. Shulamith Firestone comments, "Men were thinking, writing and creating because women were pouring their energy into these men; women are not creating culture because they are preoccupied with love."<sup>48</sup> And de Beauvoir states, "...in the past all history has been made by men."<sup>49</sup> History is merely a broader perspective on the insignificance of women's public existence.\*

It is not, however, simply the case that many leading feminists have constructed a social analysis premised on women's powerlessness. Some have gone so far as to take issue with any suggestion that women in some mysterious or circuitous way do, in fact, exercise power.\*\* Consequently,

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\*Some feminists argue that women play an important, unrecognized role in history. However, they also suggest that this role is unrecognized because men, who control the writing of history by token of their social power have simply chosen not to record women's historical role. Consequently, this argument is also premised upon the relative powerlessness of women.<sup>50</sup>

\*\*Some feminists argue that women may exercise an extremely limited influence on particular men by use of a variety of devious and/or personal tactics. Margrit Eichler in her "Women as Personal Dependents" makes this argument.<sup>51</sup> However, as apparent, Eichler is primarily concerned with women's relative powerlessness.

running through much of the feminist literature is a fairly systematic rejection of the several forms of power that have been popularly ascribed to women or have been characterized as distinctly feminine.

First, it has been suggested that women acquire informal power through their interpersonal network of friends, relatives and offspring. Firestone refers in a deprecatory fashion to this 'power behind the throne', power which is both ineffectual and uncertain.\* Chesler and Goodman specifically object to any implication that this is real power. They argue that since its use is limited, problematic and non-transferable, it is simply a ruse used to placate women. They state, "However important the role of home-maker or the influence of motherhood, it is personal power, one that is used to illustrate the smallest particle of power. 'Power may be as tiny as that exercised by a mother over her children...'" wrote A.A. Berle.<sup>53</sup> They continue, "Even if women have a kind of power within the home, it is not a power transferable from one institution to another....The family is not a power base."<sup>54</sup>

Secondly, some feminists have made a point of attacking any suggestion that women because of their sexuality or

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\*Firestone states, "But though this was a greater political power than before, it was only a new-fangled version of female 'power' of the usual sort: behind the throne - a traditional influence on power which took modern form in lobbying and embarrassment tactics." 52

personal attractiveness have power resources which can be employed to manipulate situations to their own ends. De Beauvoir rejects this position out of hand, "In truth, woman has not been socially emancipated through man's need - sexual desire and the desire for offspring - which makes the male dependent for satisfaction upon the female."<sup>55</sup> Chesler and Goodman are even more adamant:

Beauty, sex, youth...do not result in any woman's becoming Pope, President, or Commander of the Armed Forces. What they can result in, given class and race origin, ambition, and 'luck,' is the opportunity to help or serve men who are Presidents or military chiefs. And this 'power' to serve, or this 'power' to be bought, is often confused, by women and men alike, with power itself." <sup>56</sup>

Finally, there is the question of whether or not a few exceptional women break through the sex barrier and exercise power. Implicitly the feminists cited above, by constantly generalizing about women as a whole, have tended to reject the notion that there are significant differences between various groups of women. Chesler and Goodman directly address this question of exceptional women and expressly articulate the position that all women are basically powerless.

They maintain that wealthy women, upper-class women or ruling-class women are, in every important respect, just like other women, that is, impotent:

Women, by definition, have been shut out of the male aristocracy, in which a few have greater power than the many, but in which all members as men, have more power than almost all women. This holds true even of 'upper-class'

women who, though they may have the illusion of power, access to the ear of power or some derivative power in noneconomic ways, have little direct or real power. 57

Chesler and Goodman go on to argue that upper-class women are contained by the ideology of 'the lady'. The lady is the ideal toward which these women strive, yet she embodies the dependence, frailty and impracticality that tie women to impotence. As a result, wealthy women end up being treated in the same way women everywhere are treated. They are protected, guided and contained; they are cut off from the resources of power (inheritance, stock ownership), the positions of power (corporation boards, boards of trustees) and, inevitably, the exercise of power.

Rich women are, accordingly, merely more pampered and protected versions of any woman. Their lives still revolve about husband and family; they still depend upon others for survival:

The daughters of wealth are 'finished off' and become other rich men's domestic and social assets. They may receive presents and trust funds but are not groomed to inherit, manage, and control the family wealth. That is their brothers' province. As a daughter and then as a wife, the 'wealthy' woman may have owned nothing, probably knew nothing, and was taught nothing of the business, assets, or how to manage them. 58

Chesler and Goodman simply extend the logic\* of their feminist perspective so that it encompasses upper-class women:

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\*Chesler and Goodman's conclusions are not based on systematic empirical research.

Most upper-class women try to lead Ladies lives - after finishing schools have finished them off. Like most women, they conform to what is expected of them: they 'look' good, they marry, have children, plan dinners, flower arrangements and horse shows; socialize and gossip with each other; play golf, swim, do charity work, drink, visit psychiatrists - die. 59

### Sex, Class and Power

In short, much of modern feminism in its efforts to understand the condition of women has created an analysis which rests heavily upon the categorical powerlessness of women.\* Feminism in so doing has tied itself to two theoretical positions. First, if all women (with exceptions and stipulations which do not effectively alter the basic situation) are powerless and all men are powerful, if only over women, then it follows that women as women and men as men occupy separate and distinct (where men dominate women) social realities. The attitudes, emotions, expectations, behaviour, values and so forth of the powerless are not, in fact cannot be, the same as those of the powerful. Secondly, if women as women are powerless (and men powerful) and if, as a result, they occupy a separate social reality, it follows that class divisions between individuals do not hold sway, or at least not in the same way, over women as over men.

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\*The views presented above are by no means representative of all feminists. Socialist feminists (for example, Sheila Rowbotham) have focussed on the class differences between women. Similarly, some early feminists, notably Mary Beard, argued that women, in particular upper-class women, did exercise important power. 60

A number of feminist writers have explicitly accepted these theoretical implications. For example, de Beauvoir divides social reality along masculine and feminine lines, "She [woman] is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute - she is the Other."<sup>61</sup> Similarly, Firestone, taking de Beauvoir as her mentor, distinguishes 'male' from 'female' culture.<sup>62</sup>

Feminist analysts of a more academic orientation have urged formal recognition of this reality gap, "...in fact it is more likely that members of different social categories as men and women, located differentially in the social structure, both subjectively and literally inhabit different social worlds and realities."<sup>63</sup> Social research must, according to these authors, be split along sex lines, "Sociology often assumes a 'single society' with respect to men and women, yet men and women may actually inhabit different social worlds, and these must be taken into account."<sup>64</sup>

It is the inevitable second theoretical step that poses the greatest difficulties. To argue that men and women occupy separate social universes today seems almost to promote a truism; to argue that this male/female division cuts into or cuts across class analysis is a theoretically and politically more burdened and momentous step. It explicitly contradicts innumerable social and political analyses based upon

the decisiveness of class affiliations. However, the logic of much modern feminist analysis leads in precisely this direction.

There are feminists who are prepared to take this second step openly and to argue that sex caste does indeed supersede class divisions. This conclusion is reached via a number of avenues, one of the most significant being the materialist perspective. In its most rudimentary form, the materialist argument maintains that woman's life is her body. It is her physical nature which leads women inexorably toward motherhood and its attendant dependencies and restrictions.

Firestone explains:

Historical materialism is that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all historic events in the dialectic of sex: the division of society into two distinct biological classes for procreative reproduction, and the struggles of these classes with one another; in the changes in the modes of marriage, reproduction and childcare created by these struggles; in the connected development of other physically-differentiated classes (castes); and in the first division of labor based on sex which developed into the (economic-cultural) class system. 65

A more sophisticated materialist analysis suggests that biology is merely the physical context; it is primarily economic relations (the way in which women produce the means of their existence) that decisively determines the course and content of women's lives. As wives and mothers (and all that this entails) women (by choice and/or by necessity) exists outside the relations of production. In Marxist

terminology, they do not sell their labour; their labour does not produce surplus value. While their labour may be critical to the maintenance of the economic order, it is still peripheral to the actual workings and logic of the order. Women as a group are de facto excluded from the realms of real significance and power.

Chris Middleton summarizes Juliet Mitchell's version of this thesis and points out its implications for the sex caste versus class debate:

Here, as with all previous socialist theory, comment on women's productive activities in the home is confined to a description of the appalling number of hours worked. Mitchell accepts the thesis that women are non-productive in the home, and therefore marginal to the economy; she accepts the (inherently sexist) notion that, within the family context, woman is a creature determined by her reproductive, her sexual, and her maternal roles. And since these are experiences open to all women, differences in social class affect the specific oppression of women but little. Class is considered as marginal to women's subjection in the domestic situation, as the woman is, fatalistically, deemed marginal to the class struggle. 66

Other feminists employ a more idealist line of analysis to arrive at similar conclusions. De Beauvoir, for example, argues that women are trapped in immanence while men are transcendent beings; women's powerlessness is existential, it predates class experience and it supersedes class reality. In all classes women are dominated by and dependent upon men.<sup>67</sup> From this it would follow that in an important sense women constitute a class apart, that their liberation is in essence

separate from the class struggle and that class is a secondary and subordinate determinant of women's social condition.

Similarly Chesler in Women and Madness states, "Sex gender, is, I believe, a more basic predictor of behavior than is race, class or sexual preference."<sup>68</sup> In Women, Money and Power, Chesler and Goodman elaborate on this stand, "...it is important...to understand the way in which economic and psychological discrimination against women cuts across lines of class and merit...."<sup>69</sup> It is sex not class which conditions women's lives, "...if a woman is born into the 'right' family (in terms of money, race and religion) and, is also well educated, none of this will necessarily lead to anything but a financially dependent marriage and motherhood."<sup>70</sup> Kate Millett draws a similar clear, hard line on the issue. "Economic dependency renders her [woman's] affiliations with any class a tangential, vicarious, and temporary matter.... Women as a group do not enjoy many of the interests and benefits any class offers its males. Women therefore have less of an investment in the class system."<sup>71</sup>

However, the position adopted by Mitchell, Firestone, Millett and others is a hazardous one. To argue steadfastly for the existential uniqueness of the female condition and/or for the fundamental powerlessness of all women is ultimately to assert the **shared** social reality and subordination of Abby Rockefeller and a welfare mother. As Middleton points out, "this feminist perspective leaves it open for the wife of

Andy Capp to link arms with Her Majesty the Queen, both to march in the solidarity of sisterhood against their shared oppression as women."<sup>72</sup>

Further, this theoretical stand leads feminism into direct confrontation with social analysts who, using precisely the same logic as feminist writings, have argued that the powerful (men and women) occupy a separate and distinct social reality.<sup>73</sup> Put briefly, this position holds that the powerful, since they go to different institutions (schools, hospitals, hotels), experience different phenomena (debut, private club) and relate to different people (presidents, chief executives) exist in a social reality separate and distinct from that of the powerless. As Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter note, "...the powerless and powerful people inhabit different emotional as well as social and physical worlds."<sup>74</sup> Yet, women number amongst this elect who go to private schools, enjoy private social rituals and who constitute the 'inner circle'. Feminism is here locked in contradiction with class analysis.

The present research is an attempt to help find a way out of this impasse by reopening, theoretically and empirically, the question of woman's relation to power. By focussing on women in a social group - the upper class which is clearly at the centre of this controversy, it is hoped that the issue may at least be clarified. However, in order to examine the relationship between women and power it is

necessary to construct a conceptualization of power and power relations which is open to and consistent with women's experience of social reality. Many of the components for such a formulation already exist, scattered throughout the sociological literature. The following section will draw together these elements and articulate a conception of power which is receptive to woman's social dimension.,

### 3. Women and Power: A Reformulation

Traditionally, the literature on the sociology of power is divided into elitist versus pluralist camps. The elitists argue that power is concentrated in the hands of the ruling class while the pluralists maintain that power is, in a sense, scattered amongst a variety of groups in the social universe. This is a distinction which while relevant to the following discussion is not decisive. Representatives of both positions have urged a more open understanding of power and, as evident above, adherents of both viewpoints have promoted a male-oriented approach to power. Basically, many of the issues raised by the two perspectives are not directly pertinent to the discussion that follows. Ralf Dahrendorf's comment reflects the position taken here, "...neither of these models can be conceived as exclusively valid or applicable. They constitute complementary rather than alternative aspects of the structure of total societies as well as of every element of this structure. We have to choose between them only for the explanation of specific problems...."<sup>75</sup>

Given this preface, the discussion can now turn to the central issue - power. First, the concept of power, if it is to be applicable to women, must be understood as a generic term encompassing a broad spectrum of activities in which individuals achieve their will, have their way or are simply instrumental in producing effects consistent with their self-interests - in the presence or absence of opposition.<sup>76</sup> The individuals may be either consciously pursuing specific concrete goals (such as control of an organization) or may be somewhat inadvertently pursuing more amorphous ends (such as defence of the socio-economic status quo). From this perspective power includes not only the most direct, overt manifestations such as coercion and force but also more subtle and indirect manifestations such as manipulation, persuasion and influence.

Amongst the most important direct forms of power is authority. Authority involves notions of legitimacy and is related to the position a person holds in a formal hierarchical structure.<sup>77</sup> Weber argues that because authority is legitimate it must be distinguished from power.<sup>78</sup> However, the present formulation, while noting this distinction as significant, requires no such separation. The individuals in authority, just as those with access to direct forms of power which are illegitimate, participate in social relations in which they seek to realize their will or protect their self-interests. In either instance, their success or failure may be of

historical significance. These are the pertinent issues at hand.

Manipulation and influence\* are on the opposite end of this conceptual continuum. They involve processes that are often indirect and sometimes covert. Influence, while in certain respects similar to authority, is not based on formal structures. According to Bachrach and Baran, "One person has influence over another within a given scope to the extent that the first, without resorting to either a tacit or an overt threat of severe deprivations, causes the second to change his course of action."<sup>79</sup> However, the source of this power is, as in authority, a shared set of values.\*\* In contrast manipulation is, as Mills states, "...power that is wielded unbeknown to the powerless."<sup>80</sup> Here one individual has his/her way by altering the situation; the other complies although oblivious to the causes of his/her compliance.

In concrete empirical terms this means that for the purposes of this study a woman is considered powerful if there is evidence of either direct or indirect expressions of power. The research embraces not only the traditionally male indicators - such as executive position, political office and economic clout - but also more subtle manifestations. These

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\*These and other indirect manifestations of power are discussed in detail below.

\*\*For example, an individual may be influential because she meets (or appears to meet) certain social standards or values - standards and values shared by the person influenced.

manifestations, since they are relatively unexamined in the literature and are particularly relevant to women, will be discussed in detail below.<sup>81</sup>

The second feature of power, as it is understood here, is that it is acted out in a social relation. As Steven Lukes points out, the pluralists have tended to portray power as a quality and ability (power to) and to minimize the power relation (power over).<sup>82</sup> In general, pluralists have been induced by their liberal political orientation to downplay the dynamic between the powerful and powerless. As Lukes notes:

In Parsons' case the linking of power to authoritative decisions and collective goals serves to reinforce his theory of social integration as based on value consensus by concealing from view the whole range of problems that have concerned so-called 'coercion' theorists, precisely under the rubric 'of power.' By definitional fiat, phenomena of coercion, exploitation, manipulation and so on cease to be phenomena of power -- and in sequence disappear from the theoretical landscape. 83

In contrast to Parson's narrow conceptualization, the theorizing here is based on a more inclusive approach to power, one which encompasses not only relatively straightforward displays of power (for example, decision-making) but also power's more subtle and oblique expressions. To whatever degree individuals control the situation by means of these indirect methods - for example, manipulation or persuasion - they can be identified not only in terms of their capacity to achieve desired ends but also in terms of their relationships

to others in the population - relationships of superordination and subordination between the relatively powerful and the relatively powerless. As Richard Emerson explains, "...to say that 'X has power' is vacant, unless we specify 'over whom.' In making these necessary qualifications we force ourselves to face up to the obvious: power is a property of the social relation; it is not an attribute of the actor."<sup>84</sup>

It follows that in searching for all evidence of power it is important to look for indications of these kinds of relationships. This is particularly crucial in terms of indirect manifestations of power such as manipulation or influence. If research reveals a well-developed pattern of subordination to certain individuals, it is reasonable to suggest that these individuals are powerful. For example, according to the position adopted here, those individuals who are repeatedly honoured in a variety of ways, whose advice is often sought, supported and/or propagated and who are accorded by the particular organization or body in question a prominent or pre-eminent role in their records or history are deemed powerful.

This notion of power as a relationship is, in turn, intertwined with the third characteristic ascribed to power; that is, it is a process that is acted out in a social situation. Although it may be based on power resources, such as capital, strength and social networks, these resources do not in and of themselves constitute power. Rather, power, to exist, must

be actualized (directly or indirectly) in a social situation. As Etzioni points out, "Assets are possessions of an actor which may be converted into power but are not necessarily so used; hence, there is a systematic difference between the assets of an actor, which may be viewed as a power base or potential, and his actual capacity to reduce the resistance of others, which is the power actually generated...."<sup>85</sup>

There are theorists who argue that the actual exercise of will is incidental to power and that power is, rather, the potential capacity to determine and control the flow of events. Bierstedt, for example, comments, "Power itself is the predisposition or prior capacity which makes the application of force possible....Power is the ability to employ force, not its actual employment, the ability to apply sanctions not their actual employment...."<sup>86</sup> And as Arnold Rose points out Weber's classic definition of power may be interpreted in support of this approach. Weber's use of the word chance "...implies that Weber considered that the actual realization of one's will was rather incidental to the basic problem of power. To be sure, one must 'have a chance' in order to realize one's will, but the two concepts are by no means identical."<sup>87</sup>

This position, however, seems to confuse the trappings of power with its actual employment. As Rose suggests, "This method presumes that 'power is coextensive with class and status'...."<sup>88</sup> The resources of power, which are implicit in notions of class and status, are the sine qua non for the

exercise of power and as such are useful in identifying the powerful, but they are historically significant only insofar as their potential is realized. To link power to these resources is to invite confusion for as Dahl notes, "...a potential for control is not, except in a peculiarly Hobbesian world equivalent to actual control."<sup>89</sup>

In sum, the foregoing indicates the principal characteristics ascribed to power: it is the exercise of will or the promotion of interests that is acted out directly or indirectly in a social situation involving individuals who have access to unequal power resources. Dependent upon the historical situation, cultural values, role expectations and so forth, the form power takes ranges from manipulation, influence and persuasion to authority, force and coercion. These former, indirect, manifestations of power must be given particular consideration since they have tended to be minimized in the traditional literature and since they are especially relevant to woman's social role.

#### Indirect Expressions of Power

There has been a predisposition on the part of sociologists to develop their conceptual approach to power along 'direct' lines and to formulate empirical research in terms of more straightforward, manifest phenomena. The difficulty with this approach is its very simplicity. It tends to arbitrarily limit power to the visible and empirically obvious and to dismiss, or at least overlook, more subtle and oblique

manifestations of power. In fact, there is sometimes the implication that indirect forms of power are inferior and hence, inconsequential. Domhoff comments, "Synonyms for control would be rule, govern, guide and direct. 'Influence,' for us, is a weaker term, implying that a person can sometimes sway, persuade or otherwise have an effect upon those who control from a position of authority."<sup>90</sup> Mills draws out the misogynist implications of this orientation, "...if man is transcendent and authoritarian, woman is often manipulative: the form of power for the immanent. If men command, women seduce."<sup>91</sup>

Yet, Domhoff and Mills' own research does not suggest that indirect or covert forms of power are inferior or the reserve of the less powerful. In "The Structure of Power in American Society", Mills stressed the growing significance of the more insidious forms of power:

We cannot today merely assume that in the last resort men must always be governed by their own consent. For among the means of power which now prevail is the power to manage and to manipulate the consent of men. That we do not know the limits of such power, and that we hope it does have limits, does not remove the fact that much power today is successfully employed without the sanction of the reason or the conscience of the obedient. <sup>92</sup>

This implies not only that there is no basis for invidious comparisons between forms of power, but that existing elitist and pluralist conceptions of power are seriously flawed by their failure to emphasize more indirect manifestations of power.

Indeed, there seems a sufficient basis to postulate that these indirect forms are at least as historically and socially significant as more manifest expressions of power. As Lukes points out, "...is it not the supreme exercise of power to get others to have the desires you want them to have - that is, to secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires."<sup>93</sup> This perspective, in turn, has important implications regarding the study of women and power.

Since women confront social expectations that they be passive, subordinate and supportive and since the social climate encourages them to adopt more subtle and oblique strategies for exercising their will or promoting their personal or class interests, any research into women's relation to power must be based on a conceptualization of power which includes its more indirect manifestations. The elements of such a conceptualization are present in the literature but few sociologists go much beyond acknowledging their existence. The following discussion draws these key concepts together.

In 1960, in his book The Semisovereign People, E.E. Schattschneider suggested that the most fundamental power play in politics was the selection and definition of the conflict. As he pointed out, the key exercise of will or promotion of interests may be acted out not in the actual struggle between parties, but in the prior selection of issues. "A conclusive way of checking the rise of conflict is simply to provide no arena for it or to create no public

agency with power to do anything about it. There are an incredible number of devices for checking the development of conflict within the system."<sup>94</sup> As Schattschneider notes, the most powerful individuals or groups in a situation may not necessarily be the victor in the actual struggle but rather they may be the individuals or groups who were able to influence the social and political definition of the situation, who selected the content of the conflict and who determined the nature of the contested issues.<sup>95</sup>

Schattschneider goes on to argue that one of the most important strategies involved in this process is the 'mobilization of bias.' As Bachrach and Baratz explain, "Political systems and sub-systems develop a 'mobilization of bias,' a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals, and institutional procedures ('rules of the game') that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others."<sup>96</sup> For example, in class society there is a bias built into the structural and organizational framework so that challenges to the economic order of society are in some sense illegitimate (for example, socialistic, communistic, un-American). In short, these kinds of biases may be mobilized so that while some conflicts are nourished, others wither. In particular, institutions serve to promote new conflicts in place of old ones, to make conflicts appear irrelevant or to translate substantive conflict into procedural conflict.<sup>97</sup>

Bachrach and Baratz's "The Two Faces of Power" is a further elaboration of this orientation to power. They criticize the prevailing preoccupation with decision-making and point out that manipulation of the overall political situation may be more crucial than any decision made:

Power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A. To the extent that A succeeds in doing this, B is prevented, for all practical purposes, from bringing to the fore any issues that might in their resolution be seriously detrimental to A's set of preferences. 98

They argue, therefore, that social science must investigate not simply power as decision-making but also power in its second face - non decision-making:

A non decision, as we define it, is a decision that results in suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values or interests of the decision-maker. To be more nearly explicit non decision-making is a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are voiced; or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena, or, failing all these things, maimed or destroyed in the decision-implementing stage of the policy process. 99

Lukes' book, Power A Radical View, seeks to add a further refinement to this conceptualization. He points out that Bachrach and Baratz are still caught up in the popular tendency to "...stress actual, observable conflict, overt or covert."<sup>100</sup> According to Lukes, this results in a misleading picture, "Decisions are choices consciously and intentionally

made by individuals between alternatives, whereas the bias of the system can be mobilised, recreated and reinforced in ways that are neither consciously chosen nor the intended result of particular individuals' choices.<sup>101</sup> It is this mobilization of bias which Lukes feels Bachrach and Baratz ignore and which he argues is "...the supreme and most insidious exercise of power ... to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things...."<sup>102</sup>

It is this perspective which Lukes considers the three-dimensional view of power. Unlike the 'two faces of power' presented by Bachrach and Baratz, it does not limit itself to conflicts and 'observable grievances.' Although Lukes allows that one may have latent conflict and a contradiction between the interests of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude, the actual dynamics of power are implicit in the organization of institutions and the structure of society.

In other words, this perspective on power suggests that individuals may exercise power through the creation, control and/or support of organizations, institutions or other social structures if these bodies are directed in such a way as to delimit and define conflict, to legitimize certain social issues, to reinforce existing social arrangements or to block the emergence of critical or alternative viewpoints.

Consequently, the researcher in tracking down the more oblique manifestations of power must look for those individuals who play key roles in founding, directing and supporting institutions and organizations which affect, directly or indirectly, the prevailing social definition of reality. For example, it follows that those individuals who create organizations, such as the Y.W.C.A., which help sustain public standards of decency or who set up institutions, such as the New York Museum of Modern Art, which help set artistic and cultural values, are exercising power.

Taken as a whole the notions developed by Lukes, Schattschneider, Bachrach and Baratz give added substance to the notion of indirect power and to the concepts of manipulation, persuasion and influence. No longer can they be identified as non-relational and/or non-rational manoeuvres; they are concrete activities directed to specific ends. Now, in order to complete this theoretical approach to power, these indirect manifestations along with the direct expressions of power must be fitted into a more general societal framework.

#### The Societal Context of Power

First, it is assumed here that in all class societies, whether or not there is overt conflict and struggle, there is a basic contradiction in interests. This is something more than Dahl's assertion that "...we must have a political system in which there is a difference in preferences, from time to time among individual human beings in the system."<sup>103</sup> This

pluralist approach suggests that differences in interests and wills must be conscious and overt. The position adopted here is that the contradiction or opposition is often built into the structure of the system and buttressed by tradition and values. As such the participants in the system may or may not be aware of the inequities of the order.

There are two principal divisions in society. First, following de Beauvoir, Firestone, Greer, Smith et al, it is assumed that there is a basic split in the social order along sex or gender lines. Reflecting a myriad of factors, in particular their unesteemed and seemingly peripheral role in the economic system, women as a social group are less powerful than men as a group. As a result men and women, taken as groups, are locked in opposition, the privilege and position of one being founded on the subordination and suppression of the other.

Secondly, intersecting with and possibly deflecting the effect of sex caste, there are class divisions - divisions which are, in the final analysis, based on economic considerations. As Paul Sweezy explains:

The starting point must surely be the recognition that two social classes, at bottom shaped by the very nature of capitalism determine the form and content of the system as a whole. I prefer to call these classes the ruling class and the working class. The core of the ruling class is made up of big capitalists (or, more generally, big property-owners, though the distinction is not very important since most large aggregates of property have the form of capital in this country today). 104

This class system, representing as it does a basic opposition of interests, is a fundamental power relationship in society. From the perspective taken here, much of the history of capitalist society may be understood as an implicit and sometimes explicit between these groups; a struggle in which the more powerful act so as to maintain their hegemony and the less powerful seek to improve their lot.

In contrast, the pluralists argue that in terms of power society is basically homogeneous. Rose makes this tenet explicit, "Mills and his followers have been critical of those political scientists like Dahl who hold that political power is pluralistic in the United States. Our position is not simply that power is pluralistic in American society, but that society itself is pluralistic."<sup>105</sup> According to this orientation, power and power groups are scattered throughout society, sometimes only arising in response to specific issues and then dissipating when the issue is resolved. As Richard Gillam notes, "From this pluralist perspective, American society was characterized by much competition, a great deal of give-and-take, but unlike the explosive conflict emphasized by Progressive historians and some stratification theorists, such rivalry was thoroughly circumscribed and posed no real threat to the general social order."<sup>106</sup>

There are a number of versions to this approach - David Reisman's veto groups, John Kenneth Galbraith's theory of countervailing powers - but each ultimately argues that

there is no power structure mirroring the class structure. The difficulty with this position is not only that it is based on a narrow conception of power, but that it is inconsistent with historical patterns.

The pluralists can only make their argument by restricting power to the more straightforward and overt processes of decision-making. Rose, for example, argues that the lower classes are not under the thumb of any economic elite because decisions have been made in their favour, "These assumptions neglect the vast account of social welfare legislation, particularly since the 1930's, and of other legislation designed to protect the interest of the working classes."<sup>107</sup> For Rose, modern American society is the product of a benevolent democratic government acting in the best interests of its constituents: "There is every evidence that the masses of the American people today are better off economically, both absolutely and relatively, than they were in the past; and that this has been largely due to government intervention supported by the majority of the voters."<sup>108</sup>

There are a number of critiques which point out the ideological roots and historical inaccuracies of this kind of 'sunshine sociology'.<sup>109</sup> What is important here is that Rose reaches his conclusions by defining power in the narrowest possible terms. His conceptualization of power leaves out phenomena such as manipulation and influence. More concretely his analysis fails to consider that the touted social legis-

lation was born out of violent labour unrest and that it produced, as Gabriel Kolko points out in The Triumph of Conservatism, a long-standing social stability to the ultimate benefit of vested interests.

In recent years there has been an additional basis for eroding the pluralist stand. For a long time Adolph A. Berle and Gardiner C. Means' argument that power had passed out of the hands of the owners into those of the managers had been used to support the pluralistic conception of society and hence power.<sup>110</sup> However, Philip Burch's research in The Managerial Revolution Reassessed provides data showing that, in fact, stock ownership and company control have tended to remain in the hands of the original families, generally over more than several generations.

For one thing, contrary to what many might think, the pervasive family control exercised over a substantial number of the total 450 industrial, merchandising, transportation, and commercial banking concerns included in this analysis is, for the most part, of a very direct and enduring nature. That is to say, not only is this control exercised through significant stock ownership and outside representation on the board of directors, but also, in a great many cases, through a considerable amount of family managerial direction of these major corporate enterprises. As a rule, moreover, a very sizable percentage of these families have wielded this formidable economic power over a fairly long period of time. <sup>111</sup>

Given the pre-eminence of these families, the pluralist contention that power and power relationships are dispersed throughout society seems seriously undermined.<sup>112</sup> Consequently, the position taken here will be that social class divisions,

which are ultimately founded on economic resources, reflect an elementary and pervasive power differential running through society. As indicated, the only social distinction of equal significance is that based on sex caste role.

Although Mills along with other elitists chooses to define social class in basically economic terms,<sup>113</sup> that is not how the term is used here. Rather, it refers to social distinctions which are rooted in the economic structure, which reflect power differentials and which include a broad spectrum of social and cultural differences. As Domhoff explains, "According to Mills, ...'class' is an economic term. However, this is not necessarily the case. 'Class' can also refer to a group of families with similar aspirations and values, to families who perceive each other as equals and freely intermarry."<sup>114</sup>

In brief, although class is founded in economic differences its actual social expression suggests not only economic inequalities but important distinctions in social reality. Members of a class tend to experience social reality in a shared way and to develop their own institutional and organizational arrangements in response to this perception of social reality. As Karl Marx commented in "The Eighteenth Brumaire":

In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of other classes, and put them in hostile opposition to the latter, they form a class. In so far as there is merely

local interconnection among these small-holding peasants, and the identity of their interests begets no community, no national bond, and no political organisation among them, they do not form a class. 115

It follows that the upper class, that class which is based historically and socially in control of economic power resources, may be identified and defined not simply in terms of capital but also in terms of its distinctive social reality. There are a large number of works which document the separate social world of the upper class. Notable amongst this literature is E. Digby Baltzell's Philadelphia Gentlemen and The Protestant Establishment. More recently, Peter Collier and David Horowitz in The Rockefellers pointed out the private schools, the exclusive clubs, and the distinguished friendship and kinship ties which, together, set the upper class apart, foster a distinctive set of values and attitudes and encourage class cohesiveness. As Domhoff suggests, it is these elements which must underlie any satisfactory definition of the upper class, "Although I prefer a definition of 'upper class' which points to the great wealth and unique life styles of these inter-marrying and interacting families of high social standing, the social upper class can be defined as people who are listed in certain social registers and blue books, people who attend certain private schools, and people who belong to exclusive social clubs."<sup>116</sup>

This is, however, not meant to imply that the upper class is a harmonious and homogeneous social entity. It must be noted that despite the institutions and groups, such as the

private school and private club, which foster unity and cohesion, the upper class is split by internal dissension and hostility. There are groups and organizations within the upper class with a high degree of unity and cohesion, and there are historical periods when threats to class interests induce a strong feeling of solidarity. However, this is offset by division within the class. As Sweezy explains:

1. There are conflicts between the true long-run interests of the ruling class as a whole and the short-run interests of particular segments of it...
2. Because it wears ideological blinkers which distort its view of reality the ruling class often does not see clearly what its true long-run interests are and hence acts on a false conception of ruling class interests....
3. Under certain circumstances, other classes or segments of classes can force, the state to make concessions to their interests. 117

Consequently, in some situations, as documented in the present research, there may be open disagreement amongst members of the upper class on important social issues. This disagreement does not negate the basic social reality shared by the opposing parties but it does demonstrate its limitations. In brief, the agencies of class consciousness and class solidarity must operate within the restrictions laid down by these divisions.

It would seem that despite these difficulties the upper class is remarkably successful at maintaining class solidarity and cohesion. As Domhoff states, "...it can be argued that the upper class is more cohesive than any other

level of the American social hierarchy. Its small size, greater wealth, different sources of income (stocks and bonds), different schooling, different leisure activities and different occupations, not to mention its complicated web of inter-marriages, are among the evidences for this statement.<sup>118</sup> The net result is a "...surprising definiteness to the upper class."<sup>119</sup> This does not mean, however, that the upper class functions as a conspiracy.<sup>120</sup> The allowance for internal class dissension and conflict precludes this possibility.

In a related vein it must also be noted that the power of the upper class is limited. As their power is not conspiratorial, it is not despotic or absolute. There are restrictions on the kinds of social phenomena they can affect and the degree to which they can effect change in phenomena. They cannot freely choose alternatives or arbitrarily determine the course of events; they are hemmed in by social and historical realities.

However, relative to other participants in the situation, because of their access to power resources, members of the upper class have a greater opportunity to exercise some measure of free will. As Mills remarks:

Such elites of power also make history under circumstances not chosen altogether by themselves, yet compared with other men, and compared with other periods of world history, these circumstances do indeed seem less limiting....I should contend that 'men are free to make history,' but that some men are indeed much freer than others. For such freedom requires access to the means of decision and of power by which history can now be made. 121

Consequently, although it is to be expected that the more powerful will have recourse to a greater number of alternatives, it is not to be assumed that they create events out of whole cloth. They live in a particular historical period, are shaped, for example, by their roles as men and women and they share at least some of the values, prejudices and superstitions of their era. On top of this, there are practical considerations, for as Sweezy points out:

Obviously the ruling class has to make concessions and compromises to keep the people, and especially the working class, in a condition of sufficient ignorance and contentment to accept the system as a whole. In other words, the ruling class operates within a definite framework, more or less restricted according to circumstances, which it can ignore only at the peril of losing its power altogether - and, along with its power, its wealth and privileges. 122

As a result, even though members of the upper class may wield considerable clout, they may, according to this formulation, fail to achieve their goals. Upper-class women, for example, regardless of the resources at their disposal, would be hard pressed to eradicate the extant sex-role structures. This failure does not, however, mean they are impotent or that their actions are not of historical consequence.

In sum, the upper class is conceived of as a social group characterized first, by its separate and distinct (though not necessarily harmonious) social reality and, secondly, by the 'relative' freedom of its members to exercise their will. Within this social group the basic reference

point is not the solitary individual but rather the family.\* The upper class is maintained, perpetuated and integrated by familial ties. As Gaetano Mosca notes, "personal qualities are always less important, as regards attaining the highest positions in life, than birth or family. In any type of society, whether ostensibly democratic or otherwise, being born to a high position is one of the best claims a person can have to staying there."<sup>124</sup>

There is abundant empirical evidence that family connections, inter-family marriage and inheritance have been decisive factors in the evolution of the American upper class. Burch's research, as noted above, suggests that it is family groupings that hold on to economic assets over time. Similarly, Lundberg's in America's Sixty Families gathered empirical evidence regarding the crucial role played by upper-class family groupings in controlling the evolution of the modern American economy. Dixon Wecter's The Saga of American Society and Lucy Kavaler's The Private World of High Society are more impressionistic examinations which illustrate that family connections and marital alliances are considered crucial determinants of class position by the upper class itself.

Given this body of evidence it seems reasonable to

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\*As noted sociologist, William J. Goode, comments, "It is the family, not merely the individual that is ranked in the class structure. The family is the keystone of the stratification system, the social mechanism by which it is maintained." 123

suggest that the upper class be conceptualized as a social group composed of family units (units which are often tied to one another by kinship ties). This emphasis on the family in turn allows for a less male-oriented approach to power.\* An individualistic conception of class would be more inclined to focus exclusively on the male since his position and importance are, in general, more immediately apparent. The familial perspective is more two-dimensional, draws women into view and allows, at least theoretically, for a complex interplay between socio-cultural (feminine) and political-economic (masculine) spheres of activity.

Further, this familial approach is consistent with another feature of the upper class. Economic power resources are, as indicated, considered here to be the foundation of the upper class' power. However, in practice and over time these resources tend to be elaborated into or to generalize into a variety of other power resources. As Bertrand Russell notes, "**...power, like energy, must be regarded as continually passing from any one of its forms into any other...**"<sup>125</sup> For example, familial and social relationships may become power resources in themselves, indicating insider status, social influence and prestige.

Economic resources, although they are the basis for manifestations of economic clout, may also be translated into

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\*Maleness still tends to predominate in that lineage is conveyed along patriarchal lines.

other direct forms of power, such as authority and political decision-making and into more subtle expressions of power such as influence and prestige. For example, upper-class women, because of their favoured economic position and its accoutrements, would, as a group, tend to be better-educated, more poised, more refined, better-dressed and healthier than women in lower classes. In short, their families' economic base would provide them with the means to more closely approximate cultural ideals. These attributes would, in turn, tend to give them a decided edge in articulating their perspectives, in winning public sympathy, in swaying group opinion and thus, possibly, in influencing the course of events.

It is important to emphasize that women's power in such instances, while it would ultimately be derived from the economic position of their class, is not dependent on their personal control or ownership of economic resources. Their position in the upper class is dependent not on their personal resources but on those of their family. These resources, as indicated, tend to generalize beyond purely economic assets. It follows from this that even though a family loses its economic superiority over time, it may retain its class position and power in other spheres and even though a woman does not have direct control over economic resources, she may still exercise power in other realms, for example, as discussed here, in social welfare, education and culture.

This completes the portrayal of the upper class and power. The overall theoretical framework, as it has been

developed to this point, may be briefly summarized as follows. Power is the exercise of will or promotion of interests as they are acted out in a social relation in the presence or absence of resistance from those acted upon. Power may take direct, overt or indirect, covert forms. Money, strength and possessions are not in themselves power; they are power resources and in a capitalist society economic assets constitute the most fundamental and ultimately consequential power base. However, power is not limited to these particular resources, but tends to generalize into other areas.

The actual machinations of power in capitalist society have produced a distinct social context. There is a basic opposition of interests throughout the system. At times this may be covert but it is not eliminated by an 'apathetic public'. Conflict and struggle may fade but the opposition of interests would still be present. Basically this opposition tends to be most importantly reflected in the class system and sex-caste divisions.

#### 4. Upper-Class Women and the Exercise of Power

It is now possible to draw these elements together and posit the ways in which upper-class women may exercise power in society. If, as suggested, one of the main divisions of interest in society is between classes, then it is reasonable to assume that the class in power\* will seek to maintain its

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\*The class holding the bulk of the economic power resources.

position. Presumably it will attempt to accomplish this by all means available to it, that is, through both direct and indirect expressions of power. Consequently, it will attempt over time to create and sustain a bias (or definition of the situation) in its favour and to mobilize that bias, particularly, though not only, when conflicts or issues arise that jeopardize its interests.

In order to achieve and then maintain these values and attitudes, the upper class will often resort to institutional means; that is, it will introduce, support and direct institutions and groups which reflect and disseminate values and attitudes that are in the upper class' favour and deflect issues or conflicts that threaten its rule. As Bachrach and Baratz explain, the "...'status-quo-oriented' individuals and groups, especially those within the governmental structure, will exert power-authority-influence to create new or to support existing political procedures, customs, and institutions that tend to block 'unsafe' issues from reaching the decision-making arena."<sup>126</sup>

As members of the upper class' family units, women may be included in the above scenario. The shared social reality of the upper class invests them, as much as their male counterparts, with certain rights, prerogatives, values and attitudes. On the one hand, they, in general, tend to have some conscious predisposition to protect their favoured position (in other words, the socio-economic status quo), and

on the other, they are inclined to unconsciously perceive and understand the social order from an upper-class perspective. As a result, in their public activity they are led not only to overtly defend their class' interests and rights but to conceptualize the very issues in a class-biased fashion. Finally, the generalization of the class' economic power resources into a wide variety of other social areas, provides many upper-class women with the means by which to implement, consciously or unconsciously, this class bias.

It follows that to whatever degree upper-class women as a group participate in the public domain, they have occasion to exercise power, directly and indirectly, in the interests of their class. For example, in those areas open to their sex caste, upper-class women fund or hold formal leadership positions in organizations which quiet class unrest or reinforce upper-class solidarity. Or, through informal power relations, they seek to influence a group's orientation in such a way that it becomes or remains consistent with upper-class values and sentiments.

However, this is not to say that these women are necessarily conscious agents for their class. As fully socialized members of the upper class their perception of social reality tends to reflect their class background and position. Their values and attitudes and the expression of these in their understanding of particular situations need not be based solely on a conscious calculation of class

interests but rather on an unconscious, class-determined approach to social reality.

Further, these activities, conscious and unconscious, would in no way be in conflict with their caste status as women. Since, as explained above, conflict is not requisite in these situations and since, given that power generalizes, their role could be restricted to women's groups and woman's domain, they could exercise power while retaining their female status. This is a conceptualization of power that can be applied to women as women rather than as exceptions or aberrations.

In brief, the above analysis leads to two theoretical propositions. First, it suggests that women, as members of the upper class share in that class' privileges and power. Secondly, it suggests that women of the upper class, guided by their class affiliation, consciously or unconsciously employ their power to protect and perpetuate their class' privileged social position.\*

The preceding is, however, an ideal-typical construction and as such it "...is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view...."<sup>127</sup> Allowance must be made for the fact that in reality there may be both variations in the phenomena and the intrusion of other elements. For example, if, as some suggest, womanhood is on occasion a more fundamental

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\*As indicated, these activities could be pursued through woman-only organizations and associations.

status than class position, the values and attitudes of upper-class women and the bias of any organizations and groups they control may not simply reflect and support the interests of their class. They may instead reflect the interests and values distinctive to their sex caste.

In addition, there must also be an allowance for varying degrees of support for the construct. This theoretical framework may be found inaccurate and, hence discarded. For example, if upper-class women did not play any appreciable public role, it would be necessary to consider their 'private' person-to-person power. Further, this formulation may receive only a measure of substantiation. If, for example, upper-class women wield some form of power in insignificant organizational settings,\* if they promote values and attitudes essentially irrelevant to the principal issues of the day or to the basic interests of their class and, finally, if they achieve only scattered and sporadic results, it is reasonable to conclude that their public role is relatively inconsequential.

In conclusion, the preceding theoretical outline allows for an empirical investigation of women and power. It is composed of conceptualizations that are open to woman's sphere and yet are derived from and consistent with much extant sociological literature on the subject. It formulates

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\*The significant organizations along with the principal issues can be determined with reasonable certainty by consulting contemporary and historical accounts of the period.

a theoretical position that not only is capable of disproof but which is sensitive to degrees of support. As Gillam points out, "It is unlikely, moreover, that even the fullest data could confirm the divergent assumptions about class consciousness, interest, and motive used by all interpreters of power to link the objective, empirical world with subjective imponderables of the human mind...."<sup>128</sup> Given the impossibility of a final resolution, this framework at least opens the discussion and examination of an area essentially disregarded by preceding analyses.

### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of the masculine bias woven into the professional, empirical and theoretical structure of sociology see Ann Duffy, "Feminism and Sociology", Occasional Papers of the McMaster University Sociology of Women Programme, I (Spring 1977), pp. 32-52.

<sup>2</sup> For examples of this evolving women's perspective in sociology see Dorothy E. Smith, "Women's Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology", Sociological Inquiry, XLIV (No.1 1974), pp. 7-13 and Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter, eds., Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1975).

<sup>3</sup> Max Weber, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and intro. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1947), pp. 324-25.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Emerson, "Power-Dependence Relations", in Marvin E. Olsen, ed., Power in Societies (London: Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1970), p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> C. Wright Mills, "The Sociology of Stratification", in Irving Louis Horowitz, ed., Power, Politics and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 315.

<sup>7</sup> Marvin E. Olsen, "Power as a Social Process", in Olsen, ed., Power in Societies, p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model", in G. William Domhoff and Hoyt B. Ballard, compilers, C. Wright Mills and The Power Elite (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 33.

<sup>9</sup> Amitai Etzioni, "Power as a Societal Force", in Olsen ed., Power in Societies, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power", in Olsen, ed., Power in Societies, p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 30-35.

<sup>16</sup> Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power", p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, n.d.), p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-12.

<sup>19</sup> Joan W. Moore, "Exclusiveness and Ethnocentrism in a Metropolitan Upper-Class Agency", Pacific Sociological Review, V (Spring 1962), pp. 16-20.

<sup>20</sup> Dean D. Knudsen, "Socialization to Elitism: A Study of Debutantes", The Sociological Quarterly, IX (Summer 1968), pp. 300-308.

<sup>21</sup> James H.S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll, "Rite of Passage - A Contemporary Study", Social Forces, XXV (March 1948), pp. 247-55.

<sup>22</sup> John Finley Scott, "The American College Sorority: Its Role in Class and Ethnic Endogamy", American Sociological Review, XXX (August 1965), pp. 514-27.

<sup>23</sup> Mary Maxwell and James D. Maxwell, "Boarding School: Social Control, Space and Identity" in D.I. Davies and K. Herman, eds., Social Space: Canadian Perspectives (Toronto: New Press, 1971), pp. 157-164.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>25</sup> See T.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1964), pp. 7-20.

<sup>26</sup> Raymond Aron, "Social Class, Political Class, Ruling Class", in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power, 2nd ed. (New York: The Free Press 1966), p. 204.

<sup>27</sup> G. William Domhoff, The Higher Circles (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), p. 33.

<sup>28</sup> See Raymond Aron, "Social Structure and the Ruling Class [Part II]", British Journal of Sociology, I (June 1950), pp. 131-134.

<sup>29</sup> Ferdinand Lundberg, The Rich and the Super-Rich (New York: Lyle Stuart, Inc., 1968), p. 765n.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>31</sup> Domhoff, Higher Circles, p. 33.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 34-35.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 36-39.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 44-54.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>37</sup> Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, trans. and ed. H.M. Parshley (New York: Vintage Books, 1952), p. xxi.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. xxiii.

<sup>39</sup> Germaine Greer, The Female Eunuch (London: Palladin, 1970), p. 16.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, Susan Griffin, "Rape: The All American Crime", Ramparts Magazine, X (September 1971), pp. 26-35 or Andra Medea and Kathleen Thompson, Against Rape (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1974).

<sup>41</sup> Jack Sawyer, "On Male Liberation", in Joseph H. Pleck and Jack Sawyer, eds., Men and Masculinity (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), p. 172. A similar tack is taken by Warren Farrell, The Liberated Man (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1974), pp. 53-59.

<sup>42</sup> Phyllis Chesler and Emily Jane Goodman, Women, Money and Power (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1976), p. 11.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>44</sup> Naomi Weisstein, "Psychology Constructs the Female", in Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, eds., Woman in Sexist Society (New York: New American Library, 1971), p. 221.

<sup>45</sup> Chesler and Goodman, Women, Money and Power, p. 38.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>47</sup> Joan Trey, "Women in the War Economy", The Review of Radical Political Economics IV (July 1972), p. 53.

<sup>48</sup> Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1970), p. 126.

<sup>49</sup> de Beauvoir, Second Sex, p. xxiv.

<sup>50</sup> For a discussion of this point see Ann Duffy, "Women and History", Occasional Papers of the McMaster University Sociology of Women Programme, I (Spring 1977), pp. 2-4.

<sup>51</sup> Margrit Eichler, "Women as Personal Dependents", in Marylee Stephenson, ed., Women in Canada (Toronto: New Press, 1973), p. 50.

<sup>52</sup> Firestone, Dialectic of Sex, p. 18.

<sup>53</sup> Chesler and Goodman, Women, Money and Power, pp. 107-108.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>55</sup> de Beauvoir, Second Sex, p. xxiii.

<sup>56</sup> Chesler and Goodman, Women, Money and Power, pp. 12-13.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>60</sup> See for example, Mary Beard, Woman as Force in History (New York: Collier Books, 1946), pp. 295-318.

<sup>61</sup> de Beauvoir, Second Sex, p. xix.

<sup>62</sup> Firestone, Dialectic of Sex, pp. 156-169.

<sup>63</sup> Millman and Kanter, "Editorial Introduction", in Another Voice, p. viii.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. xiii.

<sup>65</sup> Firestone, Dialectic of Sex, p. 13.

<sup>66</sup> Chris Middleton, "Sexual Inequality and Stratification Theory", in Frank Parkin, ed., The Social Analysis of Class Structure (London: Tavistock Publications, 1974), p. 194.

For additional examples of the economic explanation of women's subordination see:

Ira Gerstein, "Domestic Work and Capitalism", Radical America, VII (July-October 1973), pp. 101-128.

Paddy Quick, "Woman's Work", The Review of Radical Political Economics, VI (July 1972), pp. 2-19.

Peggy Morton, "Women's Work is Never Done", in Women Unite, An Anthology of the Canadian Women's Movement (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1972), pp. 46-68.

Margaret Benson, The Political Economy of Women's Liberation (Toronto: Hogtown Press, 1969).

Lise Vogel, "The Earthly Family", Radical America, VII (July-October 1973), pp. 9-50.

<sup>67</sup> de Beauvoir, Second Sex, p. xxi and pp. 66-67.

<sup>68</sup> Phyllis Chesler, Women and Madness (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1973), p. 187n.

<sup>69</sup> Chesler and Goodman, Women, Money and Power, p. 71.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>71</sup> Kate Millett, Sexual Politics (New York: Avon Books, 1969), p. 38.

<sup>72</sup> Middleton, "Sexual Inequality", p. 194.

<sup>73</sup> See below, pp. 55-56.

<sup>74</sup> Millman and Kanter, Another Voice, p. xiii.

<sup>75</sup> Ralf Dahrendorf, "Social Structure, Group Interests, and Conflict Groups" in Olsen, ed., Power in Societies, p. 60.

<sup>76</sup> For a similarly comprehensive conception of power, see Etzioni, "Power as a Societal Force", p. 24.

<sup>77</sup> See Arnold Rose, The Power Structure (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 45 and Etzioni, "Power as a Societal Relation", p. 26.

<sup>78</sup> See above, p. 14.

<sup>79</sup> Bachrach and Baratz, Power and Poverty, p. 30.

<sup>80</sup> C. Wright Mills, "The Structure of Power in American Society" in Irving Louis Horowitz, ed., Power Politics and People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 23.

<sup>81</sup> See pages pp. 44-50.

<sup>82</sup> Stephen Lukes, Power: A Radical View (London: Macmillan Press, Limited, 1974), p. 29.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>84</sup> See Emerson, "Power-Dependence Relations", p. 45.

<sup>85</sup> Etzioni, "Power as a Societal Force", p. 19.

<sup>86</sup> Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power", p. 14.

<sup>87</sup> Rose, The Power Structure, p. 46.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>89</sup> Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model", p. 29.

<sup>90</sup> G. William Domhoff, Who Rules America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 11.

<sup>91</sup> C. Wright Mills, "Women: The Darling Little Slaves", in Irving Louis Horowitz, ed., Power Politics and People, p. 344.

<sup>92</sup> Mills, "Structure of Power in America", p. 23.

<sup>93</sup> Lukes, Power: A Radical View, p. 23.

<sup>94</sup> E.E. Schattschneider, The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 71.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>96</sup> Bachrach and Baratz, Power and Poverty, p. 43.

<sup>97</sup> See Schattschneider, The Semisovereign People, pp. 73-74.

<sup>98</sup> Bachrach and Baratz, Power and Poverty, p. 7.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>100</sup> Lukes, Power: A Radical View, p. 19.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>103</sup> Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model", p. 27.

<sup>104</sup> Paul Sweezy, "The American Ruling Class", in Richard Gillam, ed., Power in Postwar America (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. 44.

<sup>105</sup> Rose, The Power Structure, p. 33.

<sup>106</sup> Richard Gillam, "Introduction", in Gillam, ed., Power in Postwar America, p. 5. Gillam is here referring specifically to the pluralism of David Reisman.

<sup>107</sup> Rose, The Power Structure, p. 27.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>109</sup> See for example, Dusky Lee Smith, "The Sunshine Boys: Toward a Sociology of Happiness", in J. David Colfax and Jack L. Roach, eds., Radical Sociology (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971), pp. 28-44.

<sup>110</sup> Adolf A. Berle, Jr. and Gardiner C. Means, The Modern Corporation and Private Property (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932).

<sup>111</sup> Philip H. Burch, Jr., The Managerial Revolution Reassessed: Family Control in America's Large Corporations (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1972), p. 101.

<sup>112</sup> For an expanded critique of the pluralist position, see G. William Domhoff, "Where a Pluralist Goes Wrong", Berkeley Journal of Sociology, XIV (1969), pp. 35-57.

<sup>113</sup> See for example, Mills, "The Sociology of Stratification", in Horowitz, ed., Power, Politics and People, p. 307.

<sup>114</sup> Domhoff, Who Rules America, p. 3.

<sup>115</sup> Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Selected Works (New York: International Publishers, 1968), p. 172.

<sup>116</sup> Domhoff, Higher Circles, p. 32.

<sup>117</sup> See Paul Sweezy, "Has Capitalism Changed?" in Shigeto Tsuru ed., Has Capitalism Changed (Tokyo: Twanami Shotin Co., 1961), pp. 87-90. The pluralists are, of course, even more concerned with pointing out the internal divisions in the upper class. See, for example, Aron, "Social Structure [Part II]", p. 130.

<sup>118</sup> Domhoff, Higher Circles, p. 97.

<sup>119</sup> Domhoff, Who Rules America, p. 23.

120 See, for example, Rose, The Power Structure, p. 1.

121 Mills, "The Structure of Power in American Society",  
p. 25.

122 Sweezy, "The American Ruling Class", p. 48.

123 William J. Goode, The Family (Englewood Cliffs,  
New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 80.

See also Frank Parkin, Class, Inequality and Political  
Order (London: Paladin, 1970), pp. 13-14.

124 Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class (New York: McGraw  
Hill Book Co., 1939), p. 123.

125 Bertrand Russell, Power: A New Social Analysis  
(London: Unwin Books, 1938), p. 10.

126 Bachrach and Baratz, Power and Poverty, p. 57.

127 Max Weber, The Methodology of the Social Sciences  
(Glencoe: The Free Press, 1947), p. 90.

128 Richard Gillam, "Introduction" in Gillam, ed.,  
Power in Postwar America, p. 11.

## II

### METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

The pivotal theoretical concern is with the nexus between social class and sex caste. The decision was made to investigate this area by looking at upper-class women and their relationship to social class and sex caste interests. In part this strategy reflected theoretical considerations. Upper-class women, more than any other group of women, would presumably have access to power resources and therefore have the potential ability to affect sex caste or social class issues.\* In addition, as discussed below, it was of methodological significance that there existed a fairly comprehensive body of information regarding these women.\*\*

The research was further narrowed to 'socially active' upper-class women - women who were involved in institutional, organizational or group activity in the public domain. Excluded

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\*In addition, this investigation of upper-class women and their power (if any) sheds light on the structure of the upper class.

\*\*As discussed in the following pages women in general tend to be excluded from historical accounts. Upper-class women as a result of their relationships to rich, powerful and famous men, tend to have been less subjected to this historical bias.

were those women (for example, Hetty Green who had a remarkable career as a financial wizard) who engaged in individualistic pursuits.\* Socially active upper-class women would, it was thought, have the greatest opportunity to affect social or sex caste interests. There was again the methodological consideration that this social activism was likely to result in public records of their activities. In brief, the research focussed on a 'strategic' research population - a population most likely to embody, in a researchable fashion, the central theoretical issues.

Having set forth the key theoretical concepts and refined the inquiry's focus, it was necessary to translate these efforts into a concrete research strategy. The foremost consideration was the location or construction of information resources which would allow for a systematic, objective and comprehensive investigation of this subject matter.

### 1. Information Resources

More so than in many other areas of investigation, the simple practicality of this research was a real consideration. First, as members of the upper class, these women were

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\*Although, as discussed in the preceeding chapter, private, person-to-person power is often regarded as female, this kind of power is relatively impervious to systematic, comprehensive research. In several instances, the present research uncovered informal evidence which hints at the dimensions of upper-class women's private power. These instances are noted in the research results.

members of a group notoriously impervious to traditional sociological methods.<sup>1</sup> As E. Digby Baltzell explains, "...people in this category, as a rule, do not have either the time or the inclination to supply such data solely for the purposes of sociological analysis."<sup>2</sup> Basically, the upper-class members' power and privilege allowed them to limit and direct the flow of information and thus to protect themselves, when they so desired, from direct forms of inquiry.

Secondly, upper-class women as 'women' were difficult to research. As has been discussed and documented elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> historians and sociologists alike have been inclined to ignore or trivialize women and their activities. In consequence, much pertinent information which existed regarding men simply did not exist for women. As Ruth Rosen stated, "For the most part women are made invisible. When discussed at all, women are treated with the same set of narrowly defined attitudes that oppress most women throughout their lives. Usually, they appear as part of the domestic scene behind the real actors and action of national life."<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Patricia Kruppa pointed out that many of women's records were not thought worthy of preservation and that often historians have been preoccupied with the exploits of the powerful and famous to the exclusion, in most instances, of women.<sup>5</sup>

Consequently, there were two important and basic restrictions on the amount and kind of information available. As members of the upper class, these women tended to be

socially inaccessible; as members of a subject caste they tended to be historically invisible. In this situation a successful methodology depended upon unearthing an objective and fairly extensive pool of information which had remained untapped in upper-class studies to this point.<sup>6</sup>

Preliminary investigation indicated that this information did, in fact, exist. In 1971 Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James and Paul S. Boyer, under the auspices of Radcliffe College, published Notable American Women, a biographical dictionary of historically significant American women who lived between 1607 and 1950. Although this reference did not by itself provide sufficient information on which to base an inquiry, it did suggest the usefulness of standard reference sources in compiling biographical information on upper-class women.

There were a number of precedents for this kind of research into the upper class and 'elites'. For example, C. Wright Mills studied the "American Business Elite" by analyzing 1,464 biographical entries in the Dictionary of American Biography.<sup>7</sup> Reinhard Bendix and Frank W. Houton examined "American Business Leaders" by analyzing 887 biographies taken from the National Cyclopedias of American Biography, the Dictionary of American Biography and Current Biography.<sup>8</sup> More recently, Richard Jensen studied Chicago and Wichita leaders of the early twentieth century using this

method of quantitative collective biography.<sup>9</sup>

The tremendous advantage of using this approach was that it made use of an easily accessible, rich, and, as yet, largely unused source of information. In general, entries listed date of birth, parents' names, educational background, marriage partner, organizational positions, club memberships and honours. In some instances, there was additional information (for example, the National Encyclopedia of American Biography contained very detailed biographies covering the history of the individual's career) or conversely, in a number of cases the entry might be incomplete, leaving out, for example, full details of the educational background or an up-to-date listing of organizational affiliations. However, in most instances, the information was standardized and was, therefore, easily analyzed.

Further, and of greater significance, there was reason to believe that most of the information provided by these sources was valid and reliable. Editors went to great lengths to indicate that the content of their texts was both accurate and unbiased. For example, the introduction to the Dictionary of American Biography pointed out that the staff made use of a wide variety of authorities along with a number of existing biographical lists in order to arrive at a comprehensive compendium of subjects. Similarly, the New York Times Obituary Index and the Woman's Who's Who of America 1914-15 stipulated that financial considerations had no bearing on

who was or was not included in the text. In general, biographical sources argued that the only guidelines directing their selection committees were the national prominence, newsworthiness, notoriety or popularity of the individual in question.

As to the accuracy of each individual entry, once again the editors maintained that every effort was made to provide complete and unbiased information. For example, the Appleton's Cyclopedie of American Biography pointed out that it selected the most competent authorities in each particular field of endeavour and exhorted them to make use of original sources.

John W. Leonard, editor-in-chief of Women's Who's Who, presented a typical preface, "Great care has been given to the securing of accuracy. Neither inerrancy nor infallibility is claimed, and doubtless some errors may have crept in, but it is believed that very few will be found."<sup>10</sup>

In addition to such protestations, there were certain practical considerations which supported belief in the basic accuracy of these sources. First, the commercial success and the professional reputation of the editors depended in no small part on the completeness and value of the information they provided. Secondly, the information was generally not value-laden or politically-loaded and so was unlikely to be subject to outright bias or prejudice. As Louis Gottschalk commented, "When the truth of a statement is a matter of indifference to the witness, he is likely to be unbiased."<sup>11</sup>

This is not, however, to suggest that these standard biographical references had no shortcomings. The information available, while valuable, was limited. References such as Who's Who by their very nature left unanswered many questions pertinent to social analysis.\* Further, the process determining who was or was not included did not necessarily coincide with sociological standards. Criteria for inclusion varied somewhat from index to index\*\* and were sometimes influenced by miscellaneous factors such as a change of editors, strikes or military strife. Also, those individuals who were only in the midst of achieving prominence would tend to be bypassed in the selection process. This was all in addition to the problem of simple misprints, inaccuracies and omissions.<sup>13</sup>

In brief, the kind of amount of information might be limited and the selection process somewhat imperfect. However, of more definitive significance to the issues at hand, these standard reference sources, such as Who's Who, Current Biography, Dictionary of American Biography, and so forth, were not directed to women. As Jensen noted, "Before the Nineteenth Amendment was passed, no women, not even Jane Addams or Mrs. Potter Palmer, received separate entries [in

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\*As Matilda Riley suggested, "Because the data were not originally assembled for present purposes, they are often incompatible or in a form in which they are not readily available." 12

\*\*For example, while Appleton's Cycloedia selected 'all the note-worthy people of the New World', Who's Who described its subjects as the 'best-known men and women in the public eye'.

Who's Who].<sup>14</sup> Although women were mentioned, albeit sporadically in Who's Who and other standard sources, they were grossly under-represented.\*

Reflecting a prevailing masculine bias in history, biographers and editors for these reference journals had been concerned with exploits in the male domain. As Kruppa noted, American history "...celebrates the achievements of politicians, entrepreneurs, and soldiers [and] can give credit to women only as the selfless wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters...".<sup>15</sup> According to this frame of reference women became historically noteworthy only if they achieved 'male prominence' or if they were truly extraordinary in their womanly domain.\*\* It was as a result of this underlying ideology that a standard reference source such as the Dictionary of American Biography, which contained fifteen thousand entries devoted only seven hundred biographical sketches to women.<sup>16</sup>

Notable American Women and its follow-up, now in preparation, were produced in response to the failure of established reference texts to include women. These women-oriented references were a necessary first step in offsetting

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\*In 1958 a separate edition of Who's Who entitled Who's Who of American Women was introduced. While this was a valuable supplement, it was a limited resource when contrasted to the wealth of information available on men dating back past the turn of the century.

\*\*For example, Ruth Pratt, Eleanor Roosevelt and Bella Abzug were routinely listed because they achieved prominence in a traditionally masculine domain - politics.

the masculine bias in collected biographies. They were not, however, a solution to the limitations on woman-related information. Notable American Women which covered American women from 1607 to 1950 contained 1,359 entries. Who Was Who in American History, a typical male-oriented compilation of biographies contained 49,258 entries for the same time period. The five-volume Who's Who in American History contained 115,000 entries.

Lastly, this biographical information was not directed at class analysis. While it might be organized around concepts such as 'business elite', it did not directly relate to 'upper class' as conceptualized here.\* Women identified in the standard reference sources as reformers or social workers did not neatly fall into class categories. Consequently, it was not possible to simply follow Mills or Bendix and Houton and select every nth person in one of the indices. Several reference texts, notably the Dictionary of American Biography and Notable American Women did categorize women into groups along class-related lines - for example, philanthropists - but the resultant groups of women were too small\*\* and hetero-

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\*As Matilda Riley noted, "the data that come to the researcher in a form he does not fully understand may not fit present definitions of the concepts under scrutiny; they may lack correspondence with the conceptual model." 17

\*\*Notable American Women listed fifty-nine philanthropists and the Dictionary of American Biography listed thirty-five women philanthropists.

geneous\* to analyze.

In sum, while quantitative collective biography did indicate a potentially useful pool of information, it could not be applied straightforwardly and unreservedly as the selection criterion for the study of upper-class women and power. There was no one reference source with sufficient coverage to permit this. The methodology had to be modified if it was to meet the special requirements of a specifically woman- and class-oriented inquiry. With these modifications, however, this approach promised, as Jensen suggested, "to answer half the questions that have been unanswerable before, and to free the historian from dependence on the haphazard generalizations of journalists, novelists, and biographers of famous men [and women]."<sup>18</sup>

As a result of the above considerations, the decision was made to gather information on the research subjects from eight standard biographical references: Notable American Women, the National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Who Was Who, A Woman of the Century, Principal Women of America, Woman's Who's Who of America: 1914-1915, Dictionary of American Biography and Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography. The New York Times Obituary Index provided an invaluable additional source. When necessary and possible, supplementary

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\*The list in Notable American Women, for example, covered the years from 1607 to 1950 and included women from a wide variety of locales.

biographical and autobiographical works, as indicated by the Biography Index, were consulted.

The individual sources were of varying quality and utility. Notable American Women offered the most scholarly and comprehensive coverage of its subjects. However, since its content was so limited (1,359 entries for all American women who lived between 1607 and 1950), it could not by itself meet the needs of this research. The Dictionary of American Biography and the National Cyclopedia of American Biography provided approximately the same quality of material. However, these two were not primarily concerned with women (the Dictionary of American Biography had only 706 entries for women). Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography was published in 1880 and supplemented in 1900. As a result, it was primarily useful with regard to women active in the 1870's and 1880's.

A Woman of the Century, Principal Women of America, American Women, Who Was Who and Woman's Who's Who of America: 1914-1915 had more limited information. In general, they provided only simple biographical facts and no elaboration. However, the advantage of these works was that they contained so many biographies that they often provided information on women bypassed by other, more selective references.

Finally, the New York Times Obituaries were crucial to this research. In a number of instances an obituary was the only source of information on an individual or it provided

crucial additional information. However, the obituaries were not standardized. While in most cases standard biographical details (date of birth, maiden name, et cetera) were included, sometimes they were not. Obituaries ranged from two or three columns of text to two or three lines (depending not only on the importance of the individual but also on such vagaries as the relative significance of other obituaries, newspaper strikes, editorial policy and so forth). While valuable, they were in no way consistent.

In brief, no single biographical source was entirely satisfactory. By employing a variety of reference texts the effects of insufficiencies, errors, or biases present in any single source were minimized. The additional advantage to this approach was that in information-poor fields of inquiry, such as women's studies, it maximized the possibility of obtaining data.

## 2. Nature of Research Information

### (i) Upper-Class

In order to work out an operational methodology it was necessary to specify the kind of information that was demanded by the theory outlined earlier. The primary distinguished characteristic of the universe to be studied was that it was upper-class. For the purposes of this research a woman was considered a member of the upper class if she or at least one 'close' relative possessed three or more of the following characteristics: 1. listing in the 1925 New York

Social Register, 2. membership in one or more upper-class clubs, 3. attainment of high executive office in a major legal or business concern or high political office, 4. membership in one of the 'wealthy' families, 5. membership in one of the traditionally 'prestigious' families, 6. education by private tutors or in an upper-class private school. For the purposes of the present research, 'close' relations are considered to include the individual's mother, father, husband, sister, brother, son or daughter, grandparents, grandchildren, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, first cousins, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. This familial approach was in keeping with the theoretical perspective on the upper class developed above.

First, listing in the 1925 New York edition of the Social Register (the only volume available to the researcher) was selected as a criterion because the directory was considered by authorities in the sociology of power and stratification to be a fairly valid indicator of upper-class status.<sup>19</sup> Given the time parameters of the research (as discussed below) the Register provided a valuable resource regarding those individuals still living in the vicinity of New York City in 1925. However, even within these restrictions of time and place, the Social Register did not, in and of itself, constitute a definitive list of the upper class.

As pointed out by Baltzell, it "...is privately owned and lists social status, as it were, for a profit."<sup>20</sup> Inclusion was unsystematic and subject to bias for, "Potential members

must make application themselves and include written references from present members...the only exceptions to this rule are to be found in Washington...."<sup>21</sup> In addition, individuals are excluded for a variety of extraneous reasons. Fortune Magazine noted, for example, that individuals were left out or even removed from the Register if they were identified with some scandal or notoriety.<sup>22</sup> Murder, divorce, or show business spelled exile. Also, according to Frederick Lewis Allen, "...the 'Social Register' was virtually a gentile register."<sup>23</sup> From the present research it did not appear that Jews were excluded from the 1925 Social Register but they did appear to have been under-represented. In brief, while the Social Register was an extremely valuable reference, it was not sufficiently comprehensive or unbiased to stand alone. Upper-class status had to be substantiated by additional evidence.

The second criterion, membership in one or more upper-class clubs, caught some of those individuals who were not listed in this particular edition of the Social Register either for one of the reasons cited above or because they died or moved away from New York City prior to 1925. The Social Register provided a listing of exclusive clubs in the city.\* Taken by itself, membership in one of these clubs was not definitive evidence of upper-class status since, as G. William Domhoff commented, "Some very middle-class people,

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\*See Appendix A.

such as university presidents and foundation officials, may be invited into one of the exclusive clubs by their employers."<sup>24</sup> Domhoff's own research (along with that of Baltzell in The Protestant Establishment and Lucy Kavaler in The Private World of High Society) did suggest that in the presence of corroborating evidence exclusive club membership was a useful indicator of social position.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, the third factor, attainment of high executive office in a major legal or business concern or high political office<sup>26</sup> helped to confirm class status. For the purposes of this research high political office included holding a position in the U.S. Congress, the U.S. Senate, in a state legislature, as President of the United States or as a member of his cabinet or as Mayor of a major metropolitan centre. High executive office was defined as being chairman of the board of directors, president, vice-president or a member of a board of directors of a 'major' business or legal enterprise. The relative significance of the business or legal concern is determined by reference to secondary sources such as Fortune Magazine's 1917 list of the top five hundred corporations.

The fourth consideration, direct kin relations with one of the 'wealthy' families, performed a similar function. The 'wealthy' families could be distinguished by reference to studies such as Ferdinand Lundberg's America's 60 Families, Stephen Birmingham's Our Crowd, Dixon Wecter's The Saga of

American Society and Fortune Magazine's "Richest U.S. Women".

However, as indicated in the theoretical chapter, some families may have had claims on upper-class status without having any connection to great wealth. Consequently, the fifth criterion focused in on close kin relations to 'prestigious' families. These prestigious (and not necessarily wealthy) families were identified, for example, in Baltzell's The Protestant Establishment, Cleveland Amory's Who Killed Society, and Allen Churchill's The Upper Crust: An Informal History of New York's Highest Society. In addition, Ward McAllister's famous list of the 'Four Hundred' indicated some of the less well-to-do but still prestigious 'old' families.<sup>27</sup>

The sixth characteristic, education by private tutors or in an upper-class private school, made use of information on educational background. There was a body of research, notably that of Kavaler, Domhoff and Baltzell, which clearly suggested that the upper class tended to send their children to a small number of exclusive private schools.\* As a result, attendance at such a school might be considered a strong indicator of upper-class status. Fortune Magazine listed the exclusive private girls' schools relevant to the specific period under consideration: Miss Porter's (Farmington), founded 1843, Masters' School 1877, St. Timothy's 1882, Brearley

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\*Domhoff did stipulate that, "Some people prefer to keep their children close to home in small private schools that are little known and hardly ever listed in standard biographical sources." 28

1883, Rosemary Hall 1890, Shipley School 1894, Miss Hall's 1898, Miss Chapin's 1900, Madeira School 1906, Westover 1909, Miss Walker's 1911, and Foxcroft 1914.<sup>29</sup>

Domhoff's more contemporary listings of upper-class boys'<sup>30</sup> and girls'<sup>31</sup> schools were useful in categorizing the class background of some of the subjects' close relations. There was, in addition, one final consideration. Given, as indicated by the Fortune list, that there were relatively few upper-class girls' schools in existence prior to 1915, education by private tutors and by tours of Europe was a popular form of education among the upper class. Consequently, this educational format was also considered evidence of upper-class status.

This completed the operationalization of upper-class status. In dealing with a concept as complex and amorphous as 'upper class' it was not possible to achieve a perfect epistemic correlation. The intent here was to operationalize the concept in a way that was theoretically sound, empirically rigorous but at the same time sensitive to the limitations of available information.

Consequently, the decision to rely on three or more upper-class characteristics reflected several considerations. First, this approach was in keeping with the theoretical orientation to class discussed in the preceding chapter. Membership in the upper class was not simply a question of possessions or wealth or prestige. Instead, it was a mosaic

of social variables which welded together produced a distinct social reality, a reality buttressed by and symbolized by exclusive schools and clubs. Further, the upper class itself was somewhat heterogeneous. While some members of the upper class possessed a variety of upper-class traits, there were others whose wealth might be too new to confer prestige, whose family might have 'arrived' too recently for them to have enjoyed the advantages of 'good' schools or, finally, who despite humble origins, had married into the upper class. As noted above, the research here was constructed so that any such individuals who lacked a full complement of upper-class qualifications were not arbitrarily excluded.<sup>32</sup>

Secondly, the research had to recognize several practical restrictions. On the one hand, as indicated above, no one social indicator was wholly reliable or valid. Yet, conversely, there were several limitations on the information available, particularly regarding women. The selection of three criteria and the inclusion of information on close male and female relations (a step warranted, as noted, by the theoretical framework) not only helped offset the effects of biases and inaccuracies in any one source but also made maximum use of available data. There were a number of avenues for inclusion along with distinct boundaries for exclusion. In brief, this approach reduced problems of reliability and validity while keeping within the parameters dictated by

limited informational resources.\*

(ii) 'Socially Active'

The second principal feature of the research population was that it was narrowed to 'socially active' upper-class women. The focus was on women who through concrete actions - as indicated, for example, by executive position, membership or financial gestures - undertook to affect through a social organization some element in the social structure. As a result, the research population was made up of those upper-class women who were involved in at least one institutional, organizational or group activity in the public domain - activities that ranged from union organizations to public health agencies to suffrage groups.

(iii) Time and Place

Lastly, the research was restricted to Greater New York City between 1880 and 1920. These last two delimitations of time and place provided the necessary closure so that the data collected was manageable and focussed. It narrowed the inquiry to a specific historical period, to a relatively precise socio-historical context and to a finite number of issues and organizations.

Greater New York City referred to New York City proper

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\*In contrast, some researchers such as, Domhoff in The Higher Circles and Beth Mintz in "The President's Cabinet 1897-1972" relied upon single indicators such as the Social Register or private school attendance despite the inaccuracies attendant upon such an approach.

and its immediate vicinity. It was a condition for inclusion in the research population that the individual in question engaged in activity within this locale. It was not necessary that the individual reside within the boundaries of New York City. Many upper-class women of the period chose to reside in more affluent suburbs or in neighbouring towns or they had several residences. Further, while the research was primarily concerned with New York City, it also took into consideration activities that spilled over into neighbouring districts; for example, several active in New York City were also active in New Jersey.

The time period - 1880 to 1920 - was meant to focus the research but it did not represent a rigid set of boundaries. Relevant events and developments that preceded 1880 were noted and activities extending beyond 1920 were, where appropriate, discussed. In general, most of the events discussed in the research fell within this forty year span.

This particular period was selected because it constituted one crucial juncture in the history of American society. During this period, the America socio-economic system was moving toward an increasingly urban and capitalist structure.\*

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\*For example, Richard Hofstadter indicated that between 1860 and 1910 the rural population managed almost to double itself, while the urban population multiplied seven times.<sup>33</sup> Regarding the emergence of the modern capitalistic order, Gabriel Kolko commented, "It is business control over politics (and by 'business' I mean the major economic interests)... that is the significant phenomenon of the Progressive Era [1900-1916]. Such domination was direct and indirect, but significant only insofar as it provided means for achieving a greater end - political capitalism."<sup>34</sup>

In the course of this development the upper class was emerging as a national phenomenon buttressed by massive economic power.<sup>35</sup>

Richard Hofstadter pointed out that between 1894 and 1904 almost three-quarters of the trusts and almost six-sevenths of the capital in trusts had come into existence.<sup>36</sup> During the same proximate period the upper class took important steps in consolidating, refining and co-ordinating its internal structure:

The turning point came in the 1880's when a number of symbolic events forecast the nature of the American upper class in the twentieth century. Thus, when President Eliot of Harvard built his summer cottage at Northeast Harbor, Maine, in 1881, the exclusive summer resort trend was well under way; the founding of The Country Club at Brookline, Massachusetts, in 1882, marked the beginning of the country-club trend; the founding of the Sons of the Revolution, in 1883, symbolized the birth of the genealogical fad and the patrician scramble for old-stock roots; Endicott Peabody's founding of Groton School, in 1884, in order to rear young gentlemen in the tradition of British public schools (and incidentally to protect them from the increasing heterogeneity of the public school system) was an important symbol of both upper-class exclusiveness and patrician Anglophilia; and finally, the Social Register, a convenient index of this new associational aristocracy, was first issued toward the end of this transitional decade in 1887....<sup>37</sup>

Meanwhile, over the same span of years the development of the working class into a substantial, distinct and dissatisfied social entity was gathering momentum. By 1886 the Knights of Labor had over one million members.<sup>38</sup> In 1892 the pro-labour Populist Party was founded; in 1894 nearly 750,000 men were out on strike, Coxey's army marched on Washington and Eugene Debs' launched his famous rebellion.<sup>39</sup> In the

United States Senate in 1893, Senator Ingalls stated, "'We cannot disguise the truth that we are on the verge of a revolution...Labor, starving and sullen in the cities, aims to overthrow a system under which the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer, a system which gives to a Vanderbilt and a Gould wealth beyond the dreams of avarice and condemns the poor to poverty from which there is no escape or refuge but the grave.'"<sup>40</sup>

By 1911 trade union membership was five times what it had been in 1897\* and by 1912, 1,039 socialists had been elected to office.<sup>42</sup> According to working-class historian, Louis Adamic, "Never before had there been such nationwide class-consciousness on the part of the working class of America as in the last half of 1911."<sup>43</sup> While working-class consciousness and solidarity peaked and then declined in the remainder of the decade, it remained high enough for Robert La Follette, a moderate socialist, to win 16.6 per cent of the popular vote in his 1924 presidential bid.<sup>44</sup>

Not only was this a turbulent and momentous era in the development of the class structure, sex roles were also at a point of turmoil and change. By the late 1880's there were several indications that the Victorian 'Cult of True Womanhood'<sup>45</sup> was being seriously undermined. While women were still marrying and staying at home they were progressively bearing fewer and fewer children.<sup>46</sup> Meanwhile the incidence

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\*Hofstadter noted, "Total membership had grown from 447,000 to 2,382,000." 41

of marriage breakdown was increasing at a precipitate rate: "In 1880 there was one divorce for every twenty-one marriages; in 1900 there was one divorce for every twelve marriages; in 1909 the ratio dropped to one in ten and by 1916 it stood at one in nine."<sup>47</sup> During approximately the same time period there was an appreciable increase in women's labour force participation.\* In 1890 women (aged sixteen to forty-four) constituted 21.7 per cent of the work force. By 1900 this rose to 23.5 per cent and by 1920 it reached 28.3 per cent.<sup>48</sup>

The domestic sphere was in upheaval and women were seeking a new relation to the social order. Although the suffrage and women's clubs' movements had already appeared around 1850, it was only in the late 1800's that they achieved national prominence and recognition through organizations such as the National American Suffrage Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the General Federation of Women's Clubs.<sup>49</sup> From this time until 1920 when suffrage was finally achieved, American women, through numerous social clubs, educational and reform groups, waged an important struggle over their future role in society.

In brief, this particular span of years was selected because it constituted a pivotal moment in the development

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\*This increase primarily concerned unmarried (single, separated or divorced) women. Increased labour force participation by married women is of more recent vintage.

of American society. James R. McGovern stated, "Obviously, the Progressive era, more than the 1920's, represents the substantial beginnings of contemporary American civilization."<sup>50</sup> Significantly, many of the outstanding issues, events and organizations of this period pertained directly to the future evolution of sex-roles and class structure in America.

New York City was the obvious environment in which to study these activities. It was at this time the financial, social and cultural fulcrum of the nation. As Baltzell commented, "By the eighteen eighties, New York was the center of social life in the United States."<sup>51</sup> Further, it was the spiritual and social mecca for the upper class. As Frederic Jager pointed out, "Young men of energy and ambition from all parts of the country were drawn to New York's orbit. In comparing the elites of these cities [Boston and New York] we measure a regional enclave against a national entity."<sup>52</sup>

In brief, the parameters of time and place outlined above narrowed the inquiry to a specific socio-historical context. This closure was considered necessary in order to achieve a manageable and focussed body of information. This specific location in time and space was selected on the grounds that it appeared to constitute an optimum environment for upper-class women's participation in the public domain. This was a period when their interests as a class and caste were clearly at issue and this was a social climate alive with opportunities for action and organization.

In conclusion, the resultant research population was made up of upper-class women who were socially active in New York City or vicinity at some time during the late 1890's or early 1900's. This group of individuals was by no means necessarily representative of upper-class women as a whole. There was no way of determining from the research approach taken here if, for example, most upper-class women were 'socially active'. In addition, the group included only those upper-class women whose social activities were deemed sufficiently noteworthy (by at least one reference source) to warrant a biographical entry. However, these restrictions were in keeping with the nature of the present inquiry. Since the concern here was with determining whether or not those upper-class women who were socially active exercised power that was of socio-historical significance, these prominent social activists were an appropriate test group.

### 3. Research Procedure

Having located the sources of information and specified the information sought, all that remained was to detail the actual research process. The first step in the investigation was locating and selecting research subjects. There was no listing of the upper-class population of New York City during the period let alone the upper-class women of the time.\*

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\*Even if the concept 'upper class' is operationalized simply in terms of wealth there is no reliable and complete listing for the period. 53

Consequently, it was not possible to follow the simple procedure of studying a representative sample of the population. Rather, the limitations of existing information dictated a more eclectic approach. As George C. Homans noted, "'There are neither good nor bad methods but only methods that are more or less effective under particular circumstances in reaching objectives on the way to a distant goal.'"<sup>54</sup>

It was necessary to develop from a wide variety of sources a list of 'possible' research subjects. These 'possibles' were selected on the grounds that information suggested that they met at least several of the research criteria; that is, for example, they were inhabitants of New York City between 1880 and 1920 and they were upper-class or socially active. For example, women who were listed in Notable American Women as philanthropists, welfare work leaders, temperance advocates, suffragists, social workers, social leaders, social and civic reformers, music patrons, college administrators and so forth qualified for consideration. Similarly, the women philanthropists in the Dictionary of American Biography were included amongst these possibles.

In addition, Ward McAllister's "Four Hundred", Fortune Magazine's "Regency Council", Ferdinand Lundberg's America's 60 Families, and Edward Pessen's "Wealthiest New Yorkers of the Jacksonian Era" suggested the family names of possible subjects. Social analyses such as Churchill's The Upper Crust: An Informal History of New York's Highest

Society, Wecter's The Saga of American Society, Kavaler's The Private World of High Society, Birmingham's The Right People: A Portrait of the American Social Establishment, Irish Lace: America's Irish Rich and Our Crowd: The Great Jewish Families of New York and Domhoff's Higher Circles served a similar function. Finally, the women listed in the Social Register as officers of upper-class clubs were also investigated.

As research progressed and certain groups and institutions acquired obvious pre-eminence their boards of trustees, where known, were investigated; for example, Barnard College, the New York City Consumer's League and the New York City Public Education Association. The female relatives of those individuals who met all the research criteria were also researched. Lastly, in order to encompass those individuals who were possibly less well-known and prominent, all the women in the 1914 Woman's Who's Who of America who lived in New York City or vicinity and who also gave some clear indication of upper-class status (for example, attendance at a private school, or membership in an upper class club and/or listing in the 1925 Social Register) were included as 'possibles'.<sup>55</sup>

In the course of the research this procedure encompassed over two thousand names.\* Each was checked against the entries

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\*There are no precise figures on the number of

in the principal indices: Notable American Women, National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, the New York Times Obituaries Index, Who Was Who and the 1925 Social Register for New York City. If these sources indicated that the subject was indeed upper-class and socially active in New York City during the period 1880 to 1920 she was included in the 'research population'. Additional information was then gathered from the remaining biographical sources.

This pattern was followed until 412 subjects were collected. By this point increasingly diminishing returns with regard to finding 'possibles' who could be confirmed as members of the 'research population' suggested that, within the restrictions of available information, most of the socially active upper-class women in New York City during this time period had been covered.

It must be stressed that this procedure for locating and investigating the research population was no simple, straightforward matter. This was evidenced by the fact that even though the 'possibles' were selected on the grounds that they appeared to meet one or several of the research criteria, very few 'possibles' were ultimately included in the research population. The hurdles between finding a likely prospect and actually confirming a research subject were formidable and

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individuals considered since, as indicated, some of the 'possibles' investigated were family names of, for example, wealthy or prestigious families (such as the Vanderbilts and Astors). Consequently, the number two thousand represents a conservative estimate of the actual number of individual women encompassed by the research.

numerous.

In part the high attrition rate was due to the fact that the study group was made up of women. As women have been deemed to be socially less significant than their male counterparts, this was reflected (as discussed above) in the absence of information or in sketchy and incomplete information. Some women's obituaries, for example, discussed the husband's accomplishments and then concluded with the notation that the deceased was active in many unspecified charitable and philanthropic ventures. Unless further details were forthcoming from other sources, this individual had to be excluded from the research population.

Secondly, by the alchemy of marriage, women moved from one identity to another and in this process they sometimes dropped from view. Mary Smith became Mrs. John Brown. If she had first appeared in one of the sources under her maiden name she might be difficult or impossible to trace. The Social Register offered some assistance in that its 'Married Maidens' index listed the maiden names of its entries. Similarly, the Woman's Who's Who of America 1914 in an appendix listed the first name and maiden name of its entries, (for example, Mrs. John Brown - Mary Smith). This, of course, did not solve all the difficulties. If, for example, the subject was Mrs. Mary (John) Brown, née Smith, she might be indexed by Who Was Who or the New York Times Obituaries as either Mrs. John Brown, Mrs. M. Brown, Mary Brown or simply M. Brown. In

a comprehensive source such as the New York Times there might be numerous listings under each identity and none of these might, in fact, be Mrs. John Brown née Mary Smith. If, as in many instances, the original source identified the possible subject simply as Mrs. John Brown and John Brown had been married more than once there was the additional problem of determining to which Mrs. John Brown the source referred.

Thirdly, there was the problem of the woman's re-marriage. Not infrequently, it happened that a woman would play a prominent role under her first husband's name and then be widowed or divorced. If she remarried, she acquired a wholly new and different identity. Consequently, some of the women for whom there was no obituary or biographical reference were, in fact, women who had acquired new names through remarriage. Less commonly, an unmarried woman would become well-known under her maiden name and then later in life marry, producing the same difficulties. Of course, multiple marriages made the research almost impossible, unless, serendipitiously, the subject appeared in her new identity in a later account.

Finally, there were all the miscellaneous factors that hamper the research process. In a number of instances, the New York Times Obituaries was the only source with information on the subject. If the obituary index, by error, simply failed to index her obituary or if a newspaper strike resulted in highly abbreviated obituaries she might be left out of the research population. In some instances, the subjects moved

to or retired to distant parts and as a result their deaths were ignored or given short notice. Other subjects lived long and busy lives resulting in biographies and obituaries that gave scant or no comment on their early activities (up to 1920) and focussed instead on their later accomplishments. The net result was that much research effort was fruitless and many individuals were left out of the research population not because they clearly failed to meet the research criteria but because of the inadequacies of available information and because of the vicissitudes of being a woman in North American society.

In sum, the 'possibles' who were ultimately dropped were eliminated for a variety of reasons. For some there simply was no information or the available information was inadequate in terms of answering the research qualifications. In many instances the subject did not live in New York, had not been active during the appropriate time period, was not upper class and/or was not socially active. However, in some cases there was simply not sufficient information. Given, as discussed above, the severe limitations on available information, there was no way of determining if this kind of elimination was justified. Consequently, those cases for which there was strong (but not sufficient) evidence suggesting that the individual met the research criteria were more intensively researched.

For example, if the individual was described as a

philanthropist but no details regarding specific activities were given or if she was also listed in the Social Register but no record of her activities was uncovered, extra research steps were taken. Depending on the individual case, efforts might be made through the general New York Times Index to determine whether or not she had remarried and therefore her obituary was under a new name. This helped minimize the possibility that some women would be needlessly and illegitimately excluded.

This process whereby the 'research population' was selected was not as structured or systematic as would ideally be the case. However, the nature of the inquiry\* and the limited information resources necessitated this approach. The variety of sources used in originating the research subjects should have provided a reasonably objective and unbiased selection of individuals.

Having assembled the research population, biographical information was then accumulated for each of its members. Although for some women there was not complete data, for most full biographical files were compiled. These recorded where appropriate, name, birth date, place of birth, parents' names, prominent ancestors or relatives, educational institutions attended and level achieved, husband's(s') name (s), date of husband's (s') death (s), years of marriage, children's name (s),

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\*In particular, as discussed above, it was decided to focus on a 'strategic' research population.

dates of divorce, institutional affiliations, clubs, groups and organizational memberships, philanthropies and date of death. Where available, the information was supplemented with more detailed biographical accounts (for example, from autobiographies or full biographical studies). These sources indicated the fuller dimensions of the subject's life, for example, the nature of the role she played in the development of certain groups, organizations or movements or her attitudes, values and beliefs or her own understanding and evaluation of her role in the public domain.

#### 4. Analysis of Research Data

The final step in the research process was the collation and analysis of the biographical information collected on the 412 research subjects. By means of system analysis cards, the basic demographic information was organized along two dimensions: first, the life pattern of the subjects and secondly, the patterning, if any, of their group and organizational activities. The former showed what proportion of the research population were married, had children, were divorced, widowed, attended college and so forth. In short, it indicated the principal demographic characteristics of the research population. The latter organized the research subjects' memberships, institutional and philanthropic activities and so forth into fifteen broad categories.

The categories\* were as follows:

1. Education: any activity\*\* related to the creation, maintenance or expansion of specific educational facilities or to promoting education, in general, in the social realm
2. Suffrage: any activity related (for or against) to the movement for women's rights and, in particular, the right to vote
3. Labour: any activity promoting or attacking the labour movement, unionization and the rights of workers
4. Science: any activity related to the development of some scientific discipline in either the physical, natural or social sciences or to science-related institutions such as museums but excluding educational benefactions which fall under the first category

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\*The categories were not wholly mutually exclusive. Music academies would, for example, combine musical and educational activities. In such cases the activities were categorized according to what appeared to be (from descriptions of the organization et cetera) their outstanding characteristic. Accordingly, for example, music academies would be categorized under music on the grounds that this was distinguishing concern.

\*\*'Activity' included membership in, leadership of or financial contribution to one or more social organizations in the particular field.

5. Public Health: any activity pertaining to the creation, support or management of public health facilities, organizations or personnel, including the promotion, management and support of hospitals, the training of nurses and campaigns for improved or 'pure' foods
6. Social Welfare: any activity related to the creation, support or management of institutions and facilities intended to alleviate the misery of the poor and unemployed (for example, settlement house work). This is exclusive of the educational, labour and public health activities outlined above and relates most closely to 'charity' activities.
7. Prison Work: any activity to establish, support or direct any prison system or institution for men and/or women
8. Public Morality: any activity related specifically to maintaining or improving the moral climate in society (for example, censoring books, eliminating prostitution)
9. Religious Activity: any religious activity. This includes financial support for church or synagogue building programs, support for missionary work and other forms of religious proselytizing and participation in the women's auxiliaries of churches or synagogues.

10. Political Activity: any activity related to the support or direction of a politician in the political arena; that is, in seeking election and/or in acting out his/her political office or personal participation in seeking or holding office or, finally, work in the field of political education (for example, The League of Women Voters)
11. Arts: any activity that pertains to the development, support or management of institutions, facilities or individuals devoted to artistic endeavours (excluding music)
12. Music: any activity related to the development support or management of institutions, facilities or individuals devoted to musical endeavours
13. Peace Work: any activity directed specifically to promoting 'peace'
14. Race Relations: any activity directly related to the position of racial minorities in America (for example, financial support for black educational facilities)
15. Miscellaneous: those activities not encompassed by the preceding categories

Most organizations, groups or institutions could be fitted into one of these categories. However, in some instances,

there was no indication as to the organization's distinguishing area of interest or concern (for example, the Bide-A-Wee Association or the Lotos Club). If further investigation did not clarify the nature of the activity involved, the group was included under miscellaneous.

The preceding provided an overview of the research population and its range of activities. The second phase of the research analysis organized these activities in terms of the three predominant themes (social welfare, suffrage and ideological domination) and examined each in detail. First, an historical review, highlighting the important issues, events, organizations, individuals and developments within the particular realm, was constructed from existing social and historical analyses. Then, the individual research subjects active in the area were located and discussed within this broad socio-historical framework. Evidence was adduced from the biographical files to demonstrate whether or not within this context the subjects were 'powerful', whether their power was 'significant', and whether it was employed in the interests not only of their 'class' but also their 'sex caste'.

The steps involved in this analytical process can be clarified by concretizing the key concepts - power, significance and class versus sex caste interests. In this analysis a subject was considered powerful\* if she was involved in any

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\*This power might be socially and historically

of the following relationships with a group, organization, institution or movement:

1. the subject was formally designated the leader,
2. the subject held an executive position,
3. the subject was formally or informally honoured,
4. the subject was the source of substantial material support,\*\*
5. the subject, alone or in concert with others, was a founder,
6. the subject was recorded to have played an important, direct or indirect, role in the forming of policy, the settlement of disputes or reorganization.

The first two criteria related to the more direct manifestations of power; specifically, they reflected the opportunity and the right to make decisions. The third and fourth elements were directed to more subtle expressions of power: for example, whether or not the social relation between the subject and the social organization was such that she might 'influence' or 'manipulate' it or its individual members. The final two components pertained to those most indirect

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insignificant if the organization, group, institution or movement was unimportant. This is discussed further on the following page.

\*\*All benefactions or philanthropies discussed in the analysis are attributed by research sources to individual members of the research population (rather than to their husbands or families) unless otherwise specified.

relations of power conceptualized previously as non-decision-making and the mobilization of bias. For example, in this inquiry, if there was evidence that a research subject played an important role in framing the issues, detailing strategies or articulating alternatives, she would be considered powerful.

Secondly, if a woman exercised this power in an important organization, movement, group or institution, it was assumed that her role was socially significant. An organization, movement, group or institution was deemed important if it had a large membership, endured for a long time, had a broad scope of operations, had large economic resources or is described in historical accounts as having produced long-lasting or dramatic results.

Thirdly, if there was evidence that research subjects undermined labour unrest, deflated criticisms of the upper class and generally defended the economic and social status quo, it is reasonable to suggest that they were acting in the interests of the upper class. Conversely, if they fomented working-class complaints, supported challenges to the established authority and criticized the existing class structure, it seemed they were opposing the upper class' vested interests.

Similarly, if, through their actions, the research subjects sought to advance and extend the social, economic and political position of all women in terms of opportunities, rights and responsibilities, it is reasonable to conclude that

they sought to promote the interests of their sex-caste.

Again the converse would hold true.

As indicated previously, the issues and people's actions were not straightforward or uncontradictory. An individual might defend the rights of labour in the belief that this was in the best long-term interests of capital. Or an upper-class woman might seek to advance only the status of women within her own class. Wherever the research revealed evidence of such intricacies or of interplay between class and sex caste considerations, this information was included in the research results.

Finally, in each of the three areas this phase of the research analysis concluded with a consideration of the cumulative impact of the research subjects' activities. This portion of the analysis viewed the subjects not simply as disparate individuals but as members of a potentially organized, self-conscious co-ordinated social group. Consequently, the 'cumulative impact' included an examination of the overall pattern of activities. Membership in the various organizations, groups and institutions was cross-referenced to determine if there was evidence of any organizational, group or kinship network between the research subjects active in the sphere. If several 'related' individuals dominated an organization, if an individual has friends, relatives or 'class colleagues' on a kindred organization or if several

organizations were tied together by the common participation of one or several individuals, the basis was laid for a power network. If the individuals involved could make use of such a network, if they could co-ordinate their activities with 'kindred souls' and if they could count on support from other upper-class women and their organizations, then the power they wielded and its significance might increase many times. This portion of the analysis attempted to get at these phenomena.

It must be noted, however, that there were certain practical difficulties in tracing organizational interlocks. Some organizations changed their names; in some instances the identification of the organization in the reference source was incomplete or inaccurate. For example, a woman might be listed as a member of the Women's Trade Union League (W.T.U.L.); there was no way of determining whether this was the New York W.T.U.L. or the National W.T.U.L. or some other city's organization. Finally, in many cases there were no dates given indicating the time of membership and so it was impossible to determine if the members belonged at the same time or if they even belonged within the time parameters established for the study. Inevitably, these difficulties hampered the research analysis.

This concluded the development of the research methodology. Although, as indicated, the study confronted a number of methodological problems, the research approach

described above allowed for a reasonably systematic and comprehensive investigation of upper-class women. Preceding analyses of this social group have tended to be sketchy and anecdotal; many focussed only on one or two individuals and relied on personal documents for information. In contrast, this study went beyond the personal, exceptional and individualistic; it employed relatively objective sources of information and provided an overview to the activities of a broad cross-section of upper-class women. While some detail was necessarily lost, a new perspective on upper-class women was achieved.

### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of the resultant paucity of socio-logical research on the upper class, see G. William Domhoff, The Higher Circles (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), pp. 5-8.

<sup>2</sup>E. Digby Baltzell, "'Who's Who in America' and 'The Social Register'", in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power, 2nd ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 271-2.

<sup>3</sup>For a discussion of these issues see Victoria Schuck, "Sexism and Scholarship: A Brief Overview of Woman, Academia, and the Disciplines", Social Science Quarterly, LV (December 1974), pp. 563-584; Gerda Lerner, "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges", Feminist Studies, III (Fall 1975), pp. 5-14; Ruth Rosen, "Sexism in History or, Writing Women's History is a Tricky Business", Journal of Marriage and the Family XXXIII (August 1971), pp. 541-544; Patricia S. Kruppa, "The American Woman and the Male Historian", Social Science Quarterly, LV (December 1974), pp. 605-614; Joan Acker, "Women and Social Stratification: A Case of Intellectual Sexism", American Journal of Sociology, LXXVIII (January 1973), pp. 936-945; Pauline Bart, "Sexism and Social Science: From the Gilded Cage to the Iron Cage, or, the Perils of Pauline", Journal of Marriage and the Family, XXXIII (November 1971), pp. 734-745 and Julia and Herman Schwendinger, "Sociology's Founding Fathers: Sexists to a Man", Journal of Marriage and the Family, XXXIII (November 1971), pp. 783-799.

<sup>4</sup>Ruth Rosen, "Sexism in History", p. 541.

<sup>5</sup>Kruppa, "The American Woman", p. 605.

<sup>6</sup>For a general discussion of the use of documents as a methodology see, for example, Bernard S. Phillips, Social Research Strategy and Tactics (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966), pp. 125-134; Matilda White Riley, Sociological Research: A Case Approach I, (New York and Burlingame: Harcourt, Brace and World, Incorporated, 1963), pp. 194-255; and John Madge, The Tools of Social Science, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Incorporated, 1965), pp. 75-119.

<sup>7</sup>C. Wright Mills, "The American Business Elite: A Collective Portrait", The Tasks of Economic History (Supplementary issue to the Journal of Economic History), V (December 1945), pp. 20-44.

<sup>8</sup> Reinhard Bendix and Frank W. Houton, "Social Mobility and the American Business Elite (I)", British Journal of Sociology, VIII (December 1957), pp. 357-369; Bendix and Houton, "Social Mobility and the American Business Elite (II)", British Journal of Sociology, IX (January 1958), pp. 1-14.

<sup>9</sup> Richard Jensen, "Quantitative Collective Biography: An Application to Metropolitan Elites", in Robert P. Swierenga, ed., Quantification in American History (New York: Atheneum, 1970), pp. 389-405.

<sup>10</sup> John William Leonard, "Preface" in J.W. Leonard, ed., Woman's Who's Who of America 1914-1915 (New York: The American Commonwealth Company, 1919), p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> Louis Gottschalk, "The Historian and the Historical Document", in L. Gottschalk, C. Kluckhohn and R. Angell, eds., The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology (New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 53, 1945), p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> Riley, Sociological Research, p. 253.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of these issues, see Jensen, "Quantitative Collective Biography", pp. 390-391.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 391.

<sup>15</sup> Kruppa, "The American Woman", p. 605.

<sup>16</sup> Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James and Paul S. Boyer, eds., Notable American Women 1607-1950, I, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), p. ix.

<sup>17</sup> Riley, Sociological Research, p. 254.

<sup>18</sup> Jensen, "Quantitative Collective Biography", p. 405.

<sup>19</sup> See, in particular, E. Digby Baltzell, "'Who's Who'", pp. 266-275 and G. William Domhoff, Who Rules America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 13-17.

<sup>20</sup> Baltzell, "'Who's Who'", p. 269.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 269.

<sup>22</sup> "The Social Register", Fortune Magazine (March 1933), pp. 100-101.

<sup>23</sup> Frederick Lewis Allen, The Lords of Creation (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935), p. 99.

<sup>24</sup> Domhoff, Higher Circles, p. 31.

<sup>25</sup> See in particular Domhoff, "Social Clubs, Policy-Planning Groups, and Corporations: A Network Study of Ruling-Class Cohesiveness", The Insurgent Sociologist, V (Spring 1975), pp. 173-184 and The Bohemian Grove and Other Retreats (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

<sup>26</sup> For research which suggested that the political elite tended to be members of the upper class see Beth Mintz, "The President's Cabinet 1897-1972: A Contribution to the Power Structure Debate", The Insurgent Sociologist, V (Spring 1975), pp. 131-148 and Michael P. Merlie and Edward T. Silva, "The First Family: Presidential Kinship and Its Theoretical Implications", The Insurgent Sociologist, V (Spring 1975), pp. 149-170.

<sup>27</sup> "The Social Register", p. 104.

<sup>28</sup> Domhoff, Higher Circles, p. 31.

<sup>29</sup> See "Miss Chapin's, Miss Walker's, Foxcroft, Farmington....", Fortune Magazine, IV (August 1931), pp. 38ff and "Ten Fashionable Boarding Schools for Girls", Fortune Magazine, XIII (April 1936), pp. 106ff.

<sup>30</sup> Domhoff, Higher Circles, pp. 34-35.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp. 24-26.

<sup>32</sup> For a supportive interpretation and operationalization of 'upper-class', see Domhoff, Who Rules America, pp. 12-38 and Higher Circles, pp. 9-32.

<sup>33</sup> Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), p. 215.

<sup>34</sup> Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism (New York: The Free Press, 1963), p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Baltzell, "'Who's Who'", p. 268.

<sup>36</sup> Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, p. 169.

<sup>37</sup> Baltzell, The Protestant Establishment, p. 113.

<sup>38</sup> Louis Adamic, Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in America (New York: Viking Press, 1931), p. 86.

<sup>39</sup> For a discussion of these and related events see Adamic, Dynamite, pp. 86-109.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>41</sup> Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, p. 169.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 239n.

<sup>43</sup> Adamic, Dynamite, p. 250.

<sup>44</sup> Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, p. 98.

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of Victorian America's view of women see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860", in Michael Gordon, ed., The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), pp. 224-250.

<sup>46</sup> Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America", in Mary Hartman and Lois Banner, eds., Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1974), pp. 121-122.

<sup>47</sup> William L. O'Neill, "Divorce in the Progressive Era", in Michael Gordon, ed., The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), p. 252.

<sup>48</sup> James R. McGovern, "The American Woman's Pre-World War I Freedom in Manners and Morals", Journal of American History, LV (September 1968), p. 320.

<sup>49</sup> William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave: A History of Feminism in America, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), p.5.

<sup>50</sup> McGovern, "American Woman's", p. 333.

<sup>51</sup> Baltzell, "'Who's Who'", p. 268.

<sup>52</sup> Frederic Cople Jaher, "Nineteenth-Century Elites in Boston and New York", Journal of Social History, VI (Fall 1972), p. 49. Similarly, Birmingham in Our Crowd points out that New York City was the focal point of Jewish elite activity.

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of this problem see C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 375-380n.

<sup>54</sup> Quoted by W. Richard Scott, "Field Methods in the Study of Organizations", in James G. March, ed., Handbook of Organizations (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), p. 261.

<sup>55</sup>For a similar research strategy, see Mills,  
Power Elite, pp. 375-380n.

### III

#### THE RESEARCH POPULATION: AN OVERVIEW\*

##### Introduction

This chapter constitutes the first step in the analysis of the research results. As such, it is directed to providing a broad overview of the research population and to determining the more general parameters of the research subjects' characteristics and activities. Against this backdrop the three subsequent chapters will focus in on specific fields of action and examine in this narrower, more comprehensible context the central question of power.

##### Research Population Characteristics

###### 1. Upper-Class Status

The research population is distinguished by three principal characteristics: upper-class status, female caste status and social activism. Of these three, class status is particularly pertinent to the exercise of power. The following discussion examines the class attributes of the research population and considers the ways in which these may be translated into power resources.

As indicated in the preceding chapter, six criteria were selected as indicators of upper-class status: listing

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\*Throughout this chapter indicates membership in research population.

in the New York Social Register for 1925, wealth, prestige, private schooling, upper-class club memberships and executive position. Possession by the individual in question or by one of her 'close' relatives of at least three of these traits was considered sufficient evidence of upper-class status. The table below shows the distribution of the population in terms of these upper-class criteria.

Table 1

Research Population and Upper-Class Indicators

Number of Criteria	6	5	4	3	2	Totals
Number of Individuals Meeting Criteria	6	45	130	226	5	412
Percentage of Total Population N=412	2	11	32	55	1	100

As apparent in Table 1, forty-five per cent of the research population possessed more than the requisite three indicators of upper-class status.\*\*

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\*\*There were however, as shown, five individuals who met only two criteria. Since four of these women were Jewish and therefore subject to the bias which tended to exclude Jews from standard reference sources and since there was, as indicated in Appendix B, strong evidence of upper-class status in each case, the decision was made to include these five particular individuals.

Of the six criteria discussed above, it appears from Table 2 that listing in the Social Register was especially pivotal:

Table 2

Upper-Class Qualifications of Research Population

Criteria for Upper-Class Status	Number of Research Group Members Meeting Criterion	Percentage of Total Research Population (N=412)
<u>Social Register</u> Listing	352	85
Upper-class Clubs	308	75
Private Schooling	254	62
Prestige	255	62
Wealth	207	50
Executive position	94	23

Women who were 'listed' were likely to possess certain other upper-class characteristics. Of the women listed in the Social Register, eighty-one per cent either personally or through a close relative were affiliated to upper-class clubs, seventy-six per cent met the private schooling criteria, fifty-three per cent came from wealthy backgrounds, forty-seven per cent from prestigious backgrounds and seventeen per cent gave evidence of political prestige. In short, the evidence tends to support E. Digby Baltzell's view that the Social Register is "an index of this inter-city upper class..."<sup>1</sup>.

However, while inclusion in the Social Register listings

does provide a strong indication of upper-class membership (and, therefore good, direct affirmation of the upper-class status for eighty-five per cent of the research population), omission from its august pages does not preclude upper-class status. Hence fifteen per cent of the research population were not listed. Despite this exclusion, eighty per cent of this unlisted group were related to great wealth, eighty-two per cent were attached to prestigious families, sixty-five per cent met the private schooling criterion, forty per cent were affiliated in some way to upper-class clubs and sixty-two per cent came from politically important families.

Their absence from the Social Register may be reasonably attributed to a number of factors. Twenty-five per cent of this unlisted group died before 1925 and left no direct kin ties to Social Register listings. Thirty-three per cent of the unlisted individuals were Jewish or of Jewish descent and although (in contradiction to Frederick Lewis Allen's assertion that the Social Register is "virtually a gentile register"<sup>2</sup>) prominent and wealthy Jews are listed, they do tend to be under-represented. Individuals who were Jewish or of Jewish descent constitute eight per cent of the research population but only forty-two per cent of this Jewish group were listed in the Social Register or had relatives who were listed and only sixty-four per cent were in some way affiliated with upper-class clubs. Those Jews who were listed tended to have achieved unquestionable prominence or wealth or to have strayed from

their Jewish heritage to possibly more socially acceptable religious tenets, notably the Ethical Culture Society.

These two explanations, religion and age, still leave twenty-five individuals unaccounted for. Fortune Magazine, in its article on the Social Register, suggests that any form of notoriety, for example divorce or any involvement with scandal or crime, may constitute the basis for exclusion from the Register. However, these suggestions prove of little value. There is no indication of scandal amongst the unlisted group, and, as indicated in Appendix C, of the nineteen divorced women in the total research population, all but two were themselves or had relatives who were listed. In fact, twelve of these nineteen were personally listed, suggesting that divorce was something less than the social anathema Fortune Magazine describes.<sup>3</sup>

There are other more probable explanations. Some of the unlisted group may have been too nouveau riche to meet the standards of the Register and some may have moved away from New York City prior to 1925. Further, it is possible that as socially active women, some of these individuals would have come to identify with social issues and, in some instances, with political perspectives unacceptable to the small board of arbiters who controlled the Register. Conversely, some of these women, as a consequence of their social activism, may have become disinterested in the formalities (and frivolities) of applying for and maintaining their listing. Whatever the total explanation for their exclusion, there is, as indicated,

evidence outside Social Register listings warranting their inclusion in the research population.

The second most common upper-class feature of the research population is affiliation, either personal or through a close relation, with one or more upper-class clubs. This characteristic is important in that it points both to the distinctive social reality of the upper class and to the ways in which aspects of this reality may be transformed into power resources. Few analysts of the upper class fail to point out the significance of the upper-class men's club. Baltzell comments, for example, "British and American gentlemen, especially after the urban bourgeoisie replaced the provincial aristocracy, soon realized that the club was an ideal instrument for the gentlemanly control of social, political and economic power."<sup>4</sup> The evidence from the present research suggests that the exclusive club may have been equally significant to the female component of the upper class.

Although the sex caste composition of all the clubs listed in the Social Register cannot be identified, it would appear that there existed a significant cluster of upper-class clubs (at least six) which were exclusively for women. Further, it seems that these clubs were an integral component of active upper-class women's lives. In all, members of the research population held 298 memberships in these six associations.

The existence of such upper-class women's clubs and the apparent strong support from active upper-class women suggests

that this social group enjoyed a certain self-consciousness and cohesiveness. In other words, by simply bringing upper-class women together and providing a structure within which they could interact, these clubs performed a valuable integrative function. However, club activities had even broader social consequences.

It would seem that many upper-class clubs were specifically concerned with establishing and maintaining the distinctiveness of upper-class men and women. As discussed in the preceding chapter, at this particular moment in American history, the status and privilege of the upper class appeared jeopardized on one hand by increasing pressure from the nouveau riche and on the other by the 'immigrant hordes'. It was at this point that the upper class, in the interests of buttressing and consolidating its position, established many genealogical clubs and associations. Baltzell notes:

These old-stock patriots, desperately seeking hereditary and historical roots in a rapidly changing world, flocked to the standards of such newly founded societies as the Sons of the Revolution (1883), the Colonial Dames (1890), the Daughters of the American Revolution (1890), Daughters of the Cincinnati (1894), the Society of Mayflower Descendants (1894), the Aryan Order of St. George or the Holy Roman Empire in the Colonies of America (1892), and the Baronial Order of Runnymede (1897). 5

Reflecting this preoccupation with genealogy and the implicit claims to ancestral superiority, fifteen of the ninety clubs listed by the Social Register are clearly genealogical in orientation. Significantly, it seems upper-class women played an important role in the creation and support of these

genealogical organizations. Dixon Wecter in The Saga of American Society notes, "Furthermore, in accord with their social role, women have been the chief genealogists of America - as guiding spirits in the Mayflower Society, ...they have built up a structure of clubs...unparalleled throughout the world."<sup>6</sup> Consequently, it is not surprising that of the six distinctly female clubs listed by the Social Register, four are clearly concerned with genealogy: the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the Cincinnati, the Daughters of Holland Dames and the Society of Colonial Dames.

However, women's participation in upper-class clubs is not simply significant in terms of class cohesiveness and class distinctiveness. In describing the etiology of the Daughters of the American Revolution Sophonisba Breckinridge remarks, "In 1890, for example, the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution had been organized in a feminine protest against the actions of the Sons of the American Revolution, which excluded women from its membership."<sup>7</sup> It would seem that along with drawing genealogical distinctions, these women sought to improve the status of women within the upper class.

This impression that the upper-class women's clubs served sex caste as much as class interests is particularly reinforced by the history of the Colony Club. By the late 1880's, the upper-class men's club was well established as a convivial spot at which to combine business and socializing

and as a haven from the demands of home.<sup>8</sup> Yet, until the turn of the century, upper-class women in New York had no 'social' club to compare with the quiet splendour and smoke-filled dignity of the men's exclusive Union Club, Union League or Knickerbocker Club.

The situation changed abruptly after 1903. In this year, Florence Harriman,\* with the help of a few friends, organized and founded a woman's club which was truly the homologue of the traditional men's club. The idea, according to Mrs. Harriman's autobiography, appeared inauspiciously enough. She reports that once while having her New York house redecorated she was required to visit New York. She asked her husband at which hotel she ought to stay and he replied that he did not approve of women going to hotels alone, especially to large ones. "He laid his disapproval down like family law and I exclaimed 'But Bordie, what can women do?'"<sup>9</sup> The solution was obviously to establish a women's club to meet these emergencies the same way men did.

However, contrary to Mrs. Harriman's rather ingenuous explanation of the Colony's development, the emergence of this exclusively female, exclusively upper-class social organization appears to have signified an important milestone in the autonomy, cohesiveness and independence of upper-class women. Mrs. Harriman's own account makes it clear that there was implicit in this institution a certain rebellion against the

traditional restraints and limitations imposed on women:

But the night I came into the Club and met that valiant spirit Mrs. Perkins, herself a mother of club presidents and governors, going into the dining room, I knew we had won. She was beaming. 'I've waited for this evening all my life. I have just telephoned the boys, "Don't wait dinner, I'm dining at my club." My dear, I've been getting that message for years - now I'm giving it.'<sup>10</sup>

Certainly the critics of this innovation perceived broad ramifications. Mrs. Harriman reports that some men were quick to point out that "'A woman's club is her home.'" Others diagnosed the move as a first step toward sexual rebellion, "'Women shouldn't have clubs. They'll only use them as addresses for clandestine letters.'"<sup>11</sup> Elsie de Wolfe\* recalls in her autobiography, "Many of the papers carried such scare-lines as 'Death Knell to the Home', 'Free and Easy is their Motto', 'Where will this Lead?' One German paper agonized for two columns over the Club as the swan song of the American home and family, and prophesied everlasting perdition to the nation."<sup>12</sup> Miss de Wolfe also notes:

Said a celebrated minister: 'I have no comment to make on the contemplated smoking and drinking of the members of the Colony Club; but I do say that the building of such a club house and the gatherings there of the women famed for the wealth of their fathers and husbands are a menace to the American home. It appears to me a very remarkable state of affairs that, possessed of magnificent homes, they should build a clubhouse in which women can smoke and have their drinks, it is not an innovation to be welcomed.'<sup>13</sup>

In short, the evidence suggests that Miss de Wolfe's more dramatic assessment of the club's significance may be

accurate, "The opening of the Colony Club was something more than a mere society event. It was the overture of one of the acts in the great drama of women's enfranchisement. It was the first all-round gathering-place where women could exert their prerogatives as individuals."<sup>14</sup> Further, as a gathering-place, the Colony Club was apparently very successful. In all, thirty-three per cent of the research population belonged to the Colony. In contrast, twelve per cent belonged to the Daughters of the American Revolution, four per cent to the Daughters of the Cincinnati, two per cent to the Daughters of Holland Dames, seventeen per cent to the Society of Colonial Dames and four per cent to the Barnard Club. It would seem that the active elements amongst upper-class women were, at least, concerned enough about their own status or that of other upper-class women to disregard the traditional strictures on women's activities.

However, in so doing, these women were not disavowing their class affiliations. The Colony, despite its apparent broader implications, was after all an exclusively upper-class institution. It was constructed to meet the needs of only upper-class women. Mrs. Harriman makes the following pertinent observation:

The Club remains, I believe, a little more exclusive than society itself, as it has to, in order to maintain its formal and exquisite manner of living. Its growing membership proves quite another thing - that society women find the club answering a real need in their lives, and that they are discovering one of the secrets men have known longer than they, that union in society, as in business and working life, is strength. 15

In other words, the Colony Club functioned much more directly to strengthen the female component of the upper class than to improve the lot of women in general.

As Harriman points out, the Club served to unify the actions of upper-class women and thereby to strengthen their effectiveness. For example, as indicated in the present research, membership in the Colony Club brought together an amazing diversity of opinion. Individuals who were diametrically opposed to one another's views were at the same time members of this one, relatively small,\*\* organization. For example, leading advocates of anti-suffrage such as Alice Wadsworth\* or Josephine Dodge\* were members along with vehement suffragists such as Katrina Tiffany\* and Florence Harriman;\* a socialist sympathizer, Blanche Oerlichs,\* a member of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, Corinne Robinson\* and a member of the Democratic National Committee, Elisabeth Marbury\* were united by their common membership in this one association. This diversity of positions within the club suggests that at least for women in the research population, the class ties, intra-class relationships and loyalty to class institutions embodied in the Colony Club in some sense superseded commitments in other areas.

In brief, although its establishment clearly had ramifications for the position of women in society, the Colony

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\*\*According to Wecter the resident membership was originally restricted to 1350. 16

was basically an upper-class institution. It is consequently not surprising that, despite the public uproar, a number of exceptionally prominent and powerful upper-class men came forward to publicly provide the Club with their financial and advisory help. For example, Charles T. Barney (a member of the Whitney-Standard Oil family), J.P. Morgan and Frank Polk were on the advisory board. J.P. Morgan, William C. Whitney, August Belmont and Henry Harriman all offered financial support. In so doing, "like godfathers at a christening,"<sup>17</sup> they placed their benediction on this newborn institution.

In sum, the research population's association with upper-class clubs, in particular, the large number of women from the research population who were members of the Colony Club, suggests several noteworthy implications. On the one hand, it appears that socially active upper-class women were prepared to flaunt some of the traditional constraints on women and to upgrade their position within the upper class. On the other hand, the existence of the Colony and other exclusive women's clubs suggests that these active upper-class women, like their male counterparts, were at least loosely united by institutional structures. The Colony, it would seem, allowed active upper-class women to become acquainted with one another and thus to develop a sense of class distinctiveness and class cohesiveness. This 'union', as Harriman points out, is a powerful resource in social as well as business and working ventures.

This impression of the upper class, and specifically

of active upper-class women, as a somewhat integrated and self-conscious social group is reinforced by a consideration of the research population's involvement with private schooling. As indicated in Table 2, 254 women in the research population were associated personally or through close relations with private schooling. The record indicates that in fact 250 of these women (sixty-one per cent of the research population) personally received some form of private schooling, that is, either through private schools, private tutors or tours of Europe. It would seem, therefore, that much like upper-class men, active upper-class women were set apart from the lower classes by this distinctive and exclusive educational background.

In addition, like the exclusive club, the private educational process brought members of the upper class together and served as a foundation for upper-class associational networks. In order to accomplish this feat a few select schools had to function as a meeting ground. Consequently, as discussed in the methodology chapter, attendance at certain schools was deemed particularly prestigious and desirable. Reflecting this pattern, 116 women (or forty-six per cent of the women who personally received a private education) attended one of the key institutions listed by G. William Domhoff and Fortune Magazine.

This does not mean, however, that the rest of the population enrolled in socially inconsequential schools. In some instances, for example, the woman's private school was not identified. Further, according to Fortune Magazine, there

were four hundred 'fashionable' private boarding schools in 1936.<sup>18</sup> Fortune's list of the top ten appears to capture the key institutions of the research period. Domhoff's list, while more extensive, seems to reflect more contemporary fashions as only twelve of his sixty-seven schools turn up the research population's records. Some of the unlisted schools attended by the population, such as Miss Sylvanus Reed's, Anne Brown's School for Girls and Miss Brackett's were no doubt fashionable in their day and have since either waned, changed their names or disappeared from the educational scene.

The significance of the 'key' schools lay less with the content of their program than with the context they provided for education. As the Fortune survey of the top ten private schools makes clear, there is great variation in the educational format of each of these schools.<sup>19</sup> All of them, Fortune suggests, assume a 'wifely' destiny for their students,\*\* but there is a great variability in the kinds and quality of the intellectual accoutrements considered necessary for this role. It would seem that subject matter and fields of study are not the elements that distinguish upper-class women's education.

Rather, the private school and particularly the 'prestige' schools functioned in more subtle and yet more substantive fashions. They, by their very nature,

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\*\*One source notes, "The prevailing sentiment in these scholastic circles is one of good will toward the holy estate [matrimony]."<sup>20</sup>

cut the child off socially and physically from the world at large. In this isolated and insulated class enclave, the girl had every opportunity to establish intra-class friendships, she could take up the distinctive pursuits of her class (notably, riding)<sup>21</sup> and she was immersed in the distinctive attitudes, values, style of dress, behaviour and manner of speaking which characterized upper-class women of the period.

Mary Maxwell and James D. Maxwell in their paper, "Boarding School: Social Control, Space and Identity", clarify the means by which the elite private school accomplished its ends. They summarize their analysis as follows:

All the three types of curtailment and control of physical personal and social space which are in Goffman's sense, both part of the 'stripping' process (1961:148) and the processes by which the self is reconstituted by the institution can be seen as institutional invasion of private space. However, this invasion is done by the delegated authorities of the upper classes on their own juvenile members as a systematic socialization process which reinforces family and social class norms and behavioral styles to increase the solidarity of class identity in its young members. This is fostered by confining these three aspects of space primarily to spheres of interaction with class equals, provision of a shared distinctive culture and developmental experiences and the fostering of expanded intra-class primary group affiliations. 22

However, the importance of active upper-class women's educational background does not rest solely with the type of schooling and the specific institution attended. The very fact that these women were being in some way formally educated when in 1910 21.6 per cent of women twenty-five years of age or older had less than five years schooling and only 14.6 per cent

had four or more years of high school was a significant social distinction and a potentially valuable social resource.<sup>23</sup> The educational gap between active upper-class women and women in general is most dramatically evidenced at the higher levels of education. One hundred and two members of the research population (twenty-five per cent) received some form of college education and thirty-six women (nine per cent) pursued post-graduate studies in a college or university. In contrast, in 1910, 1.9 per cent of women and only 3.4 per cent of men twenty-five years of age or older attended college for four years or more.<sup>24</sup>

The tremendous discrepancy between the educational levels attained by the research population and those reached by the population at large may (in part) be explained by the acute social awareness or ambition of these 'socially active' women. However, the educational difference is so consistent and of such a magnitude as to suggest it is more a class phenomenon. In support of this position, Fortune Magazine, in 1936, reports, "In late years more than a quarter of the graduates of these [private] schools have gone to college along with girls who have had to struggle harder for their education."<sup>25</sup>

Significantly, much of the research population acquired its college education at 'select' institutions. Seventy-three of the 102 college-educated women attended at least one of the following prestige colleges or universities: Radcliffe, Barnard, Oberlin, Columbia, Wellesley, Bryn Mawr, Cornell, Vassar and Smith College. These relatively exclusive institutions assured

that certain attributes of the earlier private schooling were perpetuated. For example, there was a certain class homogeneity in these colleges. Fortune Magazine notes that seventy per cent of Bryn Mawr's freshman class in 1935 came from private schools such as Miss Chapin's.<sup>26</sup>

According to Fortune's account of Bryn Mawr, this type of college in many respects functioned simply as an extension of the private school experience. Bryn Mawr, for example, was set amidst the rolling, wooded countryside of Pennsylvania where its "vine-covered dormitories" and "shrouds of trees" bespoke "a pervading and ubiquitous gentility".<sup>27</sup> In these genteel surroundings a small, select (492 students in 1935)<sup>28</sup> body of students, "most ...from ...moneyed families", pursued their studies.<sup>29</sup> Here, as at other exclusive colleges and as at private schools, the institution's traditions, rituals, associations, clubs and - as John Finley Scott suggests relative to a later period<sup>30</sup> - sororities, ensured class appropriate behaviour, class consciousness and eventual class endogamy.

Later in life, alumnae organizations and other college or school-based associations kept this institutional influence alive. Sixty-four women from the research population belonged to one or more of these bodies. Groups such as these helped to sustain the "enlarged intra-class space" and "expanded... friendships with class co-equals..." and "...to nourish loyalties to the class and its institutions throughout adulthood."<sup>31</sup> Maxwell and Maxwell cite a classic example of the way

in which this linkage operated between a modern Canadian private girls' school and its graduates:

The alumnae association of the School plays an important role in fostering social contacts with charitable groups and organizations. Included in the alumnae association are members of the boards of the major cultural and philanthropic organizations upon which women sit in Canada. Through the 'old school tie' relationships these groups tend to be self-perpetuating, replacing their members with like situated individuals from younger age groups. 32

It is noteworthy that in this instance not only were class consciousness and class solidarity reinforced, they were directly translated into access to positions of social, and possibly political, consequence.

Of course, the groups and associations also functioned to sustain their mother institutions. They frequently provided the financial backing or new recruits crucial to the school's existence. For example, Fortune reports that the alumnae of The Masters' School at Dobbs Ferry provided important financial resources and an appreciable proportion of the student body: "All but eighty [out of 180] of Dobbs girls are daughters or relatives of alumnae."<sup>33</sup>

In sum, the research suggests that the educational process was an important element in upper-class reality. It served to set active upper-class women apart from the general population and to provide an institutional framework wherein intra-class associational ties could be established. The private school, the prestigious college, the alumnae association,

along with the exclusive club, all functioned as social links which brought active upper-class women together in a small, separate and distinct social reality.

Underlying and reinforcing this institutional matrix is a familial network which also tended to bind members of the upper class together. The three remaining criteria for upper-class status - membership in a prestigious, wealthy or politically significant extended family - reflect the fact that most upper-class women were born into an important family network. In all, eighty-nine per cent of the research population met at least one of these criteria.

The resultant kinship ties appear to have served three purposes. First, they may have tied the individual woman to a network of political, financial and/or social influence. Table 3 indicates, for example, the substantial kinship links between the research population and a variety of significant political offices. Such family ties and the probable access they afforded to important political figures may clearly be a valuable resource in social activities. Secondly, as apparent from the upper-class preoccupation with genealogical clubs discussed above, family lines and alliances seem to have reinforced a sense of social distinctiveness, even superiority, and class solidarity.

Finally, much like the exclusive club or private school, the family networks appear to have drawn upper-class women (and men) together into a discrete social group. Tables 4 and 5 point out the amazing array of kinship ties which bound

Table 3

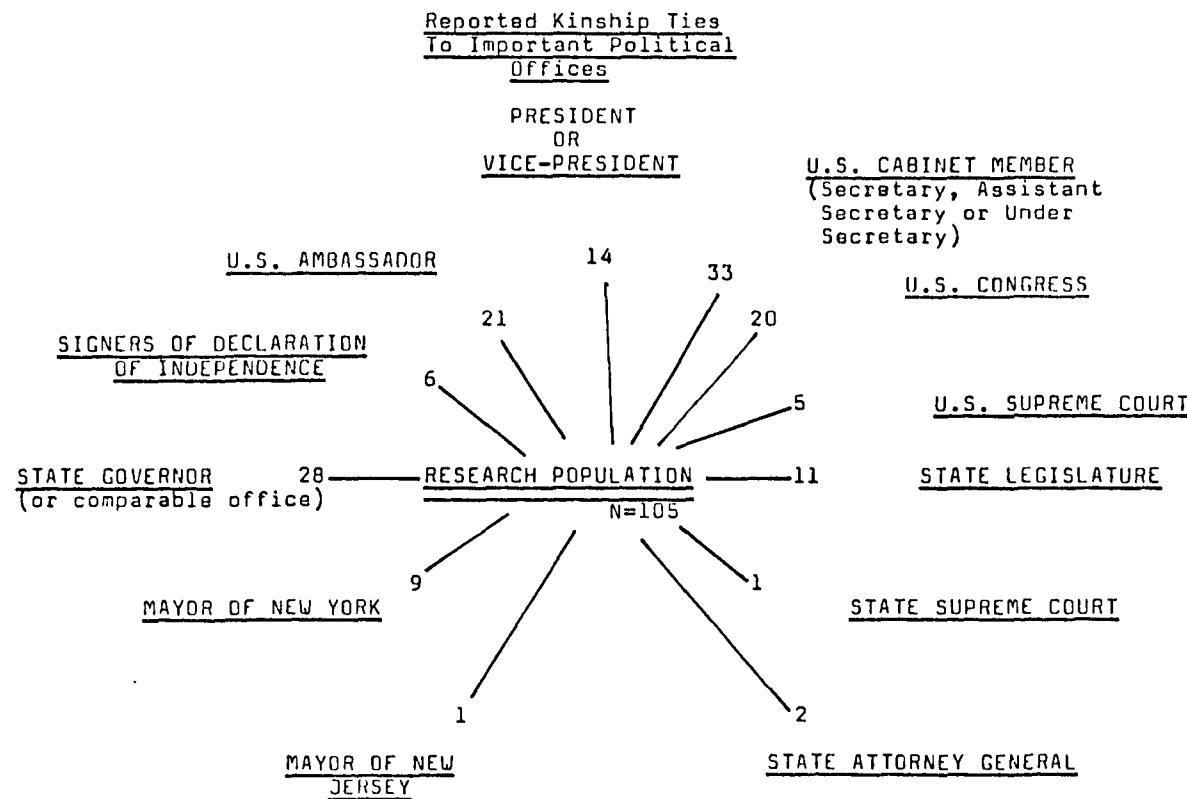
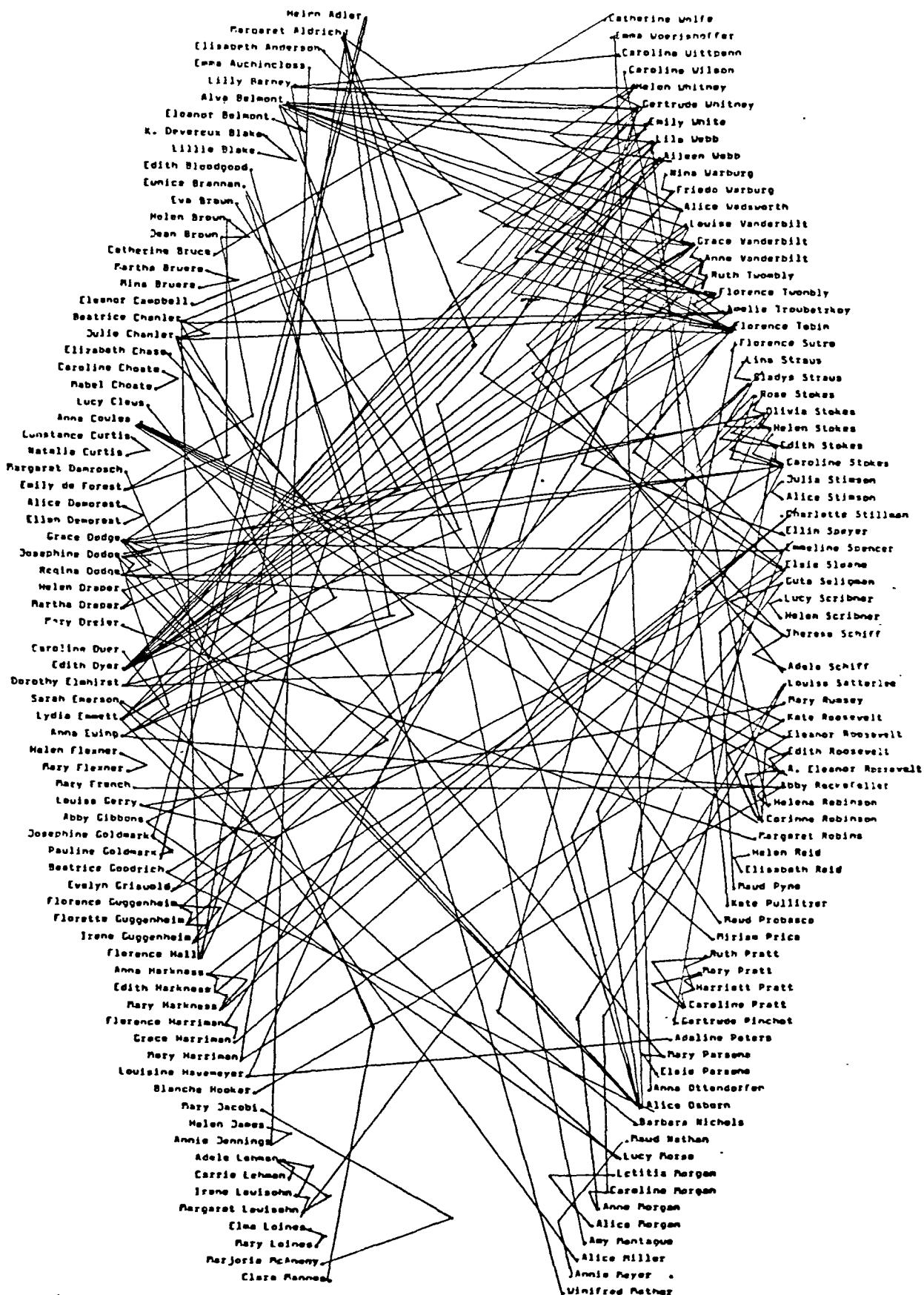
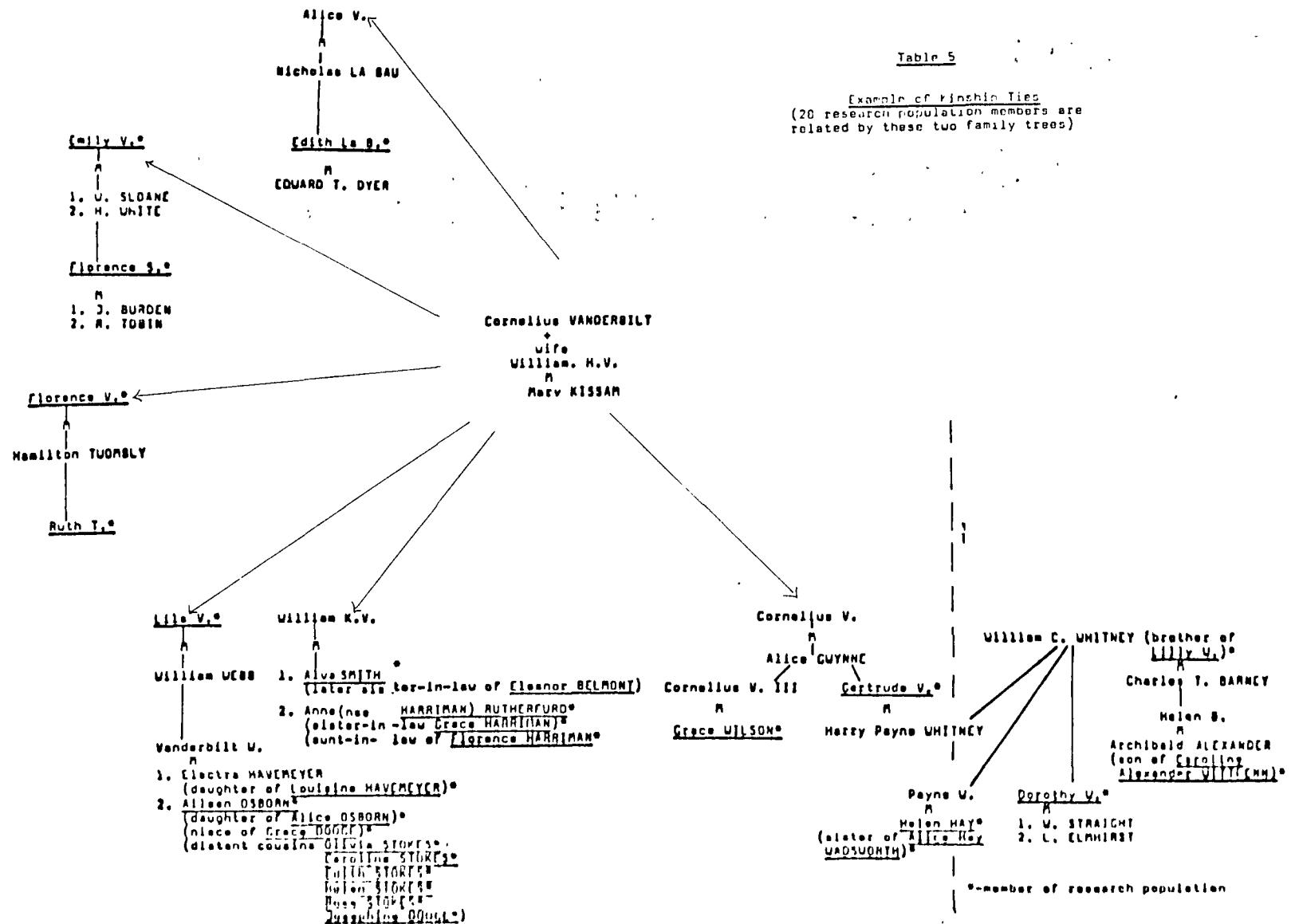


Table 4

Kinship Network  
(N = 150)



together members of the research population. These diagrams do not record distant or obscure kin relations.\*\* It would appear that the complex system of kin interrelations was an integral component of upper-class reality. Hence, for example, the situation wherein a staff member for the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. was "...carefully briefed...on the fact that [New York's upper-class] families were so interrelated that... she better make only good remarks about anyone to anyone!"<sup>34</sup>

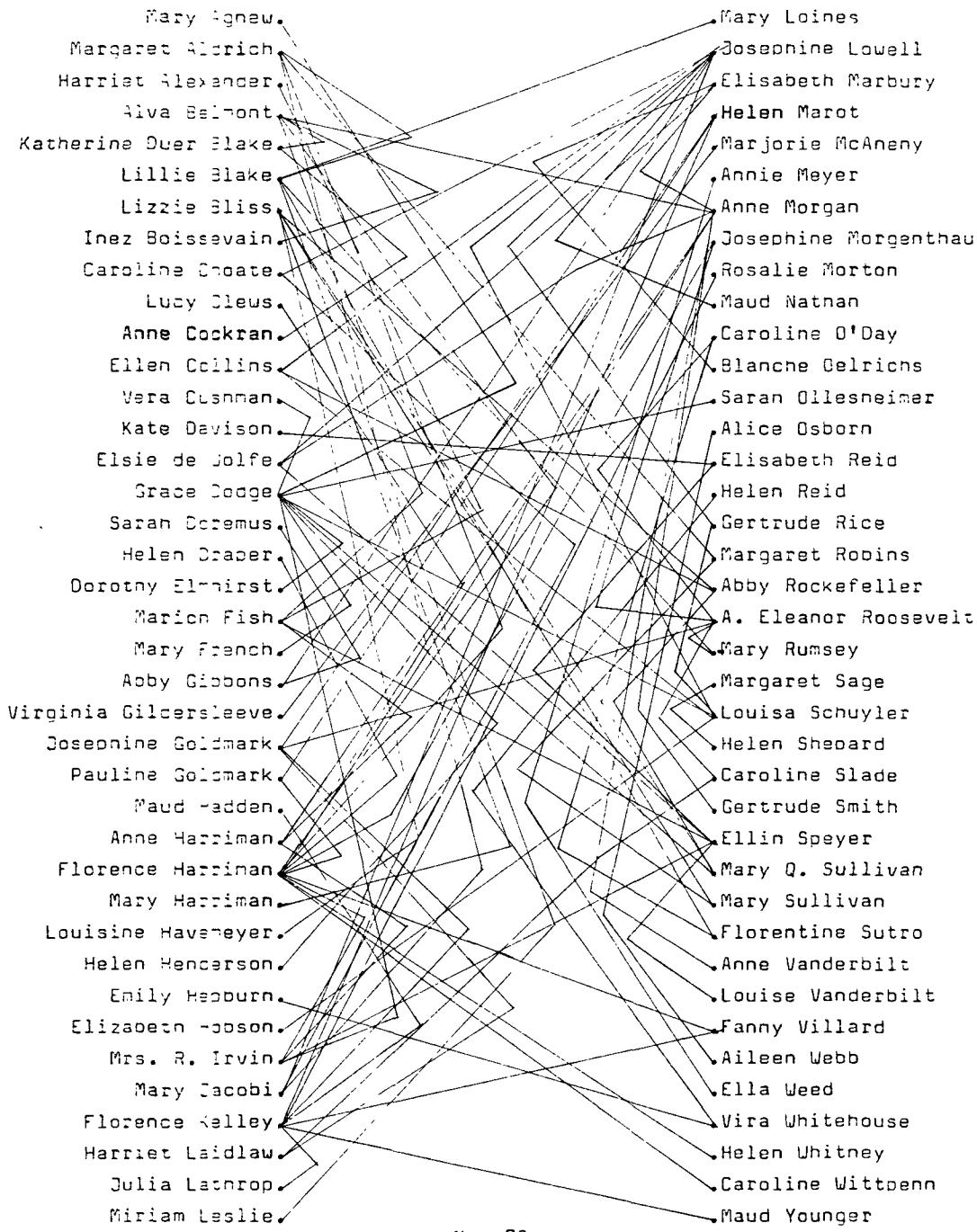
In conclusion, the upper-class status of the research population is more than a social distinction. The interlocking elements, the kinship ties and exclusive institutions, which together suggest membership in the upper class provided active upper-class women with the opportunity to combine and coordinate their activities and thus to enhance the potency of their social involvements. The present research suggests that members of the research population did, in fact, capitalize on these opportunities. Table 6 indicates the associational ties which united some of the research population's activities. Each link represents evidence that the individuals in question are specifically recorded to have collaborated in at least one organizational venture.

Concrete examples of this social coordination and cooperation can be drawn from the research. When Mrs. Margaret Sage\* decided to establish the Russell Sage Foundation she

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\*\*They would include, for example, great grandparents, first cousins, and various in-law relations.

Table 6

Reported Associational Links

turned to her upper-class associates Louisa Lee Schuyler,\* who had years of experience in social welfare work, and Helen Shepard,\* who was noted not only for social welfare activity but also for financial acumen. These two women served as charter members of the Russell Sage Foundation's board of trustees. Inez Boissevain,\* suffragist and socialist sympathizer, introduced Max Eastman, editor of the Masses, to Alva Belmont,\* philanthropist and fellow suffragist, and thus assured Eastman of some much needed financial support. When Grace Dodge\* expressed an interest in the field of social welfare, her father took her to his associate, Louisa Lee Schuyler,\* then head of the New York State Charities Aid Association. With Miss Schuyler's assistance and guidance, Miss Dodge was launched on her career in social welfare. As a final example, when Anne Morgan\* decided to undertake her World War I activities it was her friends from the Colony Club, Elisabeth Marbury,\* Elsie de Wolfe\* and Anne Harriman\* who worked with her.

It appears, therefore, that active upper-class women cannot be approached as a collectivity of disparate individuals. Rather, there is evidence suggesting that these women, at least on occasion, were a somewhat united, class conscious social entity. As such, they succeeded in translating their shared institutional and class experience into a valuable social resource - a vital resource in the exercise of power in society.

## 2. Sex Caste

The second major dimension which not only distinguishes

the research population but has implications for the research analysis is sex caste. The fact that the research population is made up of women appears, as discussed in the theoretical framework, to be of direct relevance to the possession and exercise of social power. Consequently, it is important to survey the sex-related traits of the research population and consider some of the ways in which they may be pertinent to the research questions.

In terms of rudimentary demographic facts the research population appears to reflect woman's common estate: marriage and motherhood. Of the research population, a full eighty-five percent (352) were at some time married and of this group seventy-eight per cent (275) bore children. In addition, these women were less likely than the population at large to terminate their marital state. In the research population, only five per cent of the married population (one in twenty) were ever divorced or separated, while in the general population the rate of divorce in 1900 was one divorce for every twelve marriages and in 1909 one divorce for every ten marriages.<sup>35</sup> In short, marriage for most of these upper-class women, as for women in general, was the basic parameter of existence. There is no evidence of a large body of widows, spinsters (sixty) or childless mothers who, it might be posited, would use social activism to fill a domestic void.

Further, it appears that sex caste played an important role in focussing the research population's activities. In

all, 336 members (eighty-two per cent) belonged to at least one organization (excluding clubs) whose membership was exclusively female or whose activities were particularly devoted to women's (sometimes traditionally defined) concerns - the status of women in society, the welfare of children and so forth. The detailed discussion in the following three chapters reveals the strength and pervasiveness of these sex role-related preoccupations.

Finally, there is also some evidence which suggests that women from the research population accepted prevailing standards for female submissiveness and subordination.<sup>36</sup> According to her biographer, Louise Carnegie\* for example, was the embodiment of the devoted, self-effacing wife and mother. Mrs. Carnegie wrote in her journal: "'I begin to realize how much a man wants and how important it is for a woman not to have any wants or wishes of her own.'"<sup>37</sup> Biographies of other research subjects similarly attest to the 'womanly' attributes of these individuals.\*\*

However, there is also information which indicates that at least for some members of the research population their

\*\*For example, Mary Ellen Chase in Abby Aldrich Rockefeller\* comments "Her [Mrs. Rockefeller's] family and its welfare demanded and received her vitality, her wisdom and her common sense. She was, indeed, its 'center and security'.

Although these biographies, many of which were commissioned by respectful families, do not provide critical assessments of their subjects, they do give some indication of the focus of their activities and, in some cases, the public image the subject sought to convey. It would seem that many of these women for whom biographies are available wished to be seen as the epitome of motherly and wifely devotion. 38

class status superseded several of the requirements of their female role. For example, both the aforementioned Mrs. Shepard and Mary Harriman were granted entry into the male world of high finance and business.\*<sup>38</sup> Mrs. Shepard's biographer notes, "Jay Gould, realizing that some day his daughter would inherit great interest in his railways as well as responsibility, felt that she should know something about them. He was insistent that she should become familiar with the territory, the personnel, and the vocabulary."<sup>40</sup> Further, these women were apparently not amateurish. After her father's death, Mrs. Shepard ran the family's finances for a number of years and Carl Gray, President of the Union Pacific, made this assessment of Mrs. Harriman: "'She shows a knowledge of railroads equal to that of any man I have ever come in contact with.'"<sup>41</sup>

Indeed, it appears that some women from the research population displayed independence in the face of masculine domination. Aby Rockefeller's\* biographer recounts the following episode:

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\*\*Similarly Marjorie Merriweather Post (who is not included in the research population because she does not fit within the time parameters) was given an introduction to the masculine world of business. William Wright comments "Most remarkably - for the times - he [Mrs. Post's father] started to take her with him to Postum Company board meetings when she was only eleven...Post was determined to teach his daughter all aspects of the business she would one day inherit."<sup>39</sup>

For early in the honeymoon he [John D. Rockefeller] was slightly stunned by his bride's definitive reception of excellent advice from him.

'I think it would be wise', he suggested, if you formed the habit of keeping an expense account each week.' Her reply was as brief and final as it was instantaneous. 'I won't!' she said. 42

Similarly, Joseph J. Thorndike, Jr., in The Very Rich: A History of Wealth suggests that Margaret Olivia Sage\* managed belatedly to triumph over her husband's domination:

After his [Russell Sage's] first wife died he married a schoolmistress whose father he had ruined, and proceeded to make her life miserable by such petty tyrannies as denying her a dog, which she wanted, and filling the house with cats, which she hated. As soon as Sage was dead, his widow came into her own. She gave most of the fortune to universities, churches, and in particular to the Russell Sage Foundation, whose philanthropic work would have been the furthest thing from the mind of the man whose name it bears. 43

This evasion of some sex role restrictions is also suggested by certain more general features of the research population. For example, the findings indicate that a number of active upper-class women were able to use their above-noted educational advantages to achieve exemption from the traditional constraints on women's work. Seventy-three women (eighteen per cent from the research population undertook professional or business ventures at some point in their lives. Of this group, eight were painters, poets and sculptors. The remaining sixty-five worked in fields generally dominated by men, notably business, medicine, writing, academia and law. Appendices D and E, on the involvement of research members in business ventures and

on the affiliation of research members with professional associations, gives some indication of the scope and significance of these ventures.

In a related vein, the surprising number of research members who (while not necessarily professional writers) were published authors suggests that the class position of these women and its attendant advantages (notably education) permitted active upper-class women to step beyond the established women's realm of hearth and home. In all, twenty-five per cent of the research population succeeded in publishing at least one piece of their writings.\*\*

Lastly, it must be pointed out that there were members of the research population who were not only prepared to bypass traditional sex-role guidelines but to break new ground in a wide variety of social ventures. As indicated in Appendix F thirty-two women from the research population made social innovations worthy of note: thirty-one were involved in sex-role related activities.

These innovations were of varying social significance. Some members of the research population helped break ground for women in professional fields. For example, Emily Barringer\* was the first woman to serve on the staff of a general municipal hospital in New York City, Florence Sutro\* was the first woman law student at the University of the City of New York and Mary

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\*\*As indicated in subsequent chapters some of these writings were devoted to the discussion of social welfare or suffrage issues.

Glenn\* was the second woman elected President of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. Other research population members played a role in breaking down the social restrictions surrounding women's public activities. For example, Elsie de Wolfe\* was one of the first women to fly in an airplane, Sophie Dey\* was one of the first women to register in New York State as a voter and Ruth Pratt\* was the first woman to represent New York State in the U.S. Congress.

As evident many of these actions made important inroads into existing constraints on women. Clearly, this in turn suggests that sex caste did not prevent at least some of the research population from entering socially significant fields or from broaching historically significant issues.

In sum, it seems from this overview that sex caste status played an extremely important part in structuring the content and scope of the research population's lives. In many instances their activities and attitudes appear to be rooted in the requirements of their sex role. However, these women were not wholly defined by the prevailing sex caste standards. In particular, the advantages of their class status seem to have allowed them to, on occasion, ignore or even challenge the existing constraints on women's endeavours.

### 3. Social Activism

Having detailed the upper-class and sex caste qualifications of the research population and suggested some of the implications of these characteristics in terms of social

power, the discussion must turn to the final research dimension: social activism. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the members of the research population were selected on the grounds that they engaged in some organized social activity. As also indicated, there was no way of determining how representative this socially-active population is of upper-class women in general.

However, it should be noted that there is some informal evidence which suggests that the frivolities of 'high society' were not, contrary to the impressions left by Veblen, Wecter and others, the focal point of most upper-class women's existence. The aforementioned Mrs. Harriman commented, "Most people not 'in society' like to think that the life of these celebrated hostesses is all froth. Nothing could be further from the truth. I never knew but one woman who devoted her life exclusively to the social game. She ended her days arranging dinner parties with paper dolls, a breakdown pitiful to watch."<sup>44</sup> Similarly, the biographers of Louise Carnegie,\* Helen Gould Shepard\* and Mary Williamson Harriman\* record that none of these prominent ladies were much interested in 'society'.<sup>45</sup> Shepard's biographer comments, "Mrs. Shepard did not enjoy the society of Newport, Southampton, Bar Harbour, or any place associated with famous people like the Astors, Vanderbilts or the Belmonts. She preferred her philanthropies and charities. She cared more for her four children than she did for the four hundred."<sup>46</sup>

Corinne Robinson Alsop Cole, daughter of research population member Corinne Robinson\* and niece of President Theodore Roosevelt, provides the most insightful description of upper-class women's relationship to 'society' and activism during this period.

In those days [Mrs. Cole made her debut in the 1904-5 season], Mrs. Cole recalls, a young woman who made her debut was simultaneously made aware of the great and pressing obligations that family and social position imposed upon her. Society was a serious business and, upon entering it, a girl lifted her share of the city's poor and beleaguered masses on her fragile shoulders - a burden that would be hers for life... 'The word "Charity" was not in disrepute then, as it is now', says Mrs. Cole. 'We all had our charities. We had local families whom we considered deserving, whom we cared for. And if a project seemed worthy we supported it with time and money. But we did it on a personal basis.' 47 (Mrs. Cole's emphasis)

Certainly the impression Mrs. Cole leaves is that the socially active research population was by no means atypical.

With this preface, the discussion can turn to a consideration of the activities undertaken by members of the research population. Table 7 below rank orders the various fields of endeavour in terms of the number of women from the research population active in each area. The overwhelmingly most prevalent form of activity falls under the rubric 'social welfare'. Visiting hospitals, caring for the poor and organizing charities have long had the aura of distinctly well-to-do and feminine benevolence. Those individuals active in public health (for example, the support of hospitals, programs for the pasteurization of milk and so forth) are grouped

separately to indicate that this was a very important component of social welfare activities.

Table 7

Rank Ordering of Areas of Activity in Terms of  
Number of Research Population Women Participating

Area of Activity	Number of Women Active	Percentage of Total Population
Social Welfare (Public Health)	278 (116)	68 (28)
Education	156	38
Suffrage	134	33
Religious Activity	110	27
Politics	101	25
Labour	96	23
Music	43	10
Race Relations	36	9
Art	33	8
Peace Activities	27	7
Science	24	6
Animal Welfare	22	5
Morality	16	4
Temperance	6	2
Abolition	1	.002
Total	412	100

Significantly, there was a tremendous amount of overlap between the various fields of activity. Many women from the research population were involved in a variety of endeavours. Two hundred and forty-five women or sixty per cent of the research population were active in at least two of the top five areas (social welfare, education, suffrage, religious activity and politics) and 119 or twenty-nine per cent were active in at least three of these areas. Table 8 below points out the tendency for women active in social welfare to also be involved in other ventures.

Table 8

Population Involved in Social Welfare by Involvement  
in Other Activities  
(N=278)

Also Active In:	Number of Participants	Percentage of the Total Population Involved in Each Field
Education	111	71
Suffrage	81	61
Colony Club	93	68
Religious Activities	76	69
Labour	62	65

Fanny Garrison Villard\* provides an excellent case of this tendency for activism to proliferate into a variety of fields. Mrs. Villard, the daughter of the famous

abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and the wife of the noted financier and cofounder of the Edison General Electric Company, Henry Villard, was first involved with public health issues and was an important supporter of several health care institutions. Subsequently, she became concerned with educational programs, in particular the education of women and was one of the women who spearheaded efforts to found Barnard College. Over the years, her interests expanded to encompass race relations, the protection of labour and the extension of suffrage to women. Finally, late in her life, Mrs. Villard became a key figure in the peace movement.

Although Mrs. Villard is a fairly extreme example, she does, as indicated, reflect a general tendency. Once having embarked as a social activist, these women seem to have been drawn, almost inexorably, into a variety of issues - concern over the plight of poor working 'girls' leading to involvement with efforts to improve women's education, to support for the labour movement and/or to commitment to the suffrage struggle. Clearly the evidence suggests that the research population's activities were not inclined to be specialized.

Some of the different fields of activity, of course, lend themselves to this kind of overlap. Several, for example, address, albeit from different perspectives, the same basic issues, for example, both religious proselytizing and education are relevant to social control.\*\* Other ventures

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\*\*This is discussed in Chapters IV and V.

share common historical roots - religion and charity, for example, were originally intertwined. Keith Melder notes "The movement for women's organizations appeared as a religious impulse in about 1800. Dedicated to pious and charitable ends, the ladies' societies had consequences reaching far beyond the worthy aims of their founders."<sup>48</sup>

As a result, it is not desirable to proceed to a detailed consideration of each field of activity as a separate and discrete entity. In addition, there are certain practical difficulties with this tactic. In some areas, notably politics, there is in general insufficient information to permit a comprehensive analysis. Biographical data tends to stop short with the notation that the woman in question was, for example, a member of the Women's National Republican Club. With these considerations in mind, the analysis approaches the research population's activities in terms of three basic themes: social amelioration (including religion, social welfare, labour reform and public health), ideological domination (including education, politics, the arts, and several smaller social movements) and the status of women (including sex-role reform movements and the suffrage struggle). This in-depth examination is the basis for the three subsequent chapters.

### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> Digby Baltzell, "Who's Who in America" and "The Social Register", in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power 2nd ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> Frederick Lewis Allen, The Lords of Creation (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935), pp. 98-99.

<sup>3</sup> "The Social Register", Fortune Magazine, VII (March 1933), pp. 40ff.

<sup>4</sup> E. Digby Baltzell, The Protestant Establishment (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., op. 114-115.

<sup>6</sup> Dixon Wecter, The Saga of American Society (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), p. 297.

<sup>7</sup> Sohonissa P. Breckinridge, Women in The Twentieth Century (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Incorporated, 1933), p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> See for example, "The Union: Mother of Clubs", Fortune Magazine, VI (July 1932), pp. 45ff.

<sup>9</sup> Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, From Pinafores to Politics (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923), p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> Elsie de Wolfe, After All (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935), p. 65.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>15</sup> Harriman, Pinafores to Politics, p. 88.

<sup>16</sup> Wecter, Saga of American Society, p. 330.

<sup>17</sup> Harriman, Pinafores to Politics, p. 82.

<sup>18</sup> "Ten Fashionable Boarding Schools for Girls", Fortune Magazine, XIII (April 1936), p. 106.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 106ff.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>22</sup> Mary P. Maxwell and James D. Maxwell, "Boarding School: Social Control, Space and Identity", in D.I. Davis and K. Herman eds., Social Space: Canadian Perspectives (Toronto: New Press, 1971), p. 162.

<sup>23</sup> John Folger and Charles B. Nem, Education of the American Population (Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1967), p. 143.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>25</sup> "Ten Schools", Fortune Magazine, pp. 108-109.

<sup>26</sup> "Bryn Mawr College", Fortune Magazine, XI (June 1935), p. 95.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>30</sup> John F. Scott, "The American College Sorority: Its Role in Class and Ethnic Endogamy", American Sociological Review, XXX (August 1965), pp. 514-527.

<sup>31</sup> Maxwell and Maxwell, "Boarding School", p. 161.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>33</sup> "Ten Schools", Fortune Magazine, p. 152.

<sup>34</sup> Marion Robinson, Eight Women of the Y.W.C.A. (New York: National Board of the Y.W.C.A. of the U.S.A., 1966), p. 107.

<sup>35</sup> William L. O'Neill, "Divorce in the Progressive Era", in Michael Gordon, ed., The American Family in Social Historical Perspective (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), p. 252.

<sup>36</sup> See above, pp. 98-99.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in Burton J. Hendrick and Daniel Henderson, Louise Whitfield Carnegie (New York: Hastings House, 1950), p. 95.

<sup>38</sup> Mary Ellen Chase, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. 38.

<sup>39</sup> William Wright, Heiress (Washington: New Republic Books, 1978), p. 44.

<sup>40</sup> Celeste Andrews Seton with Clark Andrews, My Mother-in-law (London: Michael Joseph, 1954), p. 76.

<sup>41</sup> Persia Campbell, Mary Williamson Harriman, with a foreword by Grayson Kirk (New York: [Columbia University Press] 1960), p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> Chase, Abby Rockefeller, p. 28.

<sup>43</sup> Joseph J. Thorndike, Jr., The Very Rich (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, 1976), p. 340.

<sup>44</sup> Harriman, Pinafores to Politics, p. 52.

<sup>45</sup> Campbell, Mary Harriman, p. 73 and Hendrick and Henderson, Louise W. Carnegie, p. 190.

<sup>46</sup> Seton, My Mother-in-law, p. 36.

<sup>47</sup> Stephen Birmingham, "The Ladies of the League", Holiday, XXXIII (November 1962), pp. 76ff.

<sup>48</sup> Keith Melder, "Ladies Bountiful: Organized Women's Benevolence in Early 19th-Century America", New York History, XLVIII (July 1967), p. 232.

## IV

### THE ROLE OF UPPER-CLASS WOMEN IN SOCIAL WELFARE \*

#### Introduction

Social welfare\*\* was the great mainstay of the research population's public activities. Charity work and public health pursuits were, as indicated previously, the most popular forms of public endeavour. Social welfare-related undertakings such as prison work and, in particular, involvement with labour and unionization, also appear to have been important dimensions in active upper-class women's societal interests.

The attractions of this broad field of activity were myriad. Charity and welfare work were traditional outlets for women's pious and moral 'nature'.<sup>2</sup> In addition, during the period in question - 1880 to 1920 - social welfare was a dynamic growing enterprise in the midst of a dramatic expansion and refinement. Significantly, New York City was at the center of these developments. As M.J. Heale comments, "...it was New York City which really pointed the way to the future.

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\*Throughout chapter indicates membership in research population.

\*\*For the purposes of this research social welfare is defined as "those laws, programs, benefits and services which assure or strengthen provisions for meeting social needs recognized as basic to the well-being of the population and the better functioning of the social order." 1

In the twenty years before the Civil War a number of bodies were founded in the city which in time became permanent welfare institutions.<sup>3</sup> As social welfare turned to social reform, New York retained its pre-eminence. Arnold Rosenberg notes, "It must also be stated quite unequivocally here that during the period 1900-1918, New York City was quite possibly the most important of the Progressive centres if not the very eye of Progressive activity in the United States."<sup>4</sup>

There was, however, more behind the research population's participation in social welfare than sex-caste responsibilities and the opportunities afforded by living at the right place at the right period. The social welfare apparatus that was being constructed was of particular significance to the upper class. By undermining social unrest and criticism, these organizations and institutions emerged as effective tools of social control. As Victor George points out, "...the strongest continuing influence in the development of the social security system has been the successful attempt of the dominant social groups to buttress the existing social and economic order."<sup>5</sup> Similarly, as Frances Piven and Richard Cloward note, public welfare has long served to stem political disorder and to 'regulate the poor'.<sup>6</sup> The creation and maintenance of the modern social welfare system was, in other words, important in ensuring social stability and the upper class' continued hegemony. Consequently, as members of the 'dominant social groups', the research population had a vested interest in contributing to the

etiology of the social welfare system.

The present chapter examines the research population's contributions to this crucial field of activity. First, there is a discussion of the overall pattern of their social welfare activities (including public health, prison and labour-related endeavours). This portion of the analysis indicates the broad dimensions of their social welfare concerns and illuminates those general features and themes which were most outstanding. This is followed by a detailed examination of the history of social welfare in New York City during the research period - an examination which focuses in on the principal developments in the field and locates the actions of the leading research members in this concrete historical context. The detailed and generalized perspectives, taken together, suggest three principal conclusions.

First, the analysis indicates that members of the research population exercised power; that is, they held high executive offices, founded and funded important organizations and institutions in the field, were viewed as prestigious and, hence, influential social welfare figures and helped establish the predominant social welfare values and attitudes. Secondly, this exercise of power was of socio-historical import. As G. William Domhoff comments, "...women of the upper class have served an important function by helping to take some of the roughest edges off a profit-oriented business system that has cared little for specific human needs."<sup>7</sup> Finally, the analysis points out that the

research population's social welfare activities had important implications for both their class and sex caste. By aiding in these efforts to soften the harsh edges of capitalist social-economy and thus helping to set in motion agencies which controlled the underprivileged and disadvantaged, these upper-class women played an important part in protecting their class' position. Sex caste was also influential. It helped set the parameters of the research population's involvement and, in a few key instances, was the basis for a woman-centred solidarity which came near to contradicting class priorities.

#### Overview of Research Population's Activities

##### 1. Popularity of Social Welfare

Clearly the most immediately striking attribute of the social welfare field is its preponderance in popularity over all other spheres of activity open to the research population. Of the total research group numbering 412, 278 women (or 68 percent) were affiliated either by formal membership or by specific financial support to one or more social welfare bodies (including public health and prison activities). Given the other avenues of action open to these women - notably suffrage, culture and education - this seems an extraordinarily high proportion of the population. These results reinforce the impression, noted above, that charity work and social welfare activities, of varying dimensions and scope, were interwoven with the basic fabric of active upper-

class women's public lives.<sup>8</sup>

Within the broad field of social welfare, certain activities tended to stand out. As noted in Chapter IV, 116 of the 278 women active in social welfare were active in public health work. Other related fields were somewhat less attractive. Only twenty women from the total research population were active in organizations pertaining to the prison system. However, the same social welfare motif flowed into other more popular areas - in particular, involvement with labour. In all, ninety-six women from the total research population were active in labour-related endeavours. As indicated below, many of these activities had strong social welfare overtones. Taken as a whole, these results suggest that the social welfare perspective, that is this concern with 'strengthening the well-being of the population', was one of the most pervasive features of upper-class women's public activism during the research period.

## 2. Family Networks

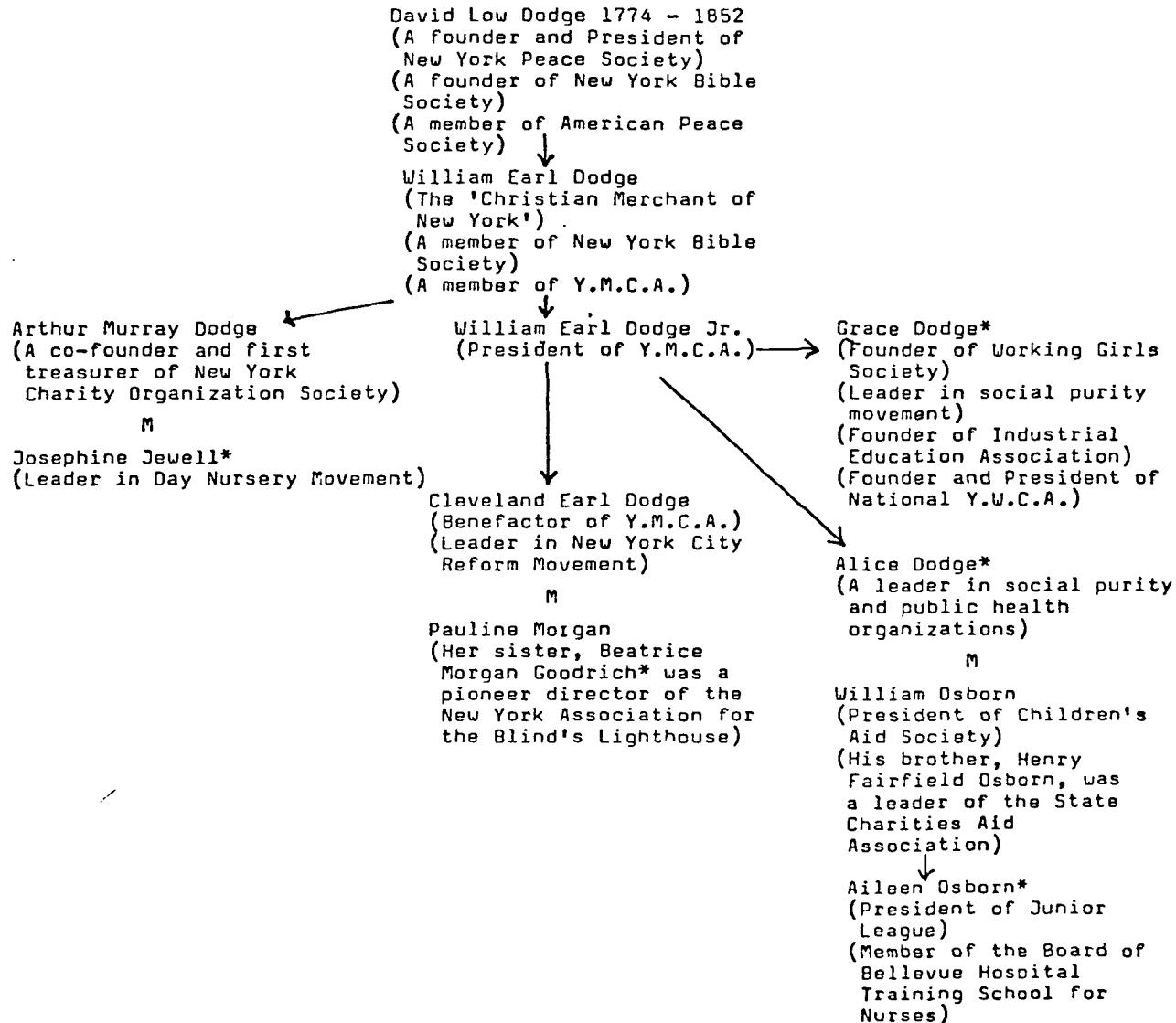
The research also suggests that active upper class women did not undertake social welfare pursuits as isolated individuals. Rather, it would seem that social welfare involvement was part of a larger class phenomenon. Of the 278 women active in this field, 105, or thirty-eight per cent, had male or female relatives who were also prominent in social welfare. Charity and social welfare work appear to have been, for many upper-class families, a tradition. As the young

women or men matured, they were automatically introduced to charities and philanthropies. This was an important component of family and class solidarity: it satisfied the demands of noblesse oblige, provided a valuable outlet for youthful ambitions and adventuresomeness and, later in life, might prove an invaluable source of upper-class associates.

Allen Davis noted these familial lines in his study of settlement houses: "Mary Kingsbury's mother disapproved of her living in the slums, but her father, who had devoted his life to philanthropy and public service, understood from the first why she wanted to become a settlement worker. There were some who entered a settlement against their parents' judgement, but the majority inherited a tradition of service."<sup>9</sup> Importantly, this tradition was recognized and capitalized upon by social welfare leaders. Josephine Shaw Lowell,\* a leading upper-class figure in post-Civil War welfare efforts, noted the existence and value of family networks:

What we need are more men of leisure with the tradition of public service like so many of the 'nobility and gentry' of England. Our young men, those that we catch, are very good, but usually too busy... It is interesting to see how much runs in families; however, the Roosevelts and the Dodges, for instance, you can depend on every time - they are most satisfactory wherever you meet them; being all rich too, they have time to work, which is decidedly a good thing. 10

What Mrs. Lowell and other commentators failed to make

Diagram 1Simplified Dodge Family Tree Indicating Tradition of Public Service

clear and as the present research strongly indicates, female family members were also active elements in these networks of social service. As Diagram 1 reveals, Grace Dodge's\* family offers a classic example of this pattern. Miss Dodge fell heir not only to great wealth and social position, but also to a long-standing family involvement with public welfare. As a woman, this was a field particularly receptive to her ambitions. One historian comments, "She told her father that she would like to go into business but he replied that 'women don't go into such fields', and he bade her remember the family tradition of noblesse oblige and that wealth such as theirs constituted a trust to help others."<sup>11</sup> Subsequently, to facilitate her entrance into the social welfare field, Miss Dodge's father introduced her to Louisa Lee Schuyler,\* his co-worker in Civil War relief and a leading upper-class social welfare activist. This introduction launched Miss Dodge on a long and eminent career as a social welfare worker; she became a leading figure in educational reform, in organizing working-class girls, in promoting social purity and founding and directing the National and International Y.W.C.A.\*\*

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\*\*As noted previously many women from the research population tended to be involved in a variety of fields. Similarly, within particular fields of activity, research women (like Miss Dodge) tended to be active in at least several different organizations and institutions. For example, this description of Mary Harriman's activities appears applicable to many less prominent research members, "'A comprehensive survey of Mrs. Harriman's activities and interests', declared the Board of Visitors of Letchworth Village in their Twenty-Fourth Annual Report, 1933, 'would cover virtually the whole range of human endeavor. Her most striking contributions to the public welfare blazed new trails and opened up new fields of knowledge and service to mankind.'" 12

Further, Diagram 1 is by no means a complete listing of the Dodge family's contributions.\* A detailed and extensive survey of the family tree would reveal inter-connections with the Rockefellers, Whitneys, Ewings and other wealthy and prominent clans. These kin, in turn, had their social welfare contingent. The Rockefellers, for example, played a leading role in philanthropy and welfare work. John D. Rockefeller, albeit under duress from adverse public opinion, in 1913 created the Rockefeller Foundation, one of the largest benefactions ever created for the well-being of humanity. His son, John D. Jr., was prominent in numerous social welfare endeavours and John Jr.'s wife, Abby, played a leading role both in local charity work and in the National Y.W.C.A.

There is no reason to suspect that the Dodges and Rockefellers were in any way typical. The Harriman clan, as indicated in Diagram 2, produced an equally outstanding group of social welfare workers. Numerous other examples might be cited. Each suggests the same conclusions: that social welfare was often an integral part of upper-class existence, that both men and women of the class were active in the field and that not infrequently families maintained a tradition of social welfare service over several generations. These conclusions, in turn, have important implications for understanding upper-class activity in this domain.

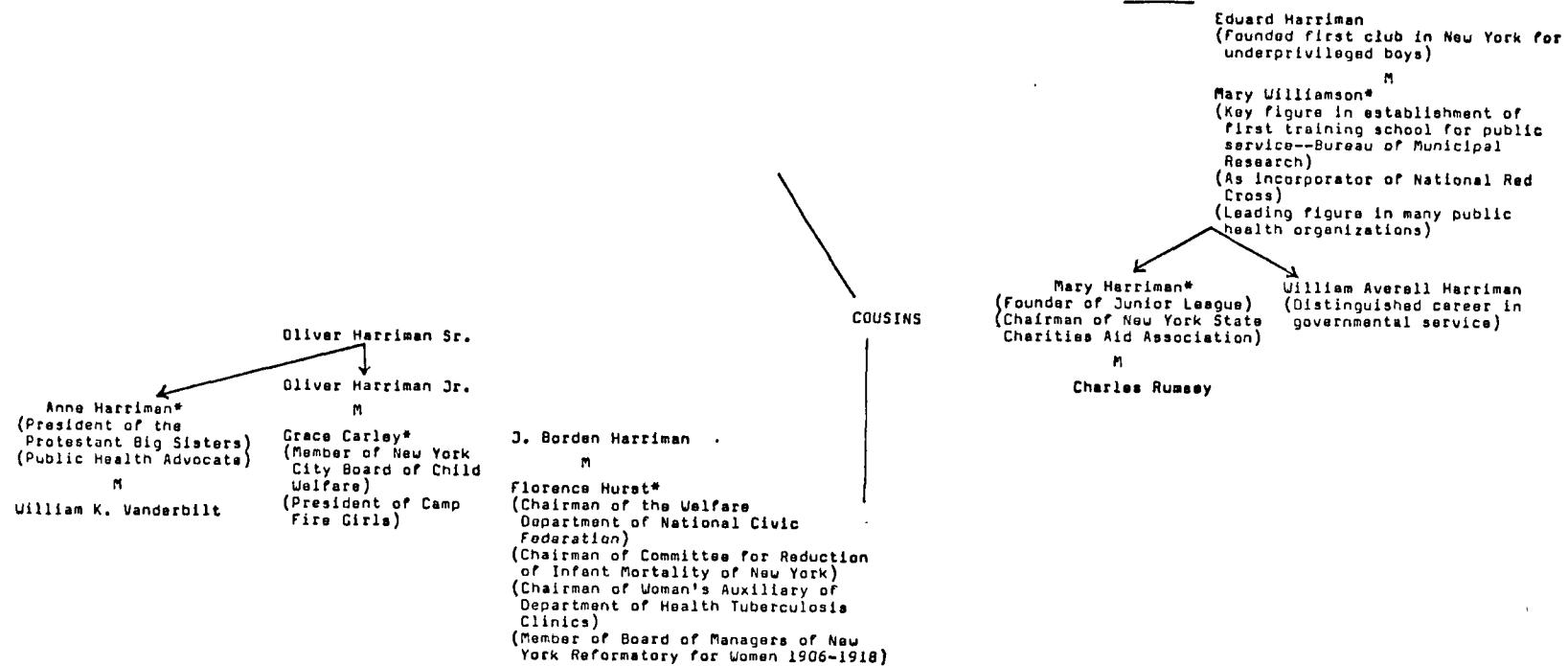
Upon entering into charity work, a man or woman from one of these families had at his or her disposal not only the cumulated family prestige in this field but a set of personal

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\*\* For a more detailed listing see appendices G, H. and I.

Diagram 2

Simplified Harriman Family Tree  
Indicating Tradition of Public  
Service



relationships which might prove valuable. Miss Dodge's illustrious career was clearly given impetus and direction through her father's colleague, Louisa Schuyler.\* These kinds of contacts, established by preceding family members, would ease the entrance into the inner circles. Further, once the individual had established his or her social welfare career, it was doubtless useful to have access, through family relationships, to the prestige, expertise and simple assistance of other active family members.

In the present research population which is restricted to women and further restricted in terms of time and locality, there is evidence of extensive family interconnections within this field. Of the 278 women active in social welfare, sixty-three or twenty-three per cent were related by kinship to one or more other members of the population. In addition, there were several concrete instances of cooperation amongst these family relations. For example, Winifred Holt Mather\* worked with her sister Edith Holt Bloodgood\* in setting up the New York Association for the Blind; Josephine\* and Pauline Goldmark\* worked together on child labour reforms and Sarah Emerson\* followed up her mother's pioneering work for the Women's Prison Association and the New York Diet Kitchen Association.

In sum, it is necessary to view upper-class women's social welfare participation as, to some degree, rooted in as well as guided and reinforced by family networks. In many

instances, the individual woman must be understood as one facet of a matrix that often extended backward and forward one or more generations, that was made up of a number of men as well as women, and that generally encompassed a variety of institutions and activities. In effect, the family both molded and supported the individual's efforts.

### 3. Associational Links

These kinship ties were not, however, the only element binding together and focussing the research population's social welfare activities. In addition, their social endeavours seemed to rotate around and reflect certain intra-class relationships. Research population members, to some degree, worked with one another and even enlisted one another as officers or financial backers. These kinds of personal alliances were not routinely recorded in biographical sources and yet for the 278 women in the social welfare group, there was specific evidence recording association in one or more activities\*\* for fifty-six individuals (twenty percent of the social welfare group).

One of the clearest examples of these intra-class associational webs centres on Anne Tracy Morgan,\* the daughter of John Pierpont Morgan. Concerned with the plight of working girls, Miss Morgan joined with Alva Belmont,\* wife of the

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\*\*These activities were not necessarily all related to social welfare. They do suggest, however, an extensive friendship network.

Rothschild family's New York representative, and Florence Harriman\* to form the Working Girls Vacation Association, an organization to provide city workers with country vacations. Gertrude Smith,\* daughter of a New York financier, with whom Miss Morgan worked on the New York Woman's Department of the National Civic Federation, became head of the association. Similarly, Miss Morgan's friend and sometime neighbour, Anne Harriman Vanderbilt\* (the wife of Mrs. Belmont's first husband, William K. Vanderbilt) became a director. In 1928, when Miss Smith\* resigned from the presidency of the organization, now called the American Woman's Association, Miss Morgan\* took over the leadership. In brief, this agency was founded and directed for more than two decades by Miss Morgan\* and her friends.

A similar pattern emerged when World War I prompted Miss Morgan\* to engage in social welfare action. Appalled by conditions in war-torn France, she enlisted Anne Vanderbilt,\* Elisabeth Marbury\* and Elsie de Wolfe\* to help her alleviate the situation. (Previously, she had joined these same three in investing in an ill-fated dance hall business, and after the war she lived for many years with Miss Marbury and Miss de Wolfe.) This coterie played a central role in setting up and directing the American Fund for French Wounded and the American Ambulance at Neuilly. Through these agencies and with assistance from their foreign counterparts, notably Madame Henri de Rothschild, they provided much

needed financial support and medical aid to both the civilian and military population. All four were awarded medals for this work by the French government.

In short, it would seem from these examples and the overall pattern of associational links that in some important instances, upper-class women's social welfare activities were molded by friendship ties. This, in turn, has important implications for understanding and evaluating their participation, since these ties were sometimes, as indicated, the impetus behind a woman's involvement in a particular organization and the foundation underlying her power and prestige in the endeavour. Once operative within an organization, a clique of friends would tend to reinforce one another's influence, magnify their impact on, as well as perpetuate their control of, that body's activities and provide important links to other agencies.\*\*

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\*\*There is evidence to suggest that New York's whole social welfare apparatus was influenced by 'cliques' of prominent men and women. Josephine Goldmark\* noted:

I well remember the day Charles Spahr, who was on the staff of the old Outlook, then a prominent weekly publication, put his head into the doorway of the assembly hall on the first floor and saw collected there the well-known figures of the building: Edward T. Devine, the head of the Charity Organization Society, whose vision led to the extension of relief into constructive tenement house reform and tuberculosis work; Lawrence Veiller, then head of these new divisions of the Charity Organization Society; Samuel McCune Lindsay and Owen Lovejoy of the new National Child Labor Committee; George Hall of the recent New York Child Labor Committee; Mrs. Kelley\* and others of the national and state consumers' leagues; Paul and Arthur Kellogg of the Survey and Survey Graphics, then the little sheet shown as Charities. 'Ah,' exclaimed Charles Spahr genially, 'what's this bunch call itself today? 13

The Y.W.C.A. offers a good example of the way in which these associational ties, reinforced by familial links, contributed to the upper-class domination of certain organizations. The Y.W.C.A. alone had thirty members from the research population, including nine women who were members of the National Board. Even these few leading individuals were united by far more than common membership. Mary Billings French,\* daughter of Northern Pacific Railway founder, Frederick Billings, was a member of the National Board for forty-five years. She was a member of the same church congregation as fellow board member Vera Scott Cushman\* and Mrs. French's daughter, Mary, married the son of board member Abby Rockefeller.\* In turn, Mrs. Rockefeller's\* husband was the longtime business partner of both the father and husband of board member, Mary Stillman Harkness.\* Board members, Alice Townsend\* and Helen Gilman Noyes Brown\* worked together as leaders in the National Society of Colonial Dames' efforts to raise an endowment for Sulgrave Manor.

Grace Dodge,\* who was President of the National Board from 1906 to 1914, belonged to a family with both financial and family connections with the Rockefellers. Finally, for board members, Margaret Sage\* and Helen Gould Shepard\* (daughter of the robber baron, Jay Gould), common participation in the Y.W.C.A. was only one aspect of their joint enterprises, Mrs. Shepard,\* whose father had been a business ally of Russell Sage, was Mrs. Sage's\* trusted advisor and in

1907 when Mrs. Sage\* established the Russell Sage Foundation, she appointed her friend to the Foundation's board.

#### 4. Religious and Ethnic Ties

Ethnic and religious divisions also molded and directed the research group's pattern of activities. Even though the Jewish portion of the population numbered only thirty-four, there was a clear tendency amongst these individuals to establish their own organizations and philanthropies in support of their own sector of the community. This did not necessarily result in a ghettoization of enterprises. All of these Jewish women were also affiliated with organizations which were not expressly Jewish. There was simply a tendency amongst the leading members of the Jewish community, such as Theresa Schiff,\* Guta Seligman,\* Sophie Goodhart,\* Frieda Schiff Warburg\* and Nina Warburg\* to focus particular attention on concerns such as the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Solomon and Betty Loeb Memorial Home for Convalescents and the Young Women's Hebrew Association. Similarly, leading women in the German community, such as Anna Ottendorfer\* and Bertha Achelis,\* played an important role in distinctly German endeavours, notably the German Hospital and the German Ladies Society.

There was, in addition, an inclination on the part of the Jewish sector to gravitate to agencies which, while not exclusively Jewish, had a Jewish tradition. For example, the Henry Street Settlement, which was founded and directed by

Jewish reformer, Lillian Wald, and which was particularly active in poor Jewish neighbourhoods, for many years received strong backing from the Jewish upper class. Similarly, the Consumers' League, which sought to improve the living conditions of young immigrant garment workers, most of whom were Jewish, was directed and supported by leading members of the Jewish community, such as Maud Nathan\* and Sarah Ollesheimer.\* Yet, the League also had numerous upper-class gentile supporters.\*\*

##### 5. Sex Caste Priorities

There is one final quality which tended to draw the population together and to direct its activities. Research members were inclined to evince through their affiliations a particular preoccupation with woman-related ventures. Of the 278 women, 154, or more than half, were active in at least one specifically woman and/or child-oriented organization (for example, the Nursery and Child's Hospital, the Woman's Hospital, the Women's Prison Association and so forth). In all probability, additional members of the population were engaged in these kinds of endeavours under the auspices of blanket

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\*\*There were other, less striking, religious currents in the research population's social welfare activities, for example, the Protestant Big Sisters Association or the Good Fellowship Council of the 5th Avenue Baptist Church. See Appendix J.

organizations such as the Charity Organization Society (C.O.S.). It would appear that woman's sex role, with its emphasis on maternal as well as caretaking responsibilities, played an important part in drawing the research group together and in channeling its efforts.

#### 6. Key Organizations and Institutions

Not surprisingly, given the presence of these familial, associational, religious, ethnic and sex caste ties, the research population's social welfare activities tended to coalesce around certain organizations and institutions. Even though the population tended to be active in a variety of endeavours\*\* - 139 of the total 278 (or fifty per cent) were affiliated by membership or financial support to three or more social welfare bodies - there was a tendency for these efforts to cluster around certain agencies. Although the population was involved in all in 507 different social welfare ventures, there were a pivotal forty organizations and institutions which attracted five or more supporters amongst these active upper-class women.

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\*\*Richard Skolnik noted a similar phenomenon amongst male New York reformers and pointed out its significance, "New York reformers were frequently multi-organization men. This interlocking membership enabled civic groups to work together as a reform bloc. It made a difference whether a city official had to contend with a single civic group or a whole host of organizations..." 14

Diagram 3

Principal Groupings\*\* of Pivotal Social Welfare and Public Health Organizations\*\*\* and Institutions (N=37)

<u>Religious Orientation</u>	<u>Upper Class Tradition</u>	<u>Organizations and Institutions Pertaining to Women</u>	<u>Leading Institutions and Organizations in New York City and Area</u>
Cathedral of St. John the Divine (10)	Junior League (18)	Girl Scouts (5)	↓ <u>Dimensions</u> (Large resources and/or membership)
Emanu-El Synagogue and its social welfare agencies (5)	Nursery and Child's Hospital (6)	Women's Prison Association (5)	Russell Sage Foundation (8)
Federation of Jewish Philanthropies (7)	Committee for De-wasted France (5)	National Birth Control League (5)	National Civic Federation (24)
	Needlework Guild of America (6)	New York Infirmary for Women and Children (7)	New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (9)
	Trudeau Sanitarium (5)	Stonywood Orthopedic Society (8)	New York Charity Organization Society (13)
			Y.W.C.A. (31)
		Innovativeness	Y.M.C.A. (18)
		University Settlement (6)	Children's Aid Society (15)
		Lighthouse (for the blind) (5)	New York Probation Association (5)
		New York Diet Kitchen Association (10)	New York State Charities Aid Association (25)
		Henry Street Settlement College Settlement (9)	Bellevue Hospital (11)
		Lanxon Hill Settlement (9)	Red Cross (49)
		Music School Settlement (8)	Mount Sinai Hospital (7)
			Orthopedic Hospital (6)
			Presbyterian Hospital (7)
			Roosevelt Hospital (5)
			U.S. Sanitary Commission (6)
			United Hospital Fund (8)

\*\*Categories are not mutually exclusive and reflect what appears, from a review of social welfare history, to be the outstanding characteristic of each particular agency.

\*\*\*Organizations and Institutions in which five or more members of research population were active. Number of women active in each agency indicated in parentheses. Diagram does not include organizations concerned exclusively with labour-related issues. See Table 1.

Diagram 3 groups these forty key organizations, associations and institutions. Religion, upper-class tradition and sex caste were important focuses of activity. However, the outstanding characteristic of the majority of these bodies was their pre-eminence in the field of social welfare (or public health). Many of these key organizations figured amongst the leading social welfare agencies - those with the largest memberships, the wealthiest resources, the broadest mandates and, significantly, those which were instrumental in introducing important innovations to the field. The implications of the research population's contributions to these organizations are examined in the discussion of the history of social welfare.

#### 7. Nature of Research Population's Social Welfare Participation

While the prevailing sex role ideology does tend to be reflected in the population's choice of activity, it does not appear to have restricted their form of action. The population was not, by and large, passive and retiring. Of the 278 women in the social welfare group, 158, or fifty-seven per cent, held one or more 'executive' positions in one or more organizations, and 139, or fifty per cent, fell into the more exclusive category of holding a leadership position - that is, president, vice president, manager, or member of the board of directors. This excludes purely honorary posts. Of the total 278 individuals, only twenty-five were active

solely as philanthropists. Although philanthropy on the scale of Mary Harkness'\* or Margaret Sage's\* benefactions may be directly powerful, it is significant that so many of these wealthy and prominent women chose to venture forth into the public domain as 'actors'.

There is also strong numerical evidence that the research group was active in implementing innovations in the field. Of the total population (278), sixty women, or twenty-two per cent, were instrumental in the founding of eighty-one new organizations, associations or institutions. Consequently, working alone or in conjunction with others, these women helped social welfare expand its operations, break new ground or move in new directions (see Appendix J). The significance of these innovations will be considered against the broad context of social welfare history.

Within this general field of social welfare, research population members played a particularly powerful role in public health activities. In all, research members contributed in some fashion to eighty-nine health-related institutions, including hospitals, rest homes and sanitaria. Of the 116 women active in this field, ninety-five or eighty-two per cent, held one or more executive positions in at least one of these health-related organizations. In addition, thirteen members of the research population contributed funds to these bodies - in some instances, very substantial funds. For example, Mary Harriman\* donated \$100,000 to the Harriman Fund for Orthopedics, Elisabeth

Anderson\* contributed \$350,000 to Roosevelt Hospital and Alva Belmont\* provided \$100,000 to Nassau Hospital in Mineola, New York. Finally, of the eight-one new social welfare bodies founded by the research population, twenty-two were related to public health.

#### 8. Labour-related Activities

Labour-related efforts must be given brief separate consideration. This field was not only somewhat less popular than social welfare - only ninety-six research members participated - it was apparently more narrow, exclusive and distinctly modern. The research did not indicate any substantive evidence of longstanding or extensive family networks in this area. Rather, labour was the focus of sex-caste and associational ties. Of the fifty-five labour-related efforts undertaken by the research population, twenty-four or forty-four per cent, were concerned primarily or exclusively with women. Indicative of labour's close associational network, seventy-four research women, or seventy-seven per cent, belonged to one of only three key organizations (see Table 1 below). As discussed in the detailed history of labour, a number of these women, united by common memberships, were, in fact, part of friendship alliances which had an important impact on their labour undertakings.

While labour activities were more closely knit and more tightly focused, the role of upper-class women was as significant as in the general field of social welfare. In

Table 1Key Labour Organizations\*\*

Organizations	Number of Research Population Members*** Active in Organization	Number of Research Women Holding Executive Office
American Woman's Association (formerly Working Girls Vacation Association)	11	7
Consumer's League (formerly Working Women's Society)	45	15
Women's Trade Union League	22	8
Total	78	30

all, forty-five members of the 'labour' research population or forty-seven per cent held an executive position in one or more labour-related organizations. Also, research women played an innovative role in labour - they helped found eleven labour-related organizations, including all three of the key labour organizations (see Appendix K). Finally, six women from the research population provided financing to labour-related endeavours. As discussed in the detailed history,

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\*\*Organizations in which five or more women from research population were recorded as active.

\*\*\*Four women belonged to more than one of these organizations. There was little overlap, clearly, between the memberships of these organizations.

this financial backing was often a crucial resource for newly-founded labour groups.

#### 9. Conclusion

The gross statistics suggest two general points. First, it would seem that the research population's social welfare involvement was conditioned by family social welfare networks, associational ties, sex-caste concerns and religious or ethnic considerations. The selection of social welfare as an undertaking and participation in specific social welfare organizations and institutions appear to have been guided by these factors. As a result, the research population's social welfare activities must not be viewed simply as a random assortment of separate and discrete endeavours. Rather, there are ties which bind many of these efforts together and which make them part of larger networks of activity. In particular, the family patterns of social welfare work and the associational links between active upper-class women suggest that the research population's social welfare activities must be approached (as indicated in the following section) as one component in the upper classes' overall involvement in this field.

Secondly, the general results indicate that a large number of research members exercised direct power (that is, held executive office or provided financial backing) in a number of social welfare organizations. They also reveal that active upper-class women, through the social welfare

organizations that they helped found, may have exercised more subtle power over the etiology of the field. To fully gauge these more subtle dimensions - influence, prestige, and the mobilization of bias - and to examine the socio-historical, class and sex-caste implications of the research population's activities, they must be placed in their historical context.

### Research Population and the History of Social Welfare

#### Pre-Civil War Expansion and Systematization

##### 1. Introduction

The history of social welfare is picked up in the early years of the nineteenth century. In the period from 1800 to the start of the Civil War, America was increasingly afflicted by social ills and social disorder. In particular, living conditions in the major urban centers deteriorated. The expanding industrial economy required an ever larger pool of labour but the masses of immigrants flooding into the cities merely exacerbated existing poverty, unemployment and inadequate housing. Between 1840 and 1860, for example, the population of New York City almost tripled.<sup>15</sup> The resulting overcrowding spawned disease epidemics, social unrest, immorality, and filth. In the depression of 1857 there were major working-class riots, in 1854 there was a devastating cholera epidemic and in 1855 New York City had the highest infant death rate of any American or European city for which statistics were available.<sup>16</sup> M.J. Heale sums up

the metamorphosis:

The homogenous, orderly community of the early republic gave way to a sprawling, divided, violent and ill-governed metropolis. Crime increased rapidly, the number of receiving poor relief soared, prostitution and gambling became open and conspicuous. High death and disease rates seemed to serve almost as the only checks on the proliferating slums of New York. 17

In response to this dire state of emergency social welfare leaders sought to erect a more sophisticated and effective welfare apparatus. Simple charity and almsgiving gave way to somewhat more orderly and more complex (but still private) institutional solutions such as the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (A.I.C.P.) founded in 1843, the New York Prison Association founded in 1844, the New York Juvenile Asylum incorporated in 1851, the New York's Children Aid Society founded in 1853 and the Five Points House of Industry organized in 1854. These organizations, all of which survived in some form up to the 1930's, were to lead the way to a new, more systematic approach in social welfare.

In the course of implementing these modifications and improvements, social welfare began to acquire the characteristics and structures which would, by the end of the century, result in it playing a crucial social role. Significantly, many of these important new structures were founded and maintained by members of the upper class and were employed not simply as a solution for social ills but as a tool for social control. As discussed below, active upper-class women stand

out as key figures in both the creation and direction of the new social welfare apparatus and in its application to social unrest.

## 2. Class Politics and Pre-1861 Social Welfare

Social welfare appears in the 1800's primarily as a 'religious impulse'. Men and women donated to charities, visited the sick and poor and supported the then small and uncoordinated private welfare organizations because it was their Christian duty. Their religious ethic required them to aid, spiritually as well as materially, those who were less benefitted by the social order.

Social welfare was not however, even in these early days simply a matter of benevolence and piety. Clifford Griffin in "Religious Benevolence as Social Control: 1815 to 1860" points out that many of these pioneering benevolent societies (notably in New York City the American Bible Society founded 1816, the American Tract Society founded 1825 and the American Home Missionary Society 1826) sought as much to assure social stability as to proselytize religion and mete out charity. Griffin explains the strategy at work:

By establishing a Christian sense of right in every man, the society would help to decrease in number or abolish these frauds [failure to pay debts]: 'Far better', agreed the managers with a missionary, 'for the merchant to give money, not to say his prayers, to make people good, where he intrusts millions of property, than to spend it upon bailiffs, to apprehend his runaway creditors, or to collect his debts

among a dissolute people, without either responsibility or principle. The Gospel is the most economical police on earth. 18  
(original emphasis)

At the forefront of these early attempts at social welfare and social control were upper-class men. Griffin notes, "All of the lay officers were of rising social and economic station."<sup>19</sup> In the course of the remainder of the century and into the twentieth century upper-class men were to continue to play a leading role in social welfare enterprises. It was they who had the social prestige, the leisure time, the social networks and, of course, the financial resources which these bodies required. As Richard Skolnik points out with regard to New York civic group activism in the early twentieth century, organizations were compelled to rely on upper-class supporters since only they could provide the social weight and respectability that made these organizations effective.<sup>20</sup> In addition, as the chief beneficiaries of the social order, they had, as suggested by Griffin, a vested interest in ensuring that social disorder was minimized and that criticism of the status quo was satisfied. Consequently, early in the 1800's a tradition was established that upper-class men would play a pre-eminent role in important social welfare ventures; this tradition endured well into the twentieth century.

### 3. Women and Pre-1861 Social Welfare

Similarly, in the early years of the nineteenth century, women were articulating their special attachment to

the field of social welfare. The prevailing sex role ideology propounded that 'true women' (that is, respectable middle and upper-class women as opposed to working-class or non-white women) were, by nature, more moral and more pure than men. As a result, 'ladies' of the period felt under special warrant to salvage the distressed, to uplift the immoral and to care for the less fortunate.<sup>21</sup> In addition, in social welfare they found a measure of social meaning and social freedom unattainable in other realms.

Consequently, commencing around 1800 women began to establish their own agencies for dispensing charity and for proselytizing religion. Keith Melder comments in his work, "Ladies Bountiful: Organized Women's Benevolence in Early 19th Century America", "The years between 1800 and 1830 witnessed a remarkable expansion of women's charitable activities: a quantitative growth of organizations, an impressive geographical expansion and a great diversification in the kinds of work supported."<sup>22</sup>

Sarah Doremus\*\* was amongst these pioneers. Her social position was impeccable; her father and husband were both wealthy merchants and both were supporters of charitable

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\*\*Although Sarah Doremus\* (1802-1877) died just prior to the opening of the research period, she is included in the research population. Mrs. Doremus' social welfare contributions were of particular significance since, as indicated, they suggest that even in pre-Civil War days some active upper-class women were playing a leading role in establishing new welfare organizations and holding executive positions in welfare agencies. Given these considerations, her inclusion was deemed justified.

works; her mother was the descendant of prominent colonial and revolutionary families and her brother was twice Governor of New Jersey. Mrs. Doremus initiated her efforts in 1828 when she organized a ladies' society to send relief supplies to the women of Greece. In 1850 she was one of the founders of the New York House of Industry, which provided work for poor women and conducted a school for children too ill-clad to attend public schools. Later, in 1867, she became president of this institution. In 1854, she was instrumental in setting up the Nursery and Child's Hospital which gave day care to the children of working mothers and hospital care to impoverished children. She also helped found the Presbyterian Hospital for Aged Women and, in 1855, the Woman's Hospital.

In conjunction with this innovative role, Mrs. Doremus helped direct existing welfare institutions. For example, she worked with upper-class men on the boards of several religious charity organizations - notably, the New York City Mission and Tract Society and the New York City Bible Society. In addition, she collaborated with Abby Hopper Gibbons\* and her father, Issac T. Hopper, in their prison work. She became Second Director of the Women's Prison Association when it was incorporated in 1858. When Catherine Sedgewick, the First Director and also a member of the upper class, died in 1867, Mrs. Doremus took over leadership of the association.

Mrs. Doremus' associate, Mrs. Gibbons\* was similarly prominent in a variety of social welfare ventures. A Quaker and leading abolitionist, Mrs. Gibbons was the daughter of a

well-known philanthropist and the wife of a prosperous merchant and banker. She was long active in charity and religious undertakings; she worked in New York tenements, visited the Tombs (the New York City prison) and was concerned with children's welfare. In 1859, she assumed the presidency of the German Industrial School, established to aid poor German children. However, it was in prison work that she made her greatest contribution. She was hailed as the Elizabeth Fry of America. In 1845 she helped her father organize the Woman's Prison Association and in 1846 she joined him in founding the Issac T. Hopper Home for discharged women prisoners.

Also at this time, there were women wielding tremendous financial clout in social welfare affairs. Catherine Lorillard Wolfe\* was one of the most prominent social philanthropists of the day. Born into the historically noteworthy Lorillard family, she received a \$12 million inheritance and was considered to be the richest unmarried woman in the world. She proceeded to devote her life to dispensing much of this fortune to cultural, religious and charitable organizations.

In brief, in the early decades leading up to 1861, there were upper-class women playing not only an active, but an innovative and directive role in social welfare. They accomplished this despite the domination of the field by men, in particular upper-class men and despite social prejudices which, while receptive to women as moral guardians, were

opposed to such extensive public participation. In addition, even at this point, while social welfare was still not much more than scattered charity and religious work, the principal parameters of upper-class women's social welfare experience were already apparent: Mrs. Gibbons and Mrs. Doremus tended to focus on women's issues, they were linked by an associational tie, they worked in conjunction with other members, male as well as female, of the upper class and they both perpetuated a family tradition of social benevolence.

#### The Civil War Impetus

The advent of the Civil War served as an impetus to the co-ordination, expansion and rationalization of social welfare activities. With the country caught up in a long and fearsome struggle, social welfare efforts gained new momentum. In particular, it became clear that help was required in the care, feeding and nursing of Union soldiers. A group of male welfare leaders established the United States Sanitary Commission, forerunner of the American Red Cross. This organization not only accomplished its objectives, it broke new ground for social welfare - it was the most extensive and well-coordinated private social welfare body as yet established and as such it became a model for future endeavours.

Significantly, active upper-class women were important participants in these developments. During the Civil War a new generation of upper-class women welfare workers entered the field. These women were to move on to an even more

prominent and central role than their predecessors; they were to undertake the supervision and guidance of 'key' social agencies, they were to play decisive parts in the shaping of social welfare policy and they were to break ground in the feminization of much social welfare work.

There was, though, no abrupt discontinuity at this point. Mrs. Gibbons, who with her daughter had joined in the war effort as a nurse, resumed her role as prison worker and reformer. In 1873, she helped found the New York Diet Kitchen Association, a body which dispensed food to the ailing poor and which endured well into the twentieth century. Also Mrs. Gibbons continued to be a leader in women's social welfare; she was head of the Women's Prison Association and Home from 1877 to 1893 and she was instrumental in obtaining legislation requiring police matrons at police stations. In addition, she finally achieved in 1892 the passage of a bill to create a women's reformatory in New York City. In later years, Mrs. Gibbon's grand-daughter, Lucy Gibbons Morse\* maintained the family's social welfare tradition.

The outstanding feature of these post-Civil War years was however, the appearance of a fresh contingent of young upper-class women. It was these women who were to come to the fore by playing a central role in the whole-scale renovation of social welfare efforts and who were, by their achievements, to lend new stature to women's participation in this field. The four key members of this group were Louisa Schuyler,\* Gertrude Rice,\* Ellen Collins\* and Josephine Shaw

Lowell.\* Each of the four worked in the New York branch of the U.S. Sanitary Commission --the Woman's Central Association of Relief.\*\* In each instance, this experience proved to be the prelude to a long and significant career in social welfare.

Josephine Shaw Lowell\* was the product of a prosperous, well-connected Boston family. Her parents were independently wealthy and devoted themselves to social welfare and reforms (in particular, abolition). At the outbreak of the Civil War, Mrs. Lowell joined her sister Anna in working for the Woman's Central Association of Relief (W.C.A.R.) in New York. Here she gained her first experience in organized charity work, experience that was to pattern her life. In 1864 her husband was killed in battle, and Mrs. Lowell, now a mother, set out to devote the remainder of her life to social service in New York City.

Ellen Collins,\* like Mrs. Lowell, came from a family that was not only wealthy and influential but also prominent in social welfare. Her father was both the president of the Mutual and the United States Life Insurance Companies as well as a founder of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the New York Juvenile Asylum and other charitable enterprises. In 1861, Miss Collins joined the W.C.A.R. Working closely with Miss Schuyler she became chairman of the committee on supplies and organized their shipment to soldiers. In 1865, having completed her duties

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\*\*Miss Schuyler's mother had helped found this association.

winding up the W.C.A.R.'s activities, she joined Mrs. Lowell in pursuing a career in social welfare.

Miss Collin's co-worker, Louisa Lee Schuyler,\* reflects the same pattern. Miss Schuyler was descended from one of New York's most prestigious families. Her grandfather was Alexander Hamilton and her great grandfather was a revolutionary war general, Philip Schuyler. As in the cases of Miss Collins and Mrs. Lowell, her parents were leaders in social welfare. Her mother and father were both key supporters of the newly-formed Children's Aid Society and her mother was on the W.C.A.R.'s executive committee. Miss Schuyler, herself, helped organize the W.C.A.R. and was chairman of the committee on correspondence. In this capacity, she accomplished much toward systematizing, standardizing and rationalizing the association's procedures. After the war she set about introducing these same principles to a myriad of social welfare fields.

The final member of the quartet was Gertrude Stevens Rice.\* Her social position was assured by her husband's standing as President of the Bank of Commerce, but no record was uncovered as to her parents or their possible involvement in social welfare. Mrs. Rice joined Miss Schuyler in working for the U.S. Sanitary Commission and became secretary of its New York branch, the W.C.A.R. After the war, she, like others, maintained her social welfare interests and collaborated with Miss Schuyler, Miss Collins and Mrs. Lowell in a number of key social welfare organizations.

The demands of the Civil War brought together four upper-class women who were to play key roles not only in creating and guiding New York's social welfare organizations but in directing the reordering of the social welfare enterprise. With the possible exception of Mrs. Rice, they each entered the fray with the benefits and obligations of a family tradition in the social welfare field. Further, each of the four had few domestic responsibilities; Miss Collins and Miss Schuyler never married. Mrs. Lowell, widowed and the mother of one child, never remarried and Mrs. Rice never had any children. Working separately and, on occasion jointly, this foursome was to play a leading part in the transformation of social welfare service and of women's participation in social welfare.

#### Post-War Activism 1865-1900

In the post-Civil War period, the need for highly organized and efficient social welfare operations was ever more keenly felt. The boom and bust economy, archaic health care institutions, medieval sanitation facilities and the ever burgeoning slums poured forth not only more and more social casualties but also more threats to the established order. Now masses of unemployed men were roaming the country and threatening to disrupt the status quo. Paul Ringenbach reports from his research, "By 1877, the fear of 'communism' and the continual use of the term 'army' with 'tramps' in literature and the press were suggestive in themselves of the

increasing tendency of tramps to move and act in groups more militantly."<sup>23</sup> In 1881 President Garfield was assassinated and in 1892 the Populist Party was established. It seemed to many conservative observers that the very fabric of American society was in jeopardy.<sup>24</sup>

Social welfare, with its by now well-established tradition of assuaging threats to the social order, was inevitably called to the fore by these developments. Immediately following the Civil War, influenced by the inspiring organizational efficiency of the U.S. Sanitary Commission and motivated by the uneasy social situation, efforts were made to rationalize, systematize and reform charity works. Private groups such as the Charity Organization Society (C.O.S.) and the State Charities Aid Association (S.C.A.A.) were established in a number of major urban centers. These and related agencies sought to centralize and coordinate social welfare activities, to routinize procedures, to eliminate duplication of efforts and to eradicate graft and mismanagement. This was an important step away from social welfare's religious and sentimental roots and toward a more businesslike orientation.

These efforts implied no criticism of the extant socio-economic structure. The C.O.S., for example, openly justified its programs as a defence of capital and a protection from the lower classes. Marvin Gettleman notes, "'It is well to remember,' cautioned a champion of the Charity Organization, 'that when Herr Most and Denis Kearney come to address men long without work and already gaunt with hunger, their incendiary doctrines will get a different hearing from that with

which they were received by well-fed audiences...."<sup>25</sup> The C.O.S. saw nothing to criticize in the established order; paupers, tramps, beggars and others reliant on social welfare were considered personally responsible for their plight. The function of charity was not to reward laziness and lack of ambition and thus meddle in the delicate social mechanism but rather to guide, forcefully if necessary, the unfortunates back to independence. The C.O.S. sought only to ensure that this more scientific, unsentimental approach was pursued and pursued in the least expensive and cumbersome manner. As Gettleman points out, "The primary aim of the C.O.S. was to bring about the end of the old charity. Its place was to be taken by a new kind of charity, 'scientific charity' based not upon compassion but on intelligence."<sup>26</sup>

In brief, in the period from the end of the Civil War to the turn of the century, the precarious and unsettled social conditions in America required social welfare to play a more and more central role in healing and buttressing the social structure. To be effective in these undertakings, welfare workers had to make wholesale renovations and re-orientations in their operations. In particular, the prevailing laissez-faire approach to social welfare with its small, private organizations, its stoic faith in the natural or religious order and its emphasis on the personal, moral failings of the underprivileged came increasingly under attack. In the 1900's the laissez-faire perspective would be wholly supplanted by "...the concept of the general welfare

state, of the state that seeks to promote the general welfare not by rendering itself inconspicuous but by taking such positive action as is deemed to improve the conditions under which its citizens live and work."<sup>27</sup>

Significantly, members of the upper class played a pivotal part in laying the foundation for this metamorphosis. Eric Goldman in his study, Rendezvous with Destiny A History of Modern American Reform points to the prominent role of the new millionaires in bringing benefits to urban lower-income groups.<sup>28</sup> Kenneth Dusmer, in his study of the C.O.S. in Chicago, notes, "The number of prominent bankers and merchants who served as directors of the C.O.S. was extraordinary, and the fact that three members eventually became cabinet officers attests to the influence and prestige of this group."<sup>29</sup> Similarly, in New York City, no less a luminary than John Pierpont Morgan was treasurer of the C.O.S.

The role of active upper-class women was no less key. As detailed below, in the period up to the turn of the century active upper-class women figured prominently as founders and directors of organizations which transformed New York's social welfare enterprises. Through direct executive powers as well as through their prestige in the social welfare ranks, these women played a major role in setting in motion the new welfare state values and attitudes. In so doing they (along with their male class colleagues) not only helped to modernize the field but also to make it into a more effective instrument for ensuring social stability.

1. Louisa Schuyler\*

Miss Schuyler,\* having recovered from her exertions during the war, set about bringing order and efficiency to New York's public welfare agencies. Her experience with the U.S. Sanitary Commission had convinced her of the central role private citizens' efforts could play in improving charitable organizations. Finding that New York State's almshouses, hospitals and poor-houses were not only neglected and squalid but also corruptly managed, she organized, in 1872, the State Charities Aid Association (S.C.A.A.). This organization was made up of volunteer committees of men and women who visited institutions in each of New York's sixty counties and then reported back to the central committee. This body, in turn, attempted to exert public pressure against mismanaged or disorganized welfare agencies.

Significantly, the membership of the S.C.A.A.'s fifteen man central committee was almost a compendium of the most influential members in New York's upper class. (See Table 2).

Table 2<sup>30</sup>

1872 State Charities Aid Association  
Central Association

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Charles Loring Brace (Founder of New York's Children's Aid Society)

Professor Theodore Dwight (Vice President of New York Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities)

Henry Fairfield Osborn (Dean of the Faculty of Columbia University)  
(Brother-in-law of Alice Dodge Osborn\*)

Theodore Roosevelt Sr. (Father-in-law of Edith Roosevelt\*)

D. Willis James (Businessman and philanthropist)

Professor Charles Chandler (Professor of Chemistry at Columbia)

Doctor Stephen Smith (Founder and first President of American Public Health Association)

Doctor Abraham Jacobi (Husband of Mary Jacobi\*)

Doctor W. Gill Wylie (Surgeon at Bellevue Hospital)

Josephine Shaw Lowell\* (Founder of New York City's Charity Organization Society)

Abby Woolsey (Active in founding of Bellevue Training School for Nurses)

Mrs. Joseph Hobson\* (Active in founding of Bellevue Training School of Nurses)

Miss Grace Dodge\* (Social Welfare leader)

Joseph H. Choate (Husband of Caroline Choate\*) (Ambassador to Court of St. James)

Gertrude Stevens Rice\* (Member of Board of Directors of New York Charity Organization Society)

Founder of Association Louisa Lee Schuyler\*

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Miss Schuyler's organization, with the close co-operation of the state-run New York Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities, immediately achieved a number of significant results. In 1875, it mobilized sufficient support for passage of the Children's Law. This piece of legislation removed children from the 'damaging' influences of adult institutions, such as almshouses, and placed them in special institutions for "...dependent, neglected and wayward youths."<sup>31</sup> In 1881, the S.C.A.A. won the legal right from the New York State legislature "...to visit, inspect, and examine

any of the state charitable institutions, the county poor-houses, town poor-houses and city almshouses within the state."<sup>32</sup> In 1890, Miss Schuyler and her group succeeded in securing a "...single, unified system of state care for the insane."<sup>33</sup> This last achievement set a precedent to be followed by many other states.

In accomplishing these objectives, Miss Schuyler made use not only of the S.C.A.A. members' prestige but also of her own political acumen. Walter Trattner comments, "Miss Schuyler, an astute tactician, was not unaware of the state's political organization and operation. Nor was she unaware of the fact that unlike other voluntary social welfare organizations, the State Charities Aid Association had a good deal of its own political power."<sup>34</sup> She employed this power to make the S.C.A.A. "...the most successful non-official adviser on matters of social welfare in the entire country."<sup>35</sup>

Miss Schuyler built and directed a comprehensive, state-wide organization dedicated to business-like efficiency and rationality in social welfare. Aided by key upper-class supporters, male as well as female, she created a private agency which reformed public institutions and introduced new standards of order and structure to the field. Miss Schuyler applied these same principles to public health and accomplished much toward revolutionizing hospital care when, in 1873, she helped establish the Bellevue Training School for Nurses, the first American school to meet the new professional requirements set down by Florence Nightingale. In the course

of the next several decades this school received considerable support from other upper-class women. Miss Schuyler later added to her contributions in this field by organizing, in 1915, the National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness, an organization on which Mrs. Rice served as a member of the board.

In sum, Miss Schuyler played a leading role in modernizing not only social welfare but also public health. Her efforts were instrumental in extricating both enterprises from their increasingly anachronistic sentimentality and lack of system. The impact of her fifty-odd years of activity was summed up in the Roosevelt Memorial Association's Medal of Honor citation: "She may well be said to have laid the foundation of modern American social service."<sup>36</sup>

At the same time, in pursuing and achieving these goals, Miss Schuyler embodied a new role for women in a field previously dominated by male leadership. Her presence became living testimony that at least some women were sufficiently orderly, scientific, business-like and political to be leaders in the mainstream of social service. She was, after all, "The woman whose associates declared that she had 'the mind of a lawyer and the will-power of a captain of industry....'"<sup>37</sup>

## 2. Josephine Shaw Lowell\*

The social implications of Miss Schuyler's career were reinforced by the comparable stature of Mrs. Lowell's contributions. Mrs. Lowell had followed up her Civil War

work by supporting the National Freedman's Relief Association. In 1866 she and Miss Collins\* inspected Negro schools in Virginia for the association. In 1872 her Civil War colleague, Miss Schuyler,\* asked her to direct the work of the S.C.A.A. in Richmond County. In this capacity, Mrs. Lowell set about making the public welfare organizations in her jurisdiction models of efficiency and effectiveness. In particular, she sought to establish social agencies which would eradicate the habitual criminals and paupers; these two burgeoning groups were becoming not only insuperable burdens on charity resources but also blights on the public streets.

To rid society of the criminal element, who, according to Mrs. Lowell, often preferred "...a well warmed Jail with good food and congenial associates,... to honest labor..."<sup>38</sup> she advocated their assignment to penitentiaries where 'vocational training' would be provided. Similarly, she suggested that 'able-bodied paupers' who presently were happy to live off the beneficence of others be consigned to a new institution she called a workhouse. She stated, "'To accomplish this the sentences must be very long (or better still, indefinite) and the chief feature must be a thorough system of labor.'"<sup>39</sup>

Although the county officials did not implement her punitive and clearly class-biased proposals, she gained considerable prestige amongst the S.C.A.A. executive and other social welfare leaders. In 1876, this renown resulted

in New York's Governor Samuel J. Tilden naming her the first woman commissioner on the State Board of Charities. In her new position, although Mrs. Lowell maintained her concern with habitual pauperism, she now focussed more exclusively on women. Adopting the then popular Social Darwinist perspective, she argued that by reforming female paupers, a new and more appropriate set of values could be inculcated in the children of the poor. To operationalize this solution, she advocated woman-only reformatories where female paupers, isolated from society, could learn the joys of work and thrift. In 1887, a reformatory for women, based on her proposals, was opened.

However, Mrs. Lowell was not content with these piecemeal institutional reforms; she, like Miss Schuyler, sought a whole-scale reorientation in social welfare. She criticized the existing procedures as ill-organized, ineffective and inefficient:

Almsgiving and dolegiving are hurtful to those who receive them, because they help to keep down wages by enabling those who do not receive them to work for less than fair pay.

Almsgiving and dolegiving are hurtful to those who receive them, because they lead men to remit their own exertions and depend on others, upon whom they have no real claim, for the necessities of life, which they do not receive after all (original emphasis). 40

In order to overcome the harm wreaked by this 'charity', Mrs. Lowell set about establishing, following Buffalo's lead, the New York Charity Organization Society (C.O.S.), a body which was to eliminate the duplication of services, weed out

hangers-on and generally systematize the dispersal of public welfare.

Like Miss Schuyler, Mrs. Lowell recruited prominent social reformers from the upper class to lead her group (see Table 3).

Table 3<sup>41</sup>

Charity Organization Society of the City of New York  
founded 1882

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Founding Committee

Dr. Samuel O. Vanderpoel	Selected as President
Alfred Roosevelt	
James R. Roosevelt	Selected as Secretary
Charles S. Fairchild	Father-in-law of A. Eleanor Roosevelt*
Arthur M. Dodge	Husband of Josephine Dodge*
J. Kennedy Tod	
Dr. Stephen Smith	
R. Duncan Harris	
Josephine Shaw Lowell*	Refused to serve as officer in formal organization

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In later years Mrs. Rice became a member of the C.O.S.'s board of trustees and executive committee. Mrs. Lowell herself refused to be made an officer, "She felt at the time and never altered her opinion that most people looked contemptuously upon an organization led by a woman."<sup>42</sup> Nonetheless, other prominent social reformers as well as her colleagues in the society recognized her pre-eminent role.

Robert de Forest, prestigious lawyer and philanthropist and later head of the Russell Sage Foundation, stated, "'She was ... the founder of the Charity Organization Society.... She was its guiding spirit.... There is no office in the society she could not have had if she had been willing to take it.'"<sup>43</sup>

The organization Mrs. Lowell in effect controlled "...came to be one of the largest and most influential [of its kind] in the country."<sup>44</sup> It was a crucial agent in the modernization of social welfare work. Kenneth Kusmer, who points out the overwhelming influence of Mrs. Lowell's C.O.S. over the other 150 C.O.S. societies in America, comments, "...the development of casework theory and the professionalization of social work occurred for the most part within the context of a philanthropic system that has its social and intellectual roots in the C.O.S. movement."<sup>45</sup>

Significantly, the C.O.S. was, in many respects, a thinly veiled agent for the upper classes. It dispensed "Friendly Visitors" rather than aid to families on relief. These visitors, mainly upper-middle class women, brought no food or money - forms of charity which might further debase the recipients and diminish their desire for honest labour. Rather, they introduced into the home a vase of flowers, a good book or some other embodiment of 'higher' interests and values. The C.O.S. felt that in this way the poor could, eventually, be converted to a more acceptable (middle class) orientation. At the same time, these visitors ferreted out

those recalcitrant families who sought to take advantage of public charities. The Society amassed enormous files on charity recipients and cross-checked these to unearth those individuals obtaining help from more than one agency. In addition, the Visitors kept an eye out for those relief families with able-bodied men. These ne'er-do-wells and their families were removed from the public role and encouraged to seek employment through Mrs. Lowell's Central Labor Exchange or, if all else failed, at the woodyard she set up so that tramps and vagrants could work for their keep.

In short, Mrs. Lowell's efforts were often a clear defense of the class system and the values that sustained it. For example, in 1894, when unemployment reached epidemic proportions, Mrs. Lowell came to the fore as one of the key social welfare leaders attempting to orchestrate a response to this crisis. She established the East-Side Relief-Work Committee of New York City, a group which provided make-work to some of the tens of thousands of unemployed. Hoping to combine her interests, Mrs. Lowell directed this work force to refurbish tenements. Consequently, under her guidance, the East-Side Relief-Work Committee "...accomplished the first major rehabilitation of a New York slum area."<sup>46</sup> While in the larger context, it accomplished much toward meeting criticism of the existing order.

In addition, Mrs. Lowell played a prominent role in reforming and modernizing the intellectual substructure of social welfare so that it could deal effectively with these

challenges to the status quo. By the end of 1894 the depression was on the wane but vagrancy remained a problem. Mrs. Lowell, hoping to develop a more thoughtful and rational social welfare approach, urged the C.O.S. and Columbia University's Department of Sociology to jointly study the dimensions of vagrancy in the city. This step, in turn, resulted in further co-operative research and training ventures. The final outcome was the founding of the New School of Social Research, an institution which played a central part in the etiology of the social sciences.

In pursuing these and related endeavours, Mrs. Lowell, like Miss Schuyler, was astutely political. On the municipal level, she helped found the Woman's Municipal League, a woman's group which in the early decades of the twentieth century was to play a key role in mobilizing women's opposition to civic corruption and to the mismanagement of public welfare institutions.<sup>47</sup> Mrs. Lowell supported and advised the League until her death in 1905. She was equally 'involved' at the federal level:

...she attached tremendous importance to political action. In 1884 she had turned Mugwump to support the candidacy of Grover Cleveland. Her great friend Charles S. Fairfield [one of the founding members of the C.O.S.] entered Cleveland's cabinet as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and later became the Secretary, so she watched the progress of the administration with interest. The President himself valued her opinions. 48

Cleveland's defeat and her own growing interest in labour reform led Mrs. Lowell to resign from the State Board of

Charities in 1889 although she remained active in the C.O.S.

Mrs. Lowell's achievements in social welfare were not short-lived. In the twentieth century there were fresh reinforcements of upper-class women to carry on her enterprises. Emily Dinwiddie,\* whose grandfather was Assistant Secretary of War in the Confederacy, whose brother, Albert, was President of Tulane University for many years and whose brother, Courtenay, was a distinguished social worker became a member of the Central Council of Mrs. Lowell's C.O.S. and, in 1903, editor of its official publication. Mary Glenn,\* daughter of a prominent Baltimore banker and the sister of two leading industrialists also served on the C.O.S.'s Central Council, as did Laura Lee,\* daughter of Frederick Billings (President of the Northern Pacific Railway). There were, in addition, a number of other, upper-class women active (though less prominent) in C.O.S. work.

Similarly, Miss Schuyler's great project, the S.C.A.A., had a comparable contingent of new supporters. For a time, Mary Rumsey,\* sister of Averell Harriman and daughter of railroad financier Edward H. Harriman, was head of the S.C.A.A. For twenty-five years Mary Willard,\* a successful businesswoman in her own right, was on the S.C.A.A.'s board of managers. Once again, there were as well other less conspicuous upper-class women members.

In sum, Mrs. Lowell and Miss Schuyler, aided by their colleagues, Miss Collins and Mrs. Rice and supported by Mrs. Glenn, Mrs. Lee and others, played a central role in social

welfare developments during the period from the close of the Civil War to the turn of the century. Although like the preceding generation of upper-class woman activists they operated within a broader class social network (a network routinely dominated by men), and although they, like their predecessors, were inclined to focus on the particular concerns of women and children, they succeeded in adding new substance to upper-class women's endeavours.

#### Active Upper-Class Women and Labour Pre-1900

There was a long-standing social welfare involvement in the plight of working men, women and children. The nation's social ills were interwoven with the living and working conditions of the labouring class. Consequently, as early as the mid-1800's there was a tendency for the activities of social welfare workers to spill over into efforts to aid workers' groups. As a result, in a real sense the labour involvement of upper-class women was rooted in and nourished by a more general social welfare concern. Given these common origins and given, as discussed on page 159 the degree to which the two fields shared a common set of activists, labour-related endeavours must be viewed as (at least initially) an outgrowth and accompaniment of social welfare participation.

In the 1870's a few members of the research population had been involved in scattered and sporadic attempts to aid working women. Ellen Demorest\* sought to expand the field

of employment open to women and in 1872 she helped set up the Woman's Tea Company to provide work for women. Helen Stuart Campbell,\* a close friend of suffragist Charlotte Perkins Gilman, attempted to expose to the public the horrors of working women's existence; in 1882 she wrote The Problem of the Poor in which she examined the consequences of the low wages paid to women.

However, substantive efforts in this field began with the involvement of Grace Dodge.\* Miss Dodge, who, as discussed, was to achieve prominence as the leader of the Y.W.C.A., was by the 1880's actively embroiled in social welfare and educational ventures. In 1884, as a notable public figure, she was invited by a group of working girls to help them organize a club. The result was the Working Girls' Society - an organization which featured, for example, dressmaking classes, a circulating library and expositions by Miss Dodge on the merits of some facet of traditional morality (for example, 'The home how we can make it what it should be'). The Society was sufficiently successful that by 1885 the Association of Working Girls' Societies was established at a meeting attended by one thousand 'girls'. In 1890, the group held its first national convention and had delegates from seventy-five clubs.

Significantly, the organization Miss Dodge was so instrumental in constructing was built around the leadership of upper-class women. Ellin Speyer,\* wife of noted German-Jewish philanthropist, James Speyer, Helen Henderson,\*

daughter of socially-prominent Oliver Iselin, Sarah Ollesheimer,\* wife of leading financier Henry Ollesheimer and Miss Dodge were amongst the most outstanding luminaries in the Society's leadership. Together these women attempted to uplift club members, to expose them to a 'higher' quality of life and to impress upon them the necessities of hard work, thrift, sisterhood and cooperation. At the opening of the 1896 national convention, Miss Dodge proclaimed, "'This is the age of cooperation and organization. In all classes of life, women are rising and securing by means of cooperation, opportunity for advancement and social intercourse never before dreamed of!'"<sup>49</sup>

However, by the 1890's the momentum behind the organization started to falter. The genteel, passive respectability promoted by Miss Dodge and her colleagues was for the increasing majority of working women irrelevant or inadequate to the harsh realities of their existence, "'Hers was the ardent solicitude for the upbuilding of character,' Vida Scudder writes, 'but I do not think that she had any appreciation, in the modern sense, of the reaction of economic conditions on personality.'"<sup>50</sup> In 1896, Miss Dodge resigned from the Working Girls' Societies and turned her attention to other concerns. It appears that the organization she founded, once deprived of her support, faded into inconsequentiality.

Active Upper-Class Women and  
Public Health Pre-1900

This review of pre-1900 social welfare is incomplete without consideration of the burgeoning field of public health. One of the important consequences of nineteenth century industrialization and urbanization was an incredible proliferation of sickness and disease, particularly amongst the working classes. Overwork, poor sanitation and slum living conditions became fertile grounds for contagion and epidemics. By the mid-1800's the situation was already critical.<sup>51</sup> This tragic situation naturally drew the attention of 'Christian' benefactors such as Mrs. Doremus,\* who, as mentioned, founded the Woman's Hospital in 1855 and the Nursery and Child's Hospital in 1854. Similarly, Mrs. Gibbons\* set up the New York Diet Kitchen to provide food for the sick.

Toward the close of the century, this concern, with public health became an increasingly pressing issue for upper-class women. Not only did the diseases and epidemics challenge their Christian sentiments and pique their desires for civic improvements, they now appeared to jeopardize their own safety and that of their families. More and more slums and the 'lower' classes were seen as a source of contagion which might reach directly into the upper classes. A 1885 publication noted:

A man may live on the splendid 'avenue', in a mansion plumbed in the latest and costliest style, but if, half a mile away, in a range with his open window, there is a 'slum', or even a neglected tenement house, the zephyrs

will come along and pick up the disease germs and bear them onward, distributing them to whomsoever it meets, whether he be a millionaire or a shillingaire, with a perfectly leveling and democratic impartiality. 52

There was no way in which the upper-class wife and mother could shut her family off from this danger. The working-class men and women who entered her house as servants, the beggars on the streets and even the clothing she purchased might all be contaminated. The only solution was to attack the problem at its source. Consequently, motivated by self-preservation as well as Christian charity, upper-class women undertook, commencing particularly about the 1870's and 80's, to help improve health conditions in society.

These women sought to achieve their goal not only, as noted above, by founding and sustaining health care facilities, but by providing skilled health care personnel. In 1873, Louisa Schuyler\* collaborated with her fellow S.C.A.A. worker, Elizabeth Hobson\*(sister-in-law of Levi P. Morton, Vice President of the United States) in setting up the Bellevue Training School for Nurses. The institution they founded and controlled (the first in America to train nurses according to the Nightingale plan) was intended to help remedy the slovenly conditions at Bellevue. It accomplished, in fact, the "...reformation of public hospitals throughout the country and ... the establishment of a new profession for American women."<sup>53</sup>

The school quickly became a focal point for upper-class women's support. Martha Draper,\* granddaughter of New York

Sun editor Charles Dana and daughter of a leading New York physician, was for a time one of the School's managers.

Alice Osborn,\* sister of prominent social welfare worker, Grace Dodge,\* and daughter of industrialist William Earl Dodge, was President of the School's board of managers for thirty-two years. Mrs. Osborn's daughter, Eileen Webb,\* was for many years a member of the board of managers. In short, there was a tradition of upper-class women directing the Bellevue School.

There were, in addition, other training facilities reliant upon support and direction from upper-class women. Elisabeth Reid,\* wife of Whitelaw Reid, American Ambassador to France and Great Britain, was a member of the board of the Mills' Training School for Male Nurses at Bellevue (this school was founded by her father in 1888). Blanche Bellamy,\* whose son became a senior partner in the prestigious firm of Dominic and Dominic, was for ten years vice president of the Brooklyn Hospital Training School for Nurses. Similarly, Alice Pine,\* whose brother was a trustee of Columbia University and who was herself on the board of managers of Bellevue Hospital, helped organize the Cumberland Hospital Training School for Nurses.

Mary Jacobi,\* daughter of the founder of G.P. Putnam's Sons, supported the emerging professional structure more directly - she became one of the pioneering women doctors. Mrs. Jacobi was the first woman to graduate from the New York College of Pharmacy (1863) and the first woman admitted to France's École de Medicine. Having completed extensive

professional training she returned to New York to become the leading woman physician in the United States. In 1872 she organized and later was president (1874-1903) of the Association for the Advancement of the Medical Education of Women. Combining her interests in medicine, education and women's rights, she accomplished much toward demonstrating the professional competence of women and involving women in the professional structure of public health. Similarly, Alice Pine\* and Elizabeth Chase\* trained as professional nurses.

Given the social standing of these women and given the prevailing restricted conception of women's public role, it is reasonable to suggest that the presence of these individuals had an impact on public health. Not only did their participation reaffirm the need for professional supervision, it helped legitimize the involvement of women (albeit in a subordinate role) within this professional structure.

#### Modern Social Welfare 1900-1920

##### Introduction

In the peak of the Progressive Era - 1900 to 1920 - social welfare came of age. The view that society (and increasingly, the state) owed some minimal benefits and aid to the underprivileged was translated into action and the first crucial steps were taken to put the general welfare concept into action.<sup>54</sup> In response to this enlarging mandate, social welfare organizations and institutions grew into massive, inter-

connected and coordinated bureaucracies (more and more under the aegis of the state). The changes were not simply in terms of size of membership, resources and territory. There was also a new innovativeness in the field - a recognition of the need to approach the old problems from different angles, to add a new set of issues to the field and to articulate a modern 'scientific' methodology.

This new social welfare enterprise in effect became an integral part of the nation's social structure. A myriad of new organizations, operating on a 'national' scale were set up: in 1900 the American National Red Cross was incorporated, in 1904 the National Tuberculosis Association was organized, in 1912 the U.S. Children's Bureau, under the aegis of the U.S. government was formed, in 1913 the American Cancer Association was founded, from 1914-18 the war evoked a host of relief ventures and in 1919 the Community Chest was operating in forty cities. Allen F. Davis points to the growing impact and scope of welfare activities:

By 1912 many settlement workers believed that reform had to be carried to the national level. They had helped organize the National Child Labor Committee, the National Women's Trade Union League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the National Playground Association, as well as a National Conference on City Planning. They had lobbied for a federal investigation of women and children in industry, and had organized the National Federation of Settlements. 55

This shifting perspective in social welfare work in turn called for a re-examination of existing strategies.

Charity work and piety had to give way completely to a scientific, rational and 'professional' approach. Aided by the merging social sciences, workers could justify their proposals for reform less on the grounds of morality and more in terms of scientifically-gathered 'facts.' In addition, professional schools, such as the New York School of Philanthropy founded in 1898, lent new prestige and weight to social work pronouncements.

Further, these new operations were built upon vast financial resources. The Red Cross, for example, raised \$100 million in 1917 and in 1918 the United War Work Campaign raised \$200 million. At the same time, a flurry of recently created foundations such as the Russell Sage Foundation, 1907, the Rockefeller Foundation, 1913, and the Commonwealth Fund, 1918, provided huge sums of money to social welfare ventures. In addition, the government, increasingly dominant in the field, supplied financial backing to a series of newly-established government agencies.

The culmination of these efforts did not come until the 1930's and 40's when the New Deal and the Fair Deal essentially completed the organizational developments and legislative changes urged by the welfare leaders. However, as James Weinstein points out, "...the political ideology now dominant in the United States, and the broad programmatic outlines of the liberal state... had been worked out and, in part, tried out by the end of the First World War."<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, as Josephine Goldmark\* in her biography of Florence Kelley\* notes, "Its [the New Deal's] roots lie in the preceding thirty years or more, when our fast-developing industrialism led to state-by-state action to curb some of its worst abuses in the exploitation of labor."<sup>57</sup> Social historians Allen Davis and Arnold S. Rosenberg<sup>58</sup> also root the New Deal in this pre-1920 period and point to the "...many... who held positions of power during the New Deal [and who] received an education in social responsibility at a settlement house."<sup>59</sup> The New Deal and the Fair Deal, while necessitated by pressing economic difficulties, were not a revolution in social welfare, but rather the ultimate outcome of these earlier experiences and efforts.

The ultimate effect of these developments was, Gabriel Kolko notes, the 'triumph of conservatism'. Or as Weinstein remarks, "By 1918 the leaders of the large corporations and banks emerged secure in their loose hegemony over the political structure."<sup>60</sup> This stabilization of the social order and protection of the upper class owed much, as Weinstein reveals, to the erection of social welfare agencies and organizations which at least 'appeared' to accept the necessity of "...general social concern and social responsibility."<sup>61</sup> As indicated below, active upper-class women were important participants in the creation, financing and direction of this crucial social welfare apparatus.

Expansion and Innovation

## 1. The Settlement Movement

Amongst the foremost innovations introduced into modern social welfare was the settlement house. In 1889 Jane Addams, following a British prototype, undertook to establish a residence in the slums of Chicago. The house was to function as a community center and meeting place for the local community. Here not only could help be dispensed but new insights gained as to the causes and etiology of poverty. In addition, the presence of the settlement workers in the community provided immediate, visible evidence of the social concern of the upper classes and of the sacrifices such people were willing to make in order to ameliorate the slum conditions. Miss Addams' example was quickly copied and a generation of social welfare leaders were exposed to the actualities of slum living.

By seeking to confront and treat the problems of poverty, overcrowding and disease at their source, the settlement house movement launched an important reorientation in social welfare. The settlement workers helped social welfare shed the crusty, moralistic and socially superior air that pervaded older organizations such as the C.O.S. and the A.I.C.P. Out of the settlement houses emerged a social welfare leadership more sensitive to the realities of slum living and more attuned to the needs of the lower classes. As Allen Davis notes, the settlement houses "...became spearheads

for reform in the Progressive Era."<sup>62</sup>

Active upper-class women were apparently willing to take part in not only the support but also the leadership of this crucial social welfare enterprise. In all twenty-three members of the research population were either founders of or held executive positions in a settlement house organization. An additional fifty research members worked for or contributed funds to one or more settlement house organizations.

Several of these women were leading figures in the settlement house movement. Florence Kelley,\* daughter of a prominent U.S. Congressman, worked at Hull House with settlement house pioneer Jane Addams. In 1899, Mrs. Kelley moved to New York where she was a leading social work (See Table 4) figure and settlement worker. Similarly, Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch,\* product of a distinguished and wealthy family was for a time head-worker at the College Settlement. In 1901, with the aid of such upper-class supporters as Mrs. J. Pierpont Morgan, Robert F. Cutting, and Judge Eugene Philbin, she set up a new, non-sectarian settlement called Greenwich House. She headed this institution from 1902-1946, providing amongst other things a clinic for ill babies, classes in carpentry, instruction in sewing and tutoring in English. Other upper-class women augmented these efforts to cultivate and Americanize the slum dwellers (most of whom were new immigrants) by providing important 'cultural' contributions. Of the seventy-three women active in settlement work, sixteen

were involved in efforts, such as the Music School Settlement, to introduce the lower classes to the 'finer' things in life.

Table 4<sup>63</sup>

New York Social Work Leadership 1914

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Homer Folks  
 Lillian Wald\*\*  
 Edward Devine  
 Florence Kelley\*  
 Lee Frankel  
 John Kingsbury  
 Owen Lovejoy  
 Lawrence Veiller  
 Henry Moskowitz  
 Mary Dreier\*  
 Mary Dewson  
 Morris Waldman  
 Thomas Mulry  
 Mary K. Simkhovitch\*  
 Raymond Robins       (Husband of Margaret Dreier Robins\*)  
 Stephen Wise         (Husband of Louise Wise\*)  
 Frances Perkins\*\*  
 William Doherty  
 Mary Richmond

Number of Research Members - 3 or 16 per cent of total

Total list = 19

Number of women = 7

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Indeed, upper-class women were so enthralled with the settlement house idea that they created and sustained their own association to support the movement. In 1901, Mary Rumsey,\* sister of Averell Harriman, founded the Junior League for the Promotion of Settlement Movements. The aim of the League was to enlist young upper-class women in social welfare work and acquaint them with the social ills faced by settlement workers.

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\*Both these individuals had strong upper-class ties but could not be confirmed as members of upper class by research process.

In later years, the organization, which became simply the Junior League and which was made a national association in 1921, functioned in large part as a mechanism for assuring class cohesiveness. In 1934 Fortune Magazine reported, "The Leagues, in other words, have become a bulwark against the collapse of social distinctions; they have to be a fairly elastic bulwark to meet changing conditions, but they tacitly assert that there is still a social ruling class, along the traditional, capitalistic lines, and that they are its young women."<sup>64</sup> Nonetheless, the Junior Leagues and the settlement houses did "...give thousands of well-bred, sheltered young women a realistic view of social conditions."<sup>65</sup>

Most importantly, the settlement house experience appears to have helped mobilize a social welfare leadership committed to the full implementation of the general welfare state. As Davis notes:

...many others who held positions of power during the New Deal received an education in social responsibility at a settlement house. Frances Perkins had been a resident at both Hull House and Chicago Commons; Henry Morgenthau Jr., Herbert Lehman and Adolph Berle were associated with Henry Street Settlement; the president of General Electric, Gerard Swope, whom Roosevelt consulted on such diverse matters as housing, social security, and the NRA, was a former resident of Hull House and a friend of many settlement workers. An even more direct influence on government policy came through the President's wife, who had long supported the Women's Trade Union League and the Consumer's League in New York. After a visit to the White House early in the New Deal, Lillian Wald reported, 'Mrs. Roosevelt acts truly as if she had been brought up in the settlements.'<sup>66</sup>

Amongst this New Deal leadership were active upper-class women. In 1933 President Roosevelt appointed Mary Rumsey\* head of the Consumer's Advisory Board. Mary Simkhovitch\* used her considerable prestige as a leading social worker (See Table 4) to support Roosevelt. Florence Kelley,\* although she died in 1932, helped Lillian Wald set up the U.S. Children's Bureau and through her years of labour-reform agitation laid the foundation for much of the New Deal's labour legislation.

## 2. Labour Movement

### (i) Consumer's League and W.T.U.L.

The settlement movement promoted both recognition of the social origins of poverty and unemployment and acceptance of public responsibilities to the underprivileged. In so doing, it dovetailed with important new orientations in labour-related undertakings. In 1890, social welfare leader Josephine Shaw Lowell\* joined with a fellow member of the upper class, Maud Nathan,\* to form the Consumers' League of New York. This organization was to function for the next thirty years as the principal funnel guiding upper-class women into labour activities. In performing this role, it was to play an important part in labour history.

Mrs. Lowell and Mrs. Nathan's aims in establishing the League were "...to educate public opinion and to endeavor so to direct its force as to promote better conditions among the workers, while securing to the consumer exemption from

the dangers attending unwholesome conditions."<sup>67</sup> In contrast to Grace Dodge's\* pre-1900 self-help group, the League perceived itself as the great saviour of working women. According to the League scenario, there was on one hand its supporters - those reasonable citizens who were appalled at the low wages, long hours, filthy conditions and other indignities to which working women were subjected as well as those concerned about the diseases nurtured and transmitted by this kind of industrial arrangement. On the other hand, there was the opposition - the greedy factory owners blinded by the profit motive.

The existing labour union situation made it impossible for working women to fight this struggle on their own. Unionization for women was, in itself, not viewed by the general public as a respectable or desirable process. Most working women were young, unmarried, and relatively untrained. Their youth and inexperience made unionization difficult; their lack of skills make them unacceptable to the craft unions. Finally, the decisive blow, the existent male union movement was, and would continue to be, unenthusiastic in its support for both women workers and women's unions. James Kenneally notes, for example:

In 1898 and again as late as 1914 resolutions which would confine women to the home were seriously considered at A.F. of L. conventions. Samuel Gompers, Federation president, shared these sentiments. Women had a right to work, he claimed, but they should not exercise it unless necessary, for their greatest contribution to society was as the centre of the home in their noble role as mother. 68

Given this social context, the entrance of the Consumers' League into this field, albeit motivated in part by concern over public health, was a crucial intervention. It was even more significant given the social prestige of the League's membership. As evident from the present research, this was clearly an upper-class organization. Forty-five members of the research group belonged to the League and sixteen held executive positions in it. The high social standing of these women was to play an important role in the ensuing struggle.

The New York Consumers' League,<sup>69</sup> which was later the source for the National body, had two principal objectives: protective legislation and ethical control of consumption. By lobbying, writing letters and giving public lectures, the League sought, with success, to limit working hours and to improve rest room facilities. With somewhat less success, it drew up a White List of 'fair employers' and urged consumers to buy only from these firms. Later, it developed a Consumers' Label which was affixed to merchandise which met League standards for clean and 'fair' working conditions. While the League did not make tremendous advances toward improving working women's existence, it was not without effect. It spread to other states and helped arouse both consumer consciousness as well as sympathy for working women.

By the early 1900's experience in the Consumers' League, disenchantment with traditional social welfare procedures and confrontations (often through settlement work)

with the grim realities of working-class life combined to produce a contingent of upper-class women who had become somewhat critical of the existing order and strongly sympathetic to women workers' demands. Gertrude Barnum\* describes her personal metamorphosis:

I myself have graduated from the Settlement into the trade union. As I became more familiar with the conditions around me, I began to feel that while the Settlement was undoubtedly doing a great deal to make the lives of working people less grim and hard, the work was not fundamental....It began to dawn on me, therefore, that it would be more practical to turn our energies toward raising wages and shortening hours. 70

Miss Barnum joined forces with an impressive array of women; women who, despite their attachments to the upper class, played a central role in organizing and advancing New York's women workers.

Part of their contributions consisted in efforts to unionize women workers.\*\* In 1903 at the American Federation of Labor convention Mary O'Sullivan established the Women's Trade Union League (W.T.U.L.) dedicated to unionizing women and improving their wages and working conditions. This group quickly attracted strong support from upper-class women. Nancy Schrom Dye, reports that until 1907 upper-class women controlled the organization by simply weight of numbers.<sup>71</sup> Even though after 1907 working-class participation increased, the League continued to be dominated by an upper-class executive.

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\*\*There was no indication of research members working with or for men's unions.

This situation is reflected in the present research; nineteen women from the research population were active in some capacity in the W.T.U.L. and five held executive positions. In addition, active upper-class women such as Irene and Alice Lewisohn,\* Dorothy Elmhirst\* and Florence Lamont\* provided crucial financial backing to the League. Dye reports that records for one year indicate that two-thirds of the League's expenses were paid by wealthy women.<sup>72</sup>

Two years after its founding the W.T.U.L.'s presidency was taken over by Margaret Dreier Robins,\* who, as founder of the Women's Municipal League, was active in civic reform efforts. Mrs. Robins' tenancy was cut short by her marriage to Raymond Robins, head of Chicago's Northwestern University Settlement. The post was filled by Mrs. Robins' sister, Mary Dreier,\* who held the position until 1915. Amongst Miss Dreier's impressive executive was Emma Woerishoffer,\* daughter of a prominent Wall Street financier and a member of the board of managers of Mrs. Simkhovitch's Greenwich House Settlement. There were, in addition, many upper-class women, both members and non-members, who lent aid and support to the League and its efforts.

Despite the prevailing public antipathy to the labour movement, the chauvinist mentality of the labour leadership and the multitude of problems encountered in organizing working women, these upper-class women were able to make progress. According to Dye, they helped organize several,

short-lived unions and helped put several unions, including two large locals of the I.L.G.W.U. on firm footing.<sup>73</sup> Perhaps more importantly, they provided the woman's labour movement with respectability, support and money when it most needed them.

The 1909 strike of women garment workers best exemplifies their contribution. For thirteen weeks in the winter of 1909 some twenty thousand young women workers held out against implacable employers, openly hostile police and a wholly unsympathetic judicial system. Their ability to do so owed much to the financial support and favourable publicity provided by a host of upper-class supporters. Josephine Morgenthau\* and Alva Belmont\* helped post bail for strikers who were arrested. Mrs. Belmont\*\* Anne Morgan\*\* and Florence Harriman\* organized a meeting for the strikers at the prestigious Colony Club and later Mrs. Belmont rented the Hippodrome so that she and fellow suffrage leader, Anna Howard Shaw, could address a mass rally of workers.

Upper-class women's support was not restricted to these grand gestures; W.T.U.L. members and other strike sympathizers also joined the workers on the picket lines. Leon Stein describes the dramatic impact of their presence:

Their intervention on behalf of the girls drew public attention to the industrial conflict. In groups, they formed voluntary

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\*\*Both Mrs. Belmont and Miss Morgan were made members of the W.T.U.L.'s executive board during the strike.

patrols, marching with the strikers early in the morning and late in the evening and accompanying those arrested to court to testify to their innocence.

The peak of the strike publicity was reached with the arrest of Mary Dreier, W.T.U.L. president. Survey magazine reported that 'Miss Dreier was discharged upon arrival at the nearest station house and the police attitude toward the women was deliciously revealed when the officer in charge upbraided (sic) her for not having told him she was "the working girls' rich friend," had he known which, of course, he would not have arrested her.'<sup>74</sup>

Significantly, however, there were class-based limitations on the kind of support these upper-class allies were prepared to provide. In the final weeks of the strike the union rejected an offer from the manufacturers association on the grounds that it did not include union recognition. At this point, according to Dye, "...many of the wealthy women who had based their support of the strikers on a romantic conception of sisterhood lost interest in the uprising and withdrew their support. Anne Morgan resigned from the League as quickly as she had joined.... Morgan publicly denounced the League as a 'socialist organization.'"<sup>75</sup>

Although the strikers ultimately were forced to capitulate, the strike marked a significant moment in working women's history. As Eleanor Flexner notes, "...it was the first large strike of women workers, and it became a potent answer to the threadbare arguments that women could not be counted on to hold out in a long, hard fight."<sup>76</sup> Significantly, as indicated, much of this progress was not only supported but, in some instances, directed by women from the upper class.

In 1911 upper-class involvement in the women's labour movement was given a new impetus. In this year the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory burned to the ground and 146 people, most young, immigrant working girls perished. Public uproar over unsafe and unjust working conditions was in large part led by men and women of the upper class. The emergency committee set up to aid victims and their relatives included such notables as Mary Glenn,\* Helen Draper,\* Gertrude Rice\* and Grace Dodge's\* brother, Cleveland H. Dodge. In addition, Alva Belmont,\* Harriet Laidlaw,\* Sarah Ollesheimer\* and Mary Simkhovitch\* lent their public support to relief efforts. Anne Morgan\* and her mother, Mrs. J.P. Morgan, donated funds. The W.T.U.L. under the leadership of Mary Dreier\* and with the support of Miss Morgan,\* Mrs. Ollesheimer\* and Louise Wise\* helped organize public protests against governmental ineptitude in ensuring safe working conditions. Leading upper-class men such as Henry L. Stimson, later Secretary of War, and Henry Morgenthau Sr., helped sustain the public furor until the state legislature finally set up a special nine man Factory Investigating Commission (including Josephine Goldmark\* and Mary Dreier\*) to look into working conditions.

These achievements in 1909 and 1911 by no means ended upper-class support for women workers. In 1913 there was another garment workers' strike. Gertrude Barnum,\* who was the daughter of a prominent Chicago attorney and who had become

a national organizer for the W.T.U.L., helped organize and orchestrate upper-class support for the workers. She even succeeded in having Theodore Roosevelt visit the neighbourhood and speak sympathetically of the strikers. Once again, Miss Morgan\* who, with other upper-class women, was playing a leading role in the Working Girls Vacation Association, lent her support to the cause. Miss Barnum\* and Miss Morgan\* were even able to enlist the aid of Marion Stuyvesant Fish,\* the grand dame of New York 'Society'. Mrs. Fish made a highly publicized visit to the strikers and promised them her sympathy and support. She later recanted and urged the union to settle.

Other upper-class efforts were not so ill-fated. Although in the final years prior to 1920 the unionists and working-class League members gradually pushed the upper-class women into less conspicuous positions - they were, for example, steadily replaced on the executive by working 'girls' - the upper-class contingent continued into the 1920's to provide crucial, if less public, assistance. Florence Lamont\* and Dorothy Straight (later Elmhirst)\* for example, who contributed large annual sums, purchased a Lexington Avenue townhouse for the New York League's headquarters. This and the numerous contributions (financial and otherwise) cited above helped sustain the women's union movement in its hostile environment.

In sum, in the first two decades of the twentieth century active upper-class women were very much involved with the plight of working women. In the W.T.U.L. this concern

was translated into an alliance, albeit a somewhat uneasy one, between upper-class 'allies' and working-class unionists. Although only a few of these upper-class women - for example, Gertrude Barnum,\* Emma Woerishoffer\* and Maud Younger\* - ever sought to divest themselves of their class position and to adopt the workers' cause as their own, they provided invaluable support to the workers' efforts. In so doing, these active upper-class women evinced an important commitment to caste-based loyalties.

#### (ii) Legislative Reform

There were, in addition, efforts on the part of upper-class women to achieve legislative breakthroughs for working women. Florence Kelley,\* a noted socialist, a prominent settlement house figure as well as a well-known suffragist, led the way in this struggle for legislative labour reform. Working in conjunction with Pauline\* and Josephine Goldmark\* and their brother-in-law, Supreme Court Justice, Louis Brandeis, Mrs. Kelley made important advances toward protective legislation for women workers, minimum wage legislation and laws banning child labour. It was largely due to her work that in 1913 nine states adopted some form of minimum wage legislation. Similarly, it was in no small measure due to her efforts and those of Pauline Goldmark that the New York Factory Investigating Commission (by-product of the Triangle Fire) was able in 1915 to secure legislation for factory fire and sanitary control and for the regulation

of child and female employment.

Significantly, Mrs. Kelley's and Miss Goldmark's reforming zeal was expressed through and supported by several key upper-class women's organizations. Both Mrs. Kelley and Pauline Goldmark worked with the Consumers' League; in fact, both were at one time general secretary of the National Consumers' League. In addition, Pauline was assistant director of the Russell Sage Foundation. Mrs. Kelley worked for the Foundation on its Pittsburgh Survey, a statistical study which provided valuable date on the dimensions of child labour and in 1909 it was a Sage Foundation grant which allowed her to do research into the international experience with working hours and the relation to health and disease. In addition, it was the Russell Sage Foundation which in 1912 published Josephine Goldmark's "Fatigue and Efficiency" - an influential treatise which became an important weapon in the fight for shorter hours. Finally, the upper-class dominated W.T.U.L. was also an important ally in this struggle for legislative reform.

Working with these powerful and wealthy allies, Mrs. Kelley was able to do important work in researching and publicizing the plight of working women and children. Pointing out the significance of Mrs. Kelley's contributions in this field, her biographer comments, "During that period [1900-1930] hers was no doubt a powerful if not decisive role in securing legislation for the removal of the most glaring abuses of our hectic industrialization following the

Civil War."<sup>77</sup> She was not however, able to break through the solid wall of opposition. It was not until the New Deal and the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Acts that legislative reforms such as the legal minimum wage were finally achieved.

(iii) National Organizations

Active upper-class women also played key roles on the national level in labour-related enterprises.\*\* The National Y.W.C.A., for example, owed much to the leadership and support of upper-class women. In all thirty-one members of the research population were active in this organization and sixteen (six at the national level) of these women held one or more executive positions. While the Y.W.C.A. was involved in a number of social welfare and ideological activities, it had a particularly significant impact on the living conditions of young working 'girls' since it provided the girls with an important source of low cost, 'respectable' housing and recreation.

Upper-class women were also participants in the National Civic Federation (N.C.F.). This organization (founded in 1900) was, as Weinstein points out, "...the most important single organization of the socially conscious big business men and their academic and political theorists."<sup>78</sup> Under the leadership of upper-class potentates such as Marcus

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\*\*Maud Nathan\* was Vice President of the National Consumer's League and Margaret Robins was President of the National W.T.U.L. 1907 to 1922.

Hanna and Andrew Carnegie, the Federation played a crucial role in encouraging business interests to accede to 'moderate' labour demands and in thus defusing the labour movement.

Weinstein comments:

...it [N.C.F.] sought to anticipate more radical demands of an explicitly class character by sponsoring reforms that represented a consensus of business, trade unions, and other opinion. The Federation also sought further to define the limits of reform, to inhibit the growth of Socialism, and to educate the business community to an awareness and an acceptance of its responsibilities....<sup>79</sup>

Although the Federation's leadership was dominated by upper-class men, upper-class women lent their support to the enterprise. In all twenty-four members of the research population were active in the N.C.F. Seven of these women held executive positions - all in departments relating to women.

The participation of these research women in the N.C.F. is significant since it, in particular, suggests that the involvement of active upper-class women in labor-related endeavours was not solely a reflection of commitments to working-class sisters or concern over the plight of the underprivileged. Rather, whatever the personal motivation of the contributors or the short-term effects of their activities, organizations like the N.C.F., Consumer's League and W.T.U.L. did function to take the edge off social unrest and to blur class lines. This kind of social reform was "truly conservative"<sup>80</sup> and served the interests of the upper class.

### 3. Public Health

Innovations and expansion in health care also drew support from active upper-class women. Members of the research population played a prominent role in attempting to lower maternity and, in particular, infant mortality rates. Helen G. Adler,\* wife of prominent social reformer Felix Adler, sought to introduce improved nutrition; she was the founder of the first Laboratory Department for Modified Milk for Tenement Babies. Similarly, Florence Harriman\* was chairman of the Committee for Reduction of Infant Mortality of the New York Milk Committee. Other women contributed to these efforts by supporting the visiting nurses who brought not only medical aid but information about sanitation and child care to tenement families.

Mary Harriman\* made important contributions in the field of mental health. For many years she was a benefactor and member of the board of managers of Letchworth Village (for mental defectives). Revealing the crucial benefits bestowed by such upper-class support, Dr. Potter, head of the institution, commented, "'If it had not been for Mrs. Harriman, Letchworth Village would not be the institution it is today; it would have been a good, average institution, but it is now known throughout the world as a training and research center.'"<sup>81</sup>

The research population did not restrict itself to local or regional organizations. For example, Winifred Holt Mather\* and Edith Holt Bloodgood,\* daughters of noted publisher Henry Holt and granddaughter of New York financier, James

West, in 1905 developed the New York Association for the Blind. This organization, directed by such upper-class noteworthies as Lyman Abbott, John H. Finley and Joseph H. Choate, soon led the way in international rehabilitation work for the blind. Mrs. Mather, who was secretary and leading fund-raiser until 1914 was the key figure in creating a program in New York and in thirty-four other countries designed to help the blind become relatively independent and productive members of society. In 1908, as noted above, Louisa Schuyler\* expanded upon Mrs. Mather's and Mrs. Bloodgood's project by establishing the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness.

Foremost amongst these national and international ventures was the American Red Cross which drew more support and leadership from the research population than any other health related organization - forty-nine research women were affiliated with this one agency. Some of these women played an important role at the highest levels. Elisabeth Mills Reid,\* whose husband was both owner of the New York Tribune and American Ambassador to Great Britain and France, was particularly prominent. She helped persuade President McKinley to allow six hundred nurses to work in Cuba and the Phillipines during the Spanish-American War, and the charter meeting of the New York Chapter of the American Red Cross was held in her house. Most significantly, in 1905 she was a central figure in the machinations which resulted in Clara

Barton's resignation and the establishment of the Red Cross as a quasi-governmental institution (she was an incorporator of this new organizational set up). Theodore Roosevelt's sister, Anna Cowles,\* who was on the executive committee of the Red Cross, was also instrumental in helping to oust Miss Barton. The real although unofficial direction of the organization was taken over by fellow member of the upper class, Mabel T. Boardman.

Under her guidance and the 'official' leadership of such prominent upper-class men as Wall Street banker, Henry P. Davison, the Red Cross was turned into a multi-million dollar, international enterprise and an important vehicle for upper-class activities. This upper-class involvement was evident throughout the organization. Mr. Davison's wife, Kate,\* was the founder and chairman for twenty-seven years of the Nassau County Chapter of the Red Cross. Similarly, Mrs. Reid,\* Mary Parsons\* and Eugenie Schiff\* were leaders in the New York City Red Cross. Abby Rockefeller,\* wife of John D. Jr., was chairman of the American Red Cross in London.

While the American Red Cross was particularly active as the organizational channel for much upper-class war and disaster work, it also played an important role in improving national health care. For example, it provided visiting nurse services which brought medical care and information directly to the home. Mrs. Reid provided the funds and then directed the establishment of the Red Cross Rural Nursing Service

(later Town and Country Nurse Service). Mrs. Cowles\* was head of the Visiting Nurse Association at Farmington. These and other Red Cross agencies permitted the upper-class women of the day to participate in improved health care at a regional, national and, in times of crisis, an international level.

Significantly, by about 1910, some upper-class women were coming to adopt somewhat more radical solutions to the health care dilemma. Despite the fact that contraception would not be legal until 1938, by the early 1900's birth control leaders were presenting it as the ultimate solution not only to many public health problems but also to numerous social welfare concerns. Margaret Sanger\*\* commented, "'Woman was also unknowingly creating slums, filling asylums with the insane, and institutions with other defectives. She was replenishing the ranks of prostitutes, furnishing grist for the criminal courts and inmates for prisons.'"<sup>82</sup> A significant cluster of upper-class women accepted the rationality of Sanger's argument and turned to birth control as the means by which to attack this vicious circle of self-perpetuating malnutrition, immorality, overcrowding and so on.

Jessie Ashley,\* a devoted socialist, daughter of the past President of the Boston Stock Exchange and the sister of

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\*\*Mrs. Sanger herself appears to have been fairly affluent. Her husband, J.N.H. Slee, was president of the 3 in 1 Oil Company.

the Dean of the New York Law School, was one of the three founders of the National Birth Control League of America. No idle figure-head, in 1910 she was arrested and fined \$50 for preaching birth control and distributing literature. Gertrude Pinchot,\* sister-in-law of Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania, also supported the Birth Control League. In 1916 one of the League meetings was held in her home and one hundred, socially prominent women attended. Eleanor Dwight Jones,\* whose father was a Harvard professor and whose husband taught at Johns Hopkins and Bryn Mawr before becoming General Manager of the Association of Casualty and Surety Executives, played a particularly key role. Not only did she actively work for the League, in 1929 she succeeded Margaret Sanger as its President. There was, in addition, support from Florentine Sutro,\* wife of a prominent banker and philanthropist, and from Mary Knoblauch,\* daughter of a Supreme Court judge.

Finally, as in the pre-1900's there were active upper-class women who supported the professionalization of health care. In 1919 Josephine Goldmark,\* who was director of the New York Visiting Nurses Service and who was sister-in-law to both Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis and Ethical Culture founder Felix Adler was appointed Secretary to the Rockefeller Foundation's Committee for the Study of Nursing Education. The Committee's report led to the founding of schools of nursing at Yale, Vanderbilt and Western Reserve Universities, to the affiliation of a number of existing

nurses' schools with universities and to the establishment of procedures for evaluating and accrediting nursing schools.

A significant few in the research population joined the professional ranks themselves - Eleanor Campbell M.D.,\* Rosalie Morton M.D.,\* Emily Barringer M.D.,\* and Julia Stimson R.N. Dr. Campbell, the daughter of philanthropist Elisabeth Milbank Anderson,\* in 1916, set up her own health care center in order to service the poor of lower Manhattan. Dr. Barringer, who broke ground by being the first woman to serve on the staff of a general municipal hospital in New York, also devoted herself, despite protests from male doctors, to the tougher and poorer sections of New York, Dr. Morton\* played a leading role in public health education, particularly among women. Miss Stimson, cousin of political noteworthy Henry L. Stimson, achieved particular prominence in her field by becoming the superintendent of U.S. Army Nurse Corps (1919-1937). She was the first woman to receive the U.S. Army rank of major.

#### 4. Financing the Modern Welfare Apparatus

Important financial support for this expansion and innovation in social welfare came from upper-class women. Interwoven with upper-class women's (and men's) social welfare activities was a long tradition of public benefactions. Women such as Anna Richardson Harkness,\* Mary Stillman Harkness\* and Edith Hale Harkness,\* beneficiaries of a substantial portion of the Standard Oil wealth, bestowed millions of

dollars on their favourite charity organizations and groups.\*\* This financial backing from upper-class women was often crucial to the creation and perpetuation of a social welfare venture. For example, in 1886 Emily Thorn White\* with her husband built the Sloane Maternity Hospital (later part of the Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center). Elisabeth Milbank Anderson\* donated \$750,000 to the New York A.I.C.P. so they could set up the Milbank Baths, \$350,000 to Roosevelt Hospital and in 1909 \$1,000,000 to the Children's Aid Society. Similarly, Theresa Schiff\* gave the Henry Street Settlement \$300,000. In brief, it is apparent from these few examples that despite male domination of the money-making process, upper-class women did play an important part in the disposition of wealth and, as a consequence, wielded significant financial power in the social welfare field.

With the turn of the century and the creation of great foundations, these charitable gestures paled into insignificance. Men such as John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford and James Duke were disposing of hundreds of millions of dollars. Their massive economic support for crucial new developments such as the modern educational system and the scientific investigation of social problems, was altering the complexion of American society. Nonetheless,

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\*\*It is impossible to arrive at an accurate estimate of their combined benefactions since in most instances the specific amount of all gifts is not recorded.

although upper-class women's efforts were in large part eclipsed by the magnanimity of such upper-class men, women also participated in the foundations and continued to play a crucial role in the economics of social welfare.

There were, of course, a number of women who worked with their husbands in setting up and directing a foundation. Frieda Schiff Warburg,\* who personally gave away several million dollars joined with her husband in founding the Felix and Frieda Schiff Warburg Foundation (1935). Florence Shloss Guggenheim\* worked with her husband and children to establish the Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Foundation in 1924. Mrs. Guggenheim became president and director of this organization. Similarly, Adele Lewisohn Lehman\* was co-founder with her husband of the Adele and Arthur Lehman Foundation. Finally, according to their biographers, Abby Rockefeller and Louise Carnegie helped guide and direct their husbands' benefactions. Burton J. Hendrick and Daniel Henderson remarked, for example:

The [Carnegie] Corporation's Board of Trustees, in a statement drafted by Elihu Root, Henry S. Pritchett, and Robert A. Franks, had recognized the part the wife and daughter performed in the operation of this trust. The trustees affirmed their sense of responsibility towards Mrs. Andrew Carnegie, and Miss Margaret Carnegie, who, with cheerful and active sympathy, have approved and promoted the diversion of a vast fortune from the ordinary channels of family distribution to the benefit of mankind. 83

There were, however, also a few notable women who were not simply helpmeets to their husbands. These women

were personally responsible\*\* for the creation of a number of important foundations. Anna Harkness,\* who gave away \$40 million in the course of her life, in 1918 established\*\*\* the Commonwealth Fund with a principal of \$22 million. The Fund, a nonprofit foundation, was to benefit the welfare of mankind. Elisabeth Milbank Anderson, who donated millions to public health and education, set up the Milbank Memorial Fund in 1905 with a principal of \$7 million. This body was to improve the physical, mental and moral condition of humanity and to advance charitable and benevolent objects. Kate Macy Ladd, another Standard Oil heiress, established the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation in 1930. The foundation, to which she contributed \$19 million in all, was for research into medical problems which bore a relation to biological or social science.

Finally, and most importantly, there was Margaret Olivia Sage who in 1907 disregarded her late husband's anti-charity inclinations and established the Russell Sage Foundation, "...the first American-female-sponsored major philanthropy in the world."<sup>84</sup> Guided by her attorney and long-time President of the New York C.O.S., Robert de Forest,\*\*\*\* she endowed the foundation with \$10 million and directed it to the improvement of social and living conditions in the

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\*\*With counsel from trusted male and female confidants.

\*\*\*With the help of her cousin and trusted advisor, Albert Milbank.

\*\*\*\*Husband of Emily de Forest.\*

United States. To assist her in this enterprise, Mrs. Sage recruited, from amongst her friends, two leading upper-class social welfare workers - Helen Gould Shepard\* and Louisa Lee Schuyler.\* Miss Schuyler's Civil War co-worker, Gertrude Rice Stevens,\* was made vice-president of the Foundation and later Laura Billings Lee\* (C.O.S. leader) also became a member of the board of trustees. In short, the Foundation's nine person executive had an impressive representation of upper-class women. Working through the foundation, these women, in association with their male colleagues, helped chart the evolution of social welfare, "In its early years the Foundation's major surveys of social conditions were path breaking for their utilization and standardization of applied social science in the welfare fields. Evaluation studies of public welfare institutions, now commonplace, were pioneered by the Foundation."<sup>85</sup>

Significantly, the Sage Foundation, despite its broad mandate, focussed in particular on woman-related issues and areas. Discussing the organization's early history, Carol Brown notes, "The catalog of Russell Sage activities and staff shows a strong interest in women. For a major foundation to have almost half of its staff and about a third of its program concerned with women is significant...."<sup>86</sup> Specifically, the Foundation provided support to such (upper-class) women reformers as Florence Kelley,\* Pauline Goldmark\* and Winifred Mather.\*

In sum, Mrs. Sage's Foundation stands out not only as

additional evidence of the financial clout exercised by upper-class women in social welfare or the key role they played in directing the evolution of this field. It also highlights the fact that when necessary or desirable upper-class women could take the lead and operate in relative autonomy from the supervision of the masculine social welfare elite. Although, as indicated throughout this account, upper-class women often worked in conjunction with their male class colleagues, they were not obliged to function simply as a female auxiliary to the 'main' masculine enterprise; they had created and maintained projects, organizations and social networks that were their own. Consequently, Mrs. Sage, in using her late husband's fortune to support "charitable and educational enterprises" he had detested, was giving graphic testimony (as discussed above in Chapter IV) not only to the power but to the independence of some upper-class women.

##### 5. Conclusion

It would appear from the above discussion that active upper-class women played an important part in the evolution of social welfare from 1900 to 1920. They helped influence, direct and finance not only the growth of the field into increasingly massive, bureaucratic monoliths (such as the Red Cross, the Consumer's Leagues, the National Civic Federation) but also the exploration of new social welfare techniques and approaches (such as the settlement houses, the National Birth Control League, the W.T.U.L.). In so

doing these women made significant contributions toward the creation of a social welfare apparatus premised on society's (more and more the state's) obligations to and involvement with every citizen - in other words, the modern welfare state.

Implications: Sex Caste Versus Class

It remains to be considered what were the implications of the research population's significant involvement with social welfare. Clearly, in most instances the research population lived and acted within a broader upper class context. In many cases, the men and women with whom they worked most closely were fellow class members, and the organizations or institutions they were affiliated with had a tradition of upper-class involvement and support. Consequently, there is a general class framework which surrounds and colours their activities.

It is, therefore, not surprising that in many respects the population's work in social welfare was basically reformist. Skolnik in discussing Civic Group Progressivism in New York City captures the prevailing orientation, "Most Progressives, once admitted into the councils of the powerful, had no quarrel with the fundamental arrangements of the American society and government; their objection was to the existing apparatus, its disarray, the product of powerful political, and economic forces..."<sup>87</sup> Similarly, the women in the research population do not appear to have had any basic quarrel with the social order; they wanted to get the beggars off the streets, they

wanted clean, efficient hospitals and they wanted effective welfare agencies.

To achieve these ends, certain alterations were required in the social order. This did not however, entail drawing into question the basic social structure. Quite the contrary, these reforms were necessary to shore up the class system and maintain the basic socio-economic status quo. Goldman points out, as do numerous other historians of the period, the basic conciliatory attitude toward vested interests, "Progressivism accepted business America, even was enthusiastic about it, and aimed merely to correct its abuses. It prized cultivation, manner, and efficiency..."<sup>88</sup> Consequently, many agencies which were ostensibly devoted to social welfare, such as the National Civic Federation, the Junior League and the various philanthropic foundations, in fact functioned both to maintain upper-class cohesiveness and to undermine criticisms of the class system.

Similarly, the personal motivation of the individual reformers did not reflect any basic dissatisfaction with the general social structure. Most indications suggest the population was moved by a strong sense of noblesse oblige. Dorothy Payne Elmhirst's\* obituary, for example, explains that "...she tried to keep alive in the privileged members of society the sense of responsibility for those less fortunate than themselves."<sup>89</sup> Gertrude Barnum\* exhorted the "Leisure class" to take up its burden, "'The leisure class should not be outdone by the workers in courage and self-sacrifice.'"<sup>90</sup>

Finally, Grace Dodge's\* biographer sums up a popular orientation, "In regard to the possession of money, she had come to the conclusion that it was inevitable that wealth should accumulate in the hands of the few. The few who possessed it should use it not for themselves but should hold it in trust for all."<sup>91</sup>

The activities of the research population must therefore be understood as basically rooted in an consistent with upper-class reality. However, there was, within this broad overarching context tremendous variability. Some women such as Josephine Lowell\* and Helen Gould Shepard\* were thoroughly conservative and contributed to programs that appeared blatantly harsh and repressive. As Marvin Gettleman comments, "Even with its spiritual gloss, there were many who found the C.O.S. program cruel and harsh."<sup>92</sup> Forced labour and indeterminate sentences for tramps seem to embody the most crass class self-interest.

There were also in the research group a significant number of individuals who were on the forward wave of change - women who rather than coerce and control the lower classes sought to mold the social order into a more humane, responsive and just system. These women pushed upper-class values to the limits of their liberality, and a significant few (such as Gertrude Barnum\* and Emma Woerishoffer\*) on occasion burst through the boundaries of class affiliation. This was particularly the case amongst those who came to espouse the cause of labour.

In challenging the prerogatives of capital, these women forsook their class privileges and incurred the wrath of the vested interests. The National Consumers' League, for example, was blacklisted by the Daughters of the American Revolution on the grounds that it was dangerous to the national interest. Similarly, Florence Kelley\* who, although a moderate socialist, maintained close upper-class ties, was denounced as the arch-conspirator of the Bolsheviks. Her biographer notes, "On July 8, 1926, for instance, Senator Bayard of Delaware read into the Record thirty-five pages of such charges against her and the other defenders of the Children's Bureau, the child labor amendment, and similar legislation."<sup>93</sup>

In short, there were some women in the upper class who were prepared to disregard their class' conservative position and to suffer the consequences of betraying class interests. In describing the 1920 struggle in the Y.W.C.A. over supporting the labour movement, Marion Robinson provides a classic example of this split in class ranks:

Many of our most loyal and devoted board members were caught in a terrible spot. Their husbands, especially those in business, were almost all violently opposed to yielding to any demands of working people and looked upon it as gross disloyalty that their wives should be mixed up with an organization that would take such action as we were proposing then to take [in support of labour]. Some of them agonized over it, then bravely took a stand on what they believed was right even though, as someone has said, they were scared to go home afterward.

Others did as one of our very rich, powerful, generous National Board members did. She got up and protested that we were losing our religion and were in danger of Communism. 94

Significantly, it would seem that some of the motivation for adopting these unpopular stands lay in these women's strong commitment to their sex-caste. This was a period which actively encouraged women to view themselves as separate from and, in a moral sense, superior to masculine enterprises and masculine values. The Victorian Cult of True Womanhood had promulgated the view that women, as a group, were inherently more pure and more moral than men. The suffrage struggle, which was reaching the peak of its activism in the early 1900's, reinforced this conception of women as a distinct social entity.

As a result of this pervasive ideology, women, as indicated here, were inclined to identify with one another and to unite with one another. Grace Dodge\* explained, "'Many [problems] will be remedied when women come to recognize a common sisterhood, and learn to honor and admire what is good in each other.'"<sup>95</sup> In turn, this commitment to women underlay important social welfare and labour organizations, such as the Consumers' League and the W.T.U.L. Dye explains:

In this respect, the Women's Trade Union League was typical of the early twentieth-century women's movement. A conviction that women could relate to one another across class lines in the spirit of sisterhood and an emphasis on the special qualities that women shared linked many League members to the larger feminist movement. One of the major ideological strains in American feminism at the turn of the century was that women were different, emotionally and culturally, from men. 96

This sense of caste distinctiveness and cohesiveness

did not, in fact, obliterate class divisions nor necessarily produce a 'liberated' conception of woman's role. Ehrenreich and English describes the situation in public health:

But she [the upper-middle-class woman activist] seems to have won her 'release' only on condition that she both remain true to the interests of her class and take on social roles that were essentially extensions of the wife/mother role, as social worker or volunteer 'uplifter.' In these roles...she was necessarily patronizing, at times antagonistic, in her relations with poor women. 97

Consequently, it was not inconsistent with this kind of caste loyalty for leading women such as Louisa Schuyler\* and Elisabeth Marbury\* to laud the role of wife and mother in the highest possible terms and to criticize the career woman for failing to attend to her family.<sup>98</sup>

The significance of their sex-caste consciousness did not therefore derive from a critical perspective on established sex roles. Rather, what was important was that these women tended to look to one another in establishing moral standards and then worked with one another in implementing these standards. Jill Conway points out the manner in which woman's 'innate nature' was thus used as the basis for a caste-distinctive approach to social welfare:

They [Lillian Wald and Jane Addams] claimed to be reformers in the name of specialized feminine perceptions of social injustice. These specialized perceptions came from women's innate passivity and from women's ability to empathize with the weak and dependent. Like all reformers with a program for action, Jane Addams and Lillian Wald believed they had found a social group who would bring a new, just social order into being, but theirs was a group defined by sex rather than by class. 99

In other words, a number of women social welfare workers believed that they, by token of their womanhood, could understand the oppressed and downtrodden and they could lift themselves above crass materialism and self-interest. Dorothy Becker, who did a comparative study of male and female leaders 1890-1914, sustains this interpretation of the women's self-image, "But to a far greater degree than the men, they [women leaders] had a vision of a new social order that would transcend the money morality of the city only when 'the rights of human life' had successfully asserted themselves in contrast to the rights of property."<sup>100</sup>

It must, in addition, be pointed out that sex caste loyalties served to focus upper-class women's public activities. As discussed above, much of the research population's efforts centred on the welfare of women. The contributions upper-class women made in this direction - the Y.W.C.A., the W.T.U.L., nursing education, visiting nurse service for tenement mothers, the Birth Control League and so on - had an important impact on women's lives. Not only did these enterprises significantly improve many women's living conditions (particularly those of working-class women) they often helped open up new spheres of 'professional' public activity for women (such as nursing and social work).

In sum, the research population's involvement in social welfare seems to have been basically consistent with upper class' interests. Sex caste did, however, give an added

dimension to their social welfare perspective. It seems that, in some instances, sex caste considerations (in particular identification with the image of woman as moral uplifter and social guardian) resulted in research members supporting reforms that were in advance of conservative class opinion. Further, sex caste loyalties encouraged the research population to focus in on the plight of women. As a result the impact of their activities was most apparent amongst this group.

#### Conclusion

The evidence presented clearly suggests that this population of active upper-class women, taken as a whole, wielded significant power in the field of social welfare. As indicated, these women had at their disposal impressive financial resources, an extremely influential associational network (male and female) and a long-standing tradition of social prestige. It appears that they employed these resources to help control and direct not only important social welfare organizations but also (through their prominence in pivotal organizations such as the C.O.S., the S.C.A.A., the Red Cross and so forth) the overall evolution of the social welfare enterprise. In so doing, they in turn affected the development of the social system. As discussed above, the Progressives and the reformers of the late 1800's and early 1900's in effect defused the mounting criticisms of the social order

and laid the foundation for the modern welfare state.\*\*

In contributing to these accomplishments, active upper-class women were not simply ciphers for their male class colleagues. When necessary, these women worked with one another (and other women) to promote their own ideas, their own innovations and their own organizational structures. In particular, it seems the research population was guided by sex-caste considerations. For example, they accomplished much toward improving the condition of women and they were instrumental in expanding and legitimizing women's public role as well as in professionalizing certain woman's occupations. In a few significant instances, it seems that sex caste loyalties led some active upper-class women to ignore their class' conservatism and to support some relatively 'radical' social reforms. By and large, however, the net effect of their actions was the protection of the upper class' interests and position.

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\*\*While, as indicated throughout the above discussion, many members of the research population appeared to welcome some state intervention in social welfare activities, only a few 'radicals' (such as Florence Kelley\*) anticipated and promoted the kind of extensive state involvement that would ultimately characterize the modern welfare state.

### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Elizabeth Wickenden, Social Welfare in a Changing World (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), p. vii.

<sup>2</sup>On the particular attachment of women to the field of social welfare see Margaret Adams, "The Compassion Trap", in Vivian Gornick and Barbara Moran, eds., Woman in Sexist Society (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971), pp. 555-575.

<sup>3</sup>M.J. Heale, "Harbingers of Progressivism: Response to the Urban Crisis in New York, c. 1845-1860", Journal of American Studies, X (Spring 1976), p. 17.

<sup>4</sup>Arnold Rosenberg, "The New York Reformers of 1914: A Profile", New York History, L (April 1969), p. 193.

<sup>5</sup>Victor George, Social Security and Society (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>See Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, Regulating the Poor (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971). James Weinstein, The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State 1900-1916 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), similarly points out the role of social welfare as a tool of the powerful to control against threats of social disorder.

<sup>7</sup>G. William Domhoff, The Higher Circles (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), p. 35.

<sup>8</sup>See above pp. 156-157.

<sup>9</sup>Allen F. Davis, Spearheads for Reform The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement 1890-1914 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 36.

<sup>10</sup>Quoted by William Rhinelander Stewart, The Philanthropic Work of Josephine Shaw Lowell (New York: Macmillan Co., 1911), p. 129.

<sup>11</sup>Marion Robinson, Eight Women of the Y.W.C.A. (New York: National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A., 1966), p. 15.

<sup>12</sup>Persia Campbell, Mary Williamson Harriman (New York, Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 84

- <sup>13</sup> Josephine Goldmark, The Impatient Crusader (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953), pp. 68-69.
- <sup>14</sup> Richard Skolnik, "Civic Group Progressivism in New York City", New York City History, LI (July 1970), p. 423.
- <sup>15</sup> Heale, "Harbingers of Progressivism", p. 20.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 20-21.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 19.
- <sup>18</sup> Clifford S. Griffin, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIV (December 1957), pp. 440-41.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 426-27.
- <sup>20</sup> Skolnik, "Civic Group Progressivism", p. 435.
- <sup>21</sup> See, for example, Kenneth L. Kusmer, "The Functions of Organized Charity in the Progressive Era: Chicago as a Case Study", Journal of American History, LX (December 1973), p. 670.
- <sup>22</sup> Keith Melder, "Ladies Bountiful: Organized Women's Benevolence in Early 19th Century America", New York History, XLVIII (July 1967), p. 238.
- <sup>23</sup> Paul Ringenbach, Tramps and Reformers 1873-1916 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1973), p. 13.
- <sup>24</sup> See Louis Adamic, Dynamite (New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1931), p. 109.
- <sup>25</sup> Marvin Gettleman, "Charity and Social Classes in the United States 1874-1900, I", American Journal of Economics and Sociology, XXII (April 1963), p. 318.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 321.
- <sup>27</sup> Sidney Fine, "The General-Welfare State in the Twentieth Century" in Charles Schottland, ed., The Welfare State (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 48.
- <sup>28</sup> Eric Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), p. 16.
- <sup>29</sup> Kusmer, "The Functions of Organized Charity", p. 673.
- <sup>30</sup> Table is derived from Walter I. Trattner, "Louisa Lee Schuyler and the Founding of the State Charities Aid Association", New York Historical Quarterly, LI (July 1967), p. 242.

31 Ibid., p. 243.

32 Ibid., p. 243.

33 Ibid., p. 244.

34 Ibid., p. 244.

35 Frank J. Bruno, Trends in Social Work 1875-1956  
(New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), pp. 40-41.

36 Quoted in Trattner, "Louisa Lee Schuyler", p. 248.

37 Dictionary of American Biography, XVI, 1935, p. 474.

38 Quoted in Lloyd C. Taylor Jr., "Josephine Shaw  
Lowell and American Philanthropy", New York History, XLIV  
(October 1963), p. 338.

39 Ibid., p. 339.

40 Ibid., p. 342.

41 Ibid., p. 343.

42 Ibid., p. 343.

43 Ibid., p. 344.

44 Clarke A. Chambers and Andrea Hinding, "Charity  
Workers, the Settlements, and the Poor", Social Casework,  
XLIX (February 1968), p. 97.

45 Kusmer, "The Functions of Organized Charity", p. 658.

46 Taylor, "Josephine Shaw Lowell", p. 356.

47 Regarding the involvement of research population  
in reform politics, see the following chapter.

48 Taylor, "Josephine Shaw Lowell", p. 353.

49 Abbie Graham, Grace H. Dodge Merchant of Dreams  
(New York: The Woman's Press, 1926), p. 104.

50 Ibid., p. 114.

51 Heale, "Harbingers of Progressivism", pp. 20-21.

52 Quoted in Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English,  
Complaints and Disorders (Old Westbury, New York: The Feminist  
Press, 1973), p. 52.

53 Notable American Women, III, 1971, p. 196.

54 For a detailed examination of this process see Fine, "The General Welfare State".

55 Davis, Spearheads for Reform, pp. 194-5.

56 Weinstein, Corporate Ideal, p. ix.

57 Goldmark, The Impatient Crusader, p. 205.

58 Rosenberg, "The New York Reformers", p. 204.

59 Davis, Spearheads for Reforms, p. 244.

60 Weinstein, Corporate Ideal, p. 1.

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62 Davis, Spearheads for Reform, p. 25.

63 Original list appears in Rosenberg, "The New York Reformers", p. 203.

64 "The Junior Leagues", Fortune Magazine, X (November, 1934), p. 107.

65 Ibid., p. 107.

66 Davis, Spearheads for Reform, p. 244.

67 Allis Rosenberg Wolfe, "Women, Consumerism, and the National Consumers' League in the Progressive Era, 1900-1923", Labor History, XVI (Summer 1973), p. 380.

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69 See Maud Nathan, The Story of an Epoch-Making Movement (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, 1926), for a detailed history of the early movement.

70 Quoted in Nancy S. Dye, "Creating a Feminist Alliance: Sisterhood and Class Conflict in the New York Women's Trade Union League, 1903-1914", Feminist Studies, II (No. 2/3 1974), p. 25.

71 Ibid., p. 27.

72 Nancy S. Dye, "The Women's Trade Union League of New York 1903-1920", (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974), pp. 83-84.

73 Dye, "Creating a Feminist Alliance", p. 24.

74 Leon Stein, The Triangle Fire (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1962), pp. 164-5.

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76 Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (New York: Atheneum, 1972), p. 242.

77 Goldmark, Impatient Crusader, p. v.

78 Weinstein, Corporate Ideal, p. 6.

79 Ibid., p. 38.

80 Ibid., p. 61.

81 Campbell, Mary Harriman, p. 46.

82 Ehrenreich and English, Complaints and Disorders, p. 68.

83 Burton Hendrick and Daniel Henderson, Louise Whitefield Carnegie (New York: Hastings House, 1950), pp. 259-60.

84 Carol Brown, "Sexism and the Russell Sage Foundation", Feminist Studies I (No. 1 1972), p. 26.

85 Ibid., p. 26.

86 Ibid., p. 30.

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88 Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny, p. 64.

89 New York Times, December 16, 1968, p. 50.

90 Notable American Women, I, 1971, p. 94.

91 Graham, Grace Dodge, p. 263.

92 Gettleman, "Charity and Social Classes, I", p. 323.

93 Goldmark, Impatient Crusader, p. 4.

94 Robinson, Eight Women, p. 113.

95 Quoted in Graham, Grace Dodge, pp. 98-99.

96 Dye, "Creating a Feminist Alliance", pp. 25-26.

<sup>97</sup> Ehrenreich and English, Complaints and Disorders,  
p. 72.

<sup>98</sup> See, for example, Notable American Women, II, 1971,  
p. 495.

<sup>99</sup> Jill Conway, "Women Reformers and American Culture",  
Journal of Social History, V (Winter 1971-72), p. 166.

<sup>100</sup> Dorothy Becker, "Social Welfare as Spokesmen for  
the Poor", Social Casework, XLIX (February 1968), p. 86.

## UPPER-CLASS WOMEN AND IDEOLOGICAL DOMINATION \*

"On résiste à l'invasion des armées;  
on ne résiste pas à l'invasion des  
idées."

Victor Hugo Histoire d'un Crime

### Introduction

Social welfare appears to have been the pre-eminent focus of active upper-class women's recorded public undertakings during the research period. Their welfare involvement (as discussed above) was not only instrumental in improving 'somewhat' the living conditions of the local population, it served to help assuage public dissatisfaction and discontent and to deflect criticism away from the upper class. In brief, as indicated in the preceding chapter, active upper-class women's participation in this field was a significant element in the articulation as well as implementation of important instruments of social control during this period.

There is a second, related group of endeavours which were almost of equal concern to the research population and of comparable consequence to the evolution of the social order. These activities are approached here under the rubric ideological domination. This terms refers to "...all the organizations and milieux in which artistic, intellectual and

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\*Throughout this chapter indicates membership in the research population.

scientific work goes on, and of the means by which such work is made available to circles, publics and masses. (Original emphasis).<sup>1</sup> This encompasses activities categorized as relating to education, science, public morality, religion, politics, the arts, music and peace work - ventures which are explicitly or pointedly concerned with creating, directing or reforming the ideological structures in society. As C. Wright Mills\*\* notes, this realm of activity (much like social welfare) has important implications for social control:

Inside this [cultural] apparatus, standing between men and events, the images, meanings, slogans that define the worlds in which men live are organized and compared, maintained and revised, lost and cherished, hidden, debunked, celebrated. Taken as a whole, the cultural apparatus is the lens of mankind through which men see; the medium by which they interpret and report what they see. 2

The present chapter examines the role research group members played in this field. It is suggested that in this realm, as in social welfare, active upper-class women were powerful - they made substantial, distinctive and direct contributions to the on-going refinement of social control techniques and to the establishment of the contemporary social order's moral, intellectual and cultural underpinnings. More specifically, the research results indicate that members from the research group helped (often in collaboration with male class colleagues) to direct the evolution of the modern

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\*\*Mills uses the term 'cultural apparatus' to designate this range of activities.

educational apparatus, to mold the superstructure of culture, to oversee social-sexual morality and to affect in a variety of ways scientific, political and artistic developments.

As in social welfare, much of this activity was guided by sex-caste considerations. Many of these undertakings were directed specifically toward women or were implemented through all-woman organizations or associations. Although (as particularly evident in the discussion of public morality) many members of the research population accepted woman's domestic destiny as 'natural' and desirable, their very presence in the arts, sciences and politics and their support for women's education helped further legitimize and extend woman's access to the public domain.

However, the outstanding implication of the research population's involvement in this field concerns their class interests. Much of the research group's activities, for example in education and public morality, served the upper class by strengthening the stability and order of the social system. In other areas, notably politics and the arts, active upper-class women provided invaluable assistance to the efforts of upper-class men. Through their activities as well as through the enduring influence of the organizations and institutions they created, these women played an important part in the struggle to ensure not simply the economic but also the ideological hegemony of the upper class.

1. Education: Control over the Inculcation of Values

It is, in general, in the vested interest of the ruling upper class to contain challenges to and questioning of the established order. As part of this process, those in privileged positions often attempt to protect their interests by opposing or deflecting heretical or revolutionary ideas and values and by sustaining sympathetic ideological and moral frameworks. In New York City in the early nineteenth century this process of ideological control was already well-established.

As indicated in the chapter on social welfare,<sup>3</sup> by the early 1800's leading New York industrialists and financiers were employing religious benevolence not only to meet the real, pressing needs of the impoverished, but also to inculcate values and standards amicable to the socio-economic status quo and consistent with the interests of the propertied classes. In addition, there were organizations, institutions and programs being developed which, while often rooted in this religious and welfare matrix and sharing the same personnel, were more exclusively ideological enterprises. These bodies are of particular concern here.

Clearly one of the most significant additions to the ideological control of society was the modern educational system. As a number of social researchers (notably Ivan

Illich and Joel Spring\*\*) have pointed out, it is this educational apparatus which in large part sustains contemporary notions of rationality and morality and which, as a result, protects the established social order. As Illich states, "...the primary purpose of the school system is social control for a corporate state, and for an economy which has as its goal the efficient production and the disciplined consumption of growing amounts of goods and services."<sup>5</sup>

The use of the educational process as a tool for the ideological domination of American society dates back at least to the late 1700's and early 1800's. During this period, New York City was undergoing its first traumatic confrontations with widespread social disorder. Slums, epidemics, masses of immigrants and flagrant disregard for moral standards seemed to imperil both the city and its social structure. Significantly, some 'leading New Yorkers'<sup>6</sup> looked to education as a remedy. Raymond Mohl in his study, "Education as Social Control in New York City, 1784-1825", states:

Among proposals for reducing poverty and eradicating pauperism in New York City, none was advanced with so much certitude and optimism as education for the poor.... Individual moral reformation, therefore, became the objective of free schools, alms house schools, charity schools, and Sunday

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\*\*)Spring comments for example, "The school is and has been an instrument of social,economic, and political control. It is an institution which consciously plans to turn people into something. Within this framework the school must be viewed as an instrument of power. It creates an institutional relationship which gives power to a social group to consciously shape the personality and goals of an entire generation." 4

schools. Schooling in principles of morality and training in habits of industry and sobriety served as an important agent of social control. Education became a form of 'social insurance' at a time when the city's growing population of European and native newcomers had little feeling for traditional values and little regard for accustomed behavior. 7

As suggested, these neophyte institutions were, in general, closely affiliated with charitable and religious organizations. Indeed, much schooling time was devoted to moral and religious themes in the hopes of inculcating appropriate social values such as frugality, cleanliness and sobriety. As a consequence, these schools functioned as the first clumsy attempts to create a docile, hard-working and responsible populace:

As prime instruments for the dissemination of societal traditions and values, the schools of preindustrial New York City provided formal indoctrination in middle-class morality. By demanding ethical conformity, by providing models of decency and decorum, by imposing values upon the lower classes from above, they became protectors of the social order. 8

These early efforts were, however, at best tentative and uncoordinated. Since most of the schools of the period were small, privately-run organizations and since education was not compulsory, only a minority of children were indoctrinated. In addition, sectarian squabbles between schools tended to undermine their effectiveness. It was only towards the end of the 1800's that education acquired the dimensions, the resources and the structures that made it a key component in the social order.

Significantly, men from the upper class (as Scott Nearing,\*\* George Counts\*\*\* and Upton Sinclair revealed) played an important part in the subsequent perfection and operation of this educational monolith. For example, Sinclair found that many of the great universities - Columbia (J.P. Morgan), Chicago (J.D. Rockefeller), Harvard (Lee-Higginson) and others - were built upon established wealth, were run by plutocratic boards of trustees and reflected the interests and concerns of the wealthy.\*\*\*\* What is less commonly appreciated and what is of significance to the understanding of both the development of the educational system and the history of women, is that women from the upper class helped direct upper-class influence over education. As the present research makes evident, in New York City alone active upper-class women were instrumental in laying the foundations for not only important educational institutions but also for significant, innovative, educational perspectives.

In all, members of the research population were associated (as members of the boards of trustees, as financial

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\*\*Nearing studied members of boards of education and college trustees and argued that business leaders dominated education.

\*\*\*George Counts duplicated Nearing's research in The Social Composition of Boards of Education: A Study in the Social Control of Public Education (1927) and pointed out the control of education by business and professional interests. 9

\*\*\*\*For example, these universities maintained themselves as bastions of conservative opinion and rooted out radical thinkers. 10

supporters, as founders, as professionals or as simple members) with 142 educational associations and institutions (excluding alumnae associations and official governmental positions). Within this broad array, as indicated in Table 1, there were certain pivotal bodies which attracted the largest amount of interest and involvement from the research group. The history of these key organizations, many of which owed much of their prestige and power to upper-class supporters, reveals active upper-class women's role in guiding the development of modern education and, by implication, in assuring the upper class' ideological control over the social order.

Table 1  
Pivotal\*\* Educational Bodies

Organization	Number of Research Members
Association of Collegiate Alumnae	9
Barnard College	27
Harvard University	5
New School for Social Research	8
New York University	7
Public Education Association	26
Yale University	9

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\*\*These bodies had support from five or more members of research population.

(i) Shaping the Public Education System  
Educational Activities in the late 1800's

As indicated above, the possibility of making use of schools as tools of ideological control was well-established by the late 1800's. The actual employment of this instrument was not, however, well-advanced. It was largely in the course of the research period - 1880 to 1920 - after diverse experiments, important political-legal reorientations and massive expenditures that much of the modern educational system was actualized.\*\*

There were active upper-class women at the forefront of even these early developments. For example, they appear to have been particularly prominent in the emergent day nursery movement. Day nurseries had been established first in the 1850's to provide proper care and supervision for the children of working mothers. However, they quickly became instead "...an artificial environment in which children of the immigrant working classes could be inculcated with middle-class American values in place of the 'foreign' standards and outlook prevailing in their tenement homes."<sup>12</sup> These facilities sought to overcome some of the difficulties encountered by educational institutions directed to older children. The nurseries ostensibly captured the child before any bad or

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\*\*For example, Raymond Callahan's investigation into the adoption of business values and practices in education focuses on the period from 1900 to 1930. 11 Similarly, Spring in Education and the Rise of the Corporate State examines the pivotal developments in the Progress Era (the late 1800's and early 1900's).

'foreign' influence could permanently mar his or her being.

One of the leading proponents of this educational approach was Josephine Jewell Dodge\* (daughter-in-law of one of New York City's wealthiest merchants and leading philanthropists). Inspired by charitable (her husband was a founder of the New York Charity Organization Society) and religious impulses, in 1878 she sponsored, under the auspices of the New York City Mission and Tract Society, the Virginia Day Nursery. In 1888, impressed by the ideological possibilities inherent in nursery school situations, she founded and became President of the Jewell Day Nursery which sought expressly to indoctrinate foreign and working-class children with more appropriate (middle-class) values.<sup>13</sup> In 1890 Mrs. Dodge expanded her purview by founding and becoming President of the Association of Day Nurseries of New York City - an association which attracted the support of upper-class noteworthy, Nicholas Murray Butler (later President of Columbia University). In 1893 she further popularized her views by conducting a model day nursery at the World's Columbian Exposition. Not as yet satisfied with the dimensions of her activities, in 1898 Mrs. Dodge founded and became the first president of the National Federation (later Association) of Day Nurseries.

Mrs. Dodge was not alone in her enthusiasm for this new ideological vehicle. Irene Rothschild Guggenheim,\* wife

of mining magnate and philanthropist, Solomon R. Guggenheim, was also an active nursery supporter. She was the first President of the Brightside Day Nursery and Kindergarten when it was founded in 1894 and held the post for fifty-four years. In addition, she was a director of the Association of Day Nurseries. Similarly, Mrs. Richard Irvin\* was at one time president of the Association of Day Nurseries and the Virginia Day Nursery. Elisabeth Mills Reid,\* wife of the noted publisher, Whitelaw Reid, was president of the Sunnyside Day Nursery and a member of the board of directors of the Bethlehem Day Nursery. In all twenty-eight women from the research group were affiliated to one or more of a total of twenty-two nursery-related organizations\*\* and seventeen of these women held one or more executive positions in this field.

Other educational directions were also being explored during this period. For example, the extension of 'formal' education to younger groups of children through kindergartens was gaining widespread interest and here again there were a few notable upper-class women at the forefront.\*\*\* Caroline Bergen,\* whose husband was not only a railroad president but also president of the Brooklyn Board of Education from 1885-1891, was herself president of the Brooklyn Free Kindergarten Society. Edith Stokes,\* who had married into the socially

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\*\*No one nursery-related organization attracted support from five or more research members.

\*\*\*In all, ten research population members supported eight kindergarten-related organizations.

and financially prominent Phelps-Stokes orbit, became president of the New York Kindergarten Association. Lucy Morse,\* daughter of social welfare leader and abolitionist Abby Gibbons,\* was one of the founders of the first kindergarten for blacks in New York City.

One of the key innovations of the period was the popularization of manual training in education. There was hope amongst upper-class reformers that by disregarding traditional curricula and instead providing working-class or immigrant boys with concrete industrial skills and the girls with domestic capabilities, they could be fitted more easily into the social system.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, in the 1880's and 1890's a number of new organizations were created devoted to this more strictly practical format of knowledge and values.

Grace Dodge,\* niece of the above-mentioned Josephine Dodge,\* played a particularly pivotal role in the development of this pragmatic educational approach. In the 1870's, as she set forth on her career in social welfare and education, Miss Dodge became an instructor at Emily Huntington's Wilson Industrial School for Girls where in kitchen garden classes "...kindergarten methods [were used] to teach household arts to young girls [and boys] of the working class."<sup>15</sup> Impressed by this practical conception of education, Miss Dodge became an active exponent of the kitchen garden movement, writing articles in its behalf and in 1880 helping to found the Kitchen Garden Association.

The Association was dedicated to the promotion of domestic industrial arts among the labouring classes and the standardization of teaching methods. Actually, it sought to be of multiple benefit to the socio-economic order. By producing a generation of efficient, skilled working-class housekeepers it would improve the health and hence the working capacity of the whole working class, it would provide a large pool of reliable domestic servants,\*\* and, finally, it would help stem the threat of contagion and epidemic. In short, it would be in many ways a stepping-stone to a more stable social order. This political intent is clear from Miss Dodge's comments, "'What the poor need,' she wrote, 'is to be taught providence, thrift, cleanliness and management. The women do not know how to spend money properly nor the science of making happy homes.'"<sup>17</sup>

In the 1880's this enthusiasm for educational innovations, along with faith in education's ability to arrest social disorder, flourished. By 1894 the Kitchen Garden Association and the New York Kindergarten Association were so successful that a new, expanded organizational framework was required. Consequently, Miss Dodge, working in conjunction with such upper-class notables as General Alexander Webb (head of the College of the City of New York) and Nicholas Murray Butler (President of Columbia University) launched the Industrial Educational Association (I.E.A.). Although

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\*\*Students were encouraged to act out the roles of maids and mistresses. 16

officially only vice president, Miss Dodge, according to Robert D. Cross, was the real head of the new association.<sup>18</sup> Under her guidance, the I.E.A. broadened "...its scope to include manual training for boys and the fostering of domestic and industrial classes in public schools."<sup>19</sup>

To publicize the I.E.A.'s efforts, Miss Dodge helped organize the 1886 Children's Industrial Exhibition wherein three thousand children exhibited their work in the manual arts and industries. In this same year, symbolic of her growing prestige in the field of education, Miss Dodge became the first woman to be appointed to the New York City Board of Education. Her father, loath to expose his daughter to the crudities of an all-male, cigar-smoking, tobacco-chewing board allowed his daughter to serve only provided another woman was also a board member. As a result, Mary Nash Agnew,\* the Dodges' neighbour and wife of a prominent physician, also joined the Board.

Supported by Mrs. Agnew, in her new capacity, Miss Dodge, sought in particular to promote manual training and protect the interests of the women teachers. However, her activity in this field increasingly led Miss Dodge and the I.E.A. to focus their attention on the need for more, and more fully trained teachers, especially in the manual arts. By the late 1880's her concern and that of the I.E.A. had shifted to the specific problem of creating an institution which would provide standard, professional training for teachers. The creation of this important college is discussed

below along with other institutional developments.

By the 1890's, despite the expansion of educational programs (as well as social welfare efforts) the social order still appeared to be very much in jeopardy. In 1890, New York City had 1.5 million inhabitants, 42.8 per cent of whom were foreign-born.<sup>20</sup> Squalor, poverty, overcrowding and disease flourished, largely unimpeded by the efforts of the humanitarians and reformers. In addition, there was the alarming proliferation of threatening 'foreign' ideologies.

The most widely-read book of the 1880's was Henry George's socially critical Progress and Poverty.<sup>21</sup> The union movement, with its often anti-capitalist rhetoric, was strengthenening, "By 1885 the railroad workers in the Knights [of Labor] were powerful enough to force representatives of the Mighty Jay Gould to sit down at the same table and discuss a strike settlement, the first such demonstration of union power in American history."<sup>22</sup> The 'black-bearded horror' of anarchism had been thrust into public awareness by the 1886 Haymarket Massacre when a bomb, ostensibly the work of anarchists, went off during a demonstration for the eight hour work day. Finally, socialism, the self-proclaimed nemesis of propertied interests, was blossoming, and "Before the Eighties were done, socialism...was even trickling through to the middle classes."<sup>23</sup>

It was increasingly clear that if the upper class was to preserve its privileged position, it must step up its campaigns to both alleviate the most glaring sources of social

discontent and to counter this threatened ideological and moral erosion. In apparent response to this situation, a nationwide crusade was launched dedicated to sweeping political and social reforms. In New York City in 1894 these 'Progressives' (many of whom were leading members of the upper class)<sup>24</sup> overthrew the corrupt Democratic Party machine, Tammany Hall, and were elected into city government.

One month after the election, "a small group of society women",<sup>25</sup> many of whom were wives of the more prominent municipal reformers, decided to form a ladies auxiliary to one of the more important anti-Tammany men's groups. Since they were primarily intent on cleaning up the corrupt and inefficient city education system, the ladies soon organized the Woman's Association for Improving the Public Schools. In 1895 the new organization severed its previous auxiliary ties and became the Public Education Association (P.E.A.). This Association, under the continued direction of upper-class women, was to be instrumental in molding the recalcitrant New York educational apparatus into an extensive, standardized and coordinated bureaucratic mechanism. The history of the P.E.A. demonstrates more clearly that active upper-class women played a key role in forming and controlling the public school system and in bringing new subtlety and sophistication to the use of education as an ideological harness.

Active Upper-Class Women and the  
Public Education Association

The principal aims of the P.E.A. (as well as of the broader Progressive reform movement) were to take control of the educational system away from the corrupt Tammany Hall group, to end patronage (such as the appointment of Tammany faithfuls to positions in the school system), to limit school control by 'foreign' agencies (specifically, the Roman Catholic Church since many Tammany Hall members were Irish Catholics) and to turn the schools into centres of neighbourhood life.

At first the all-woman P.E.A. moved tentatively. Although, as indicated previously, upper-class women were playing leading roles in social welfare ventures, it was not as yet acceptable for them to participate directly in 'political' issues. Sol Cohen notes:

In New York City the 'new woman' could, with Louisa Lee Schuyler, Josephine Shaw Lowell, Grace Dodge, Maud Nathan, and Jane Robbins, engage in philanthropic and social betterment work of all sorts. But engage in politics? The Reverend Charles Parkhurst's ladies auxiliary, the infant Woman's Municipal League, notwithstanding, New York's patrician reformers found the idea vastly amusing; women were barred from membership in the City Club and the Good Government Clubs. 26

Consequently, in the first few months, the Association, under the careful guidance of its Advisory Board of male upper-class reformers, limited itself to keeping an eye on the sanitary conditions in East Side public schools and to forming library and lecture committees.

Late in 1895, however, the struggle for hegemony over the educational system heightened. The male upper-class reform group, the Committee of Seventy, "...composed almost exclusively of the financial, commercial and professional elite of the city",<sup>27</sup> presented a school bill to the State Assembly designed to centralize control of education and eliminate patronage. The reformers hoped to wrest control of the schools away from local political machines and to have the Mayor determine the school board personnel. The desired end was "good schools run by experts."<sup>28</sup> The resultant crucial contest between the reformers and the local Tammany advocates necessarily demanded more public participation and support from the P.E.A.

The ladies answered the call. By giving teas and afternoon lectures for teachers and the general public, they were able to summon valuable public sympathy in favour of the reform position. In 1896, indicative of their new status in the reform movement, the Association was invited to join with male reform groups - the City Club, Club E, the Citizens Committee on Public School Reform - in publicly presenting a petition in behalf of the school reform bill to the New York Senate. As further evidence of the new acceptance of women's public political role, the reformers asked for and obtained the appointment of women as school inspectors and ward trustees. Included amongst this first, predominantly

upper-class, contingent of appointees\*\* were Lillian Parker,\* a noted social welfare leader and Mariana Van Rensselaer,\* a member of several of New York's oldest and most prestigious families.

Mrs. Van Rensselaer,\* who in 1896 became head of the P.E.A., played a particularly prominent part in the campaign for the reform bill. In collaboration with Nicholas Murray Butler, she wrote an important series of editorials in the New York World which defused charges from pro-Tammany forces that the reformers were 'Anglomaniacs' who wanted to turn the public schools into charity schools.<sup>29</sup>

Mrs. Van Rensselaer's efforts and those of the women in the P.E.A. contributed in no small way to the final passage of the reformers' bill in 1896. Cohen notes, "Jacob Riis paid tribute to the effectiveness of the ladies when he wrote: 'In the struggle for school reform they struck the telling blows and the credit of the victory is justly theirs.'"<sup>30</sup> As to the particular significance of Mrs. Van Rensselaer's activities, he comments, "When the struggle was over, Nicholas Murray Butler wrote her that she was entitled to look upon the new law in large measure as a personal triumph."<sup>31</sup>

The social, and particularly the ideological, implications of this 'triumph' were important. With this new

\*\*Cohen lists Mrs. William S. Rainsford, Mrs. Willard Parker,\* Mrs. Gordon Wendell, Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer\* and Mrs. Alice Brevoort Bull (this later individual, although not a member of the research population, was also a member of one of New York's oldest and most prestigious families).

legislation, the reformers could seek to "...improve the city school system by providing a simpler machinery of operation, centralizing that operation, and opening up the way for a fuller utilization of professionals in the management of the system. Perhaps more important, the new school law gave the reformers full control of the school system."<sup>32</sup>

Having established their position 'inside' the educational structure, the P.E.A., led by Mrs. Van Rensselaer, now switched from criticizing to working with school authorities. Supported by powerful groups such as the conservative General Federation of Women's Clubs (founded and led from 1905 to 1911 by fellow upper-class member, Belle de Rivera\*) the Association increasingly sought to turn the school system into a more effective, businesslike instrument not only for educating but also for Americanizing children. Reflecting the social welfare involvement of many of the reformers as well as of the P.E.A. executive (Mrs. Van Rensselaer was president of the Woman's Auxiliary of the University Settlement Society), the Association argued that these broader objectives could best be achieved by molding the schools into settlement-like community centres. Consequently, efforts were made through committees on Truant Schools, Evening Schools, Vacation Schools and so forth to work the school into every aspect of community life.

It was critical not only to expand the educational format but also to expose more people to it. As Cohen remarks,

"If the public schools were to help solve the problems of immigration and congestion of population, of child labor and child welfare, then all the children must be gotten into the school and kept there as long as possible."<sup>33</sup> As a result, the P.E.A. sought to ensure that schooling was compulsory for all children ages seven to sixteen from September to June and that provision was made to school special children - that is, the crippled, deaf, blind or mentally defective.

Gradually, as these new directions were explored, the reformers came increasingly to visualize the schools as 'legatee' institutions - agencies which would (and should) take over many parental responsibilities in the care, guidance and development of the child. As the P.E.A. evolved toward this position, the composition of its executive changed.

Mrs. Van Rensselaer, who was opposed to expansion of the school's responsibilities, resigned in 1905. She was replaced by Miriam Sutro Price,\* whose husband was not only a business leader but also an active exponent of reform politics. Also in 1905, the P.E.A. for the first time allowed men to become members.

Although henceforth upper-class men such as Felix Warburg and James K. Paulding would have official (rather than informal) leadership positions and in 1909 Charles Howland would assume the presidency, the women were by no means supplanted. Prominent upper-class women such as Dorothy Whitney Straight,\* (later Elmhirst) heiress to a Standard

Oil fortune and a leading figure in Progressive projects, Josephine Dodge,\* the nursery school pioneer, and Marjorie McAneny,\* wife of a civic leader, continued to be active in the executive. In addition, women philanthropists, such as Mrs. Elmhirst, Mrs. McAneny, Mary Harriman\* and Helen Hartley Jenkins,\* along with upper-class women's organizations such as the Junior League and the Russell Sage Foundation were to play an important role as key sources of financial and social support for the P.E.A. The participation of women from the research population, such as Margaret Lewishohn,\* continued well into the 1920's.

Also indicative of the continuing presence of upper-class women in the educational struggle, there was a scattering of research population members holding down strategic positions within the educational hierarchy (see Table 2). Martha Draper was, in addition to being a member of the board of education, a member of the Friedsam Committee whose recommendations led to a new principle of state aid and a more equitable and regular system of teachers' salaries. In 1913 she was appointed by Governor Lehman to the Committee on Costs and Education. In later years she became President of the P.E.A. and served in this capacity from 1929 to 1935.

By 1917, the P.E.A. had met many of its objectives; it "...had won...the allegiance of many of the rich and powerful in the city; it was a strong and confident group...many of the ...school reforms for which the P.E.A. had worked so hard in the past decade...were now part of the municipal scene

and were not going to be erased."<sup>34</sup> By expanding the sphere of compulsory education, by fostering the professionalization and bureaucratization of the educational process and by supplanting many parental prerogatives, it had helped lay the essential foundation for the modern public school system. In so doing, the P.E.A. had been instrumental in creating a social apparatus which, as Spring notes, "...tend[s] to be conservative...provide[s] a vehicle for the continuation of existing social stratification"<sup>35</sup> and "...not only prepares for the acceptance of control by dominant elites and social structures but also can create a dependence on institutions and expertise."<sup>36</sup>

Table 2

Active Upper-Class Women in Official Educational Positions

Board of Education, Mendham, New Jersey	Agnes Cromwell*	Member for 15 years President for 5 years
Glen Cove Board of Education	Florence Pratt*	Member
New Jersey State Board of Education	Agnes Cromwell*	First woman member
New York Board of Education	Mary Nash Agnew*	Member with Miss Dodge, 1886
	Grace Dodge*	First woman member Appointed 1886
	Martha Draper* (a founder of P.E.A.)	Member of local school board of 9th district 1910 Reappointed 1917
	Alice Pine*	Public School Trustee for 15th Ward
	Katrina Tiffany*	Member of local School Board for 12th District
Rye School Board (New York)	Caroline O'Day*	President

What is particularly pertinent to the thesis at hand is that active upper-class women, despite the sex-role constraints of the period, took a pivotal and dynamic role in this translation of the educational system into a vehicle for ideological domination. In all twenty-six members of the research population belonged to the P.E.A. and eleven of these women held one or more executive positions. Although the research group women tended to work in collaboration with male class colleagues, they did not function as an inconsequential or subordinate woman's auxiliary. The P.E.A. was an exclusively female agency for the first eleven years of its existence; active upper-class women held the presidency for the first fifteen years. During those periods when a man occupied the top post, upper-class women continued to be a potent force in the P.E.A. both as executives and as financial backers. Finally, from 1886 when Grace Dodge\* became the first woman to be appointed to the Board of Education and 1887 when Alice Pine\* (later a member of the P.E.A. executive) became the first woman to serve as a public school trustee, there were, as indicated, a notable few upper-class women holding down positions in the public school system's officialdom.

(ii) Development of Educational Institutions  
Financial Support

Active upper-class women did not, of course, restrict themselves to these public struggles over the direction of educational policy in the public schools. There was a significant number of women from the upper class who played a more

discrete but equally consequential role by directing and financing specific educational bodies.\*\* In all, thirty-four members of the research population donated money and/or property to one or more of forty-seven educational institutions. No accurate calculation of the total worth of these benefactions can be arrived at since in many instances the value of the donation is not recorded in the biographical sources. However, it is indicative of the tremendous wealth distributed under the aegis of upper-class women that the values of those gifts from research members which were specified totalled \$34,774,000. Some of these benefactions had a dramatic impact on the development of the educational institution. Helen Shepard's\* biographer remarks, "Altogether she gave almost two million dollars to the university [ New York University ], in addition to the Jay Gould Memorial Library and The Hall of Fame. Mrs. Shepard had never gone to college, but for all practical purposes, she built one."<sup>37</sup>

Not included in the above figure is the financial power active upper-class women wielded in the field of education through foundations. David Horowitz, who examined the educational impact of the great foundations, concludes, "The development of the modern American university was not left to the natural bent of those within its ivory towers; it was shaped by the ubiquitous charity of the foundations and the guiding mastery of wealth."<sup>38</sup> Given the significance of

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\*\*Nurseries and kindergartens, discussed above, are not included in these figures.

their effect on educational development, it is noteworthy that some foundations were influenced and/or directed by upper-class women. The Russell Sage Foundation, which as noted previously guided the introduction of 'professional' education for several public health occupations and funded research into the directions of educational policy, was not only created by an upper-class woman, Margaret Sage,\* but for many years depended upon leadership from such upper-class representatives as Louisa Schuyler,\* Gertrude Rice\* and Helen Shepard.\*

Even the mammoth foundations created by upper-class men did not escape the influence and direction of women. The self-effacing Abby Rockefeller\* described herself as her husband's "ardent supporter and feeble immitator"<sup>39</sup> in a wide range of duties - duties which included his role as head of the Rockefeller Foundation. There is a more concrete record of Louise Carnegie's\* direct involvement with the Carnegie Foundation. Frederick P. Keppel, president of the board of trustees of the Carnegie Corporation, reported:

In the plans for the creation of the Carnegie Corporation, Mrs. Andrew Carnegie has had an active share. Her generous and understanding approval was an essential factor in bringing into existence this foundation for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding. She has always shown deep interest in its activities. For ten years she was an active and useful member of the Board. 40

Further, there is evidence to suggest that the financial power these active upper-class women wielded, was on occasion used to attempt to control the functioning of particular

institutions and hence, by implication, educational policy. For example, Helen Gould Shepard\* was an outstanding figure in educational philanthropy. Her daughter-in-law records the expanse of her educational interests:

Mrs. Shepard was especially interested in the broad field of education. Besides New York University, she gave grants and scholarships to a great many other institutions, including Hunter College, Vassar, Rutgers, Delaware County Scholarships, Northfield Seminary for Girls, Mount Hermon School for Boys, Mount Holyoke, Wellesley...Irvington High School, the Washington Irving High School, and Berea College of Kentucky. <sup>41</sup>

In the midst of all these activities, Mrs. Shepard still managed to keep a rein on 'her' schools. If she did not approve of a school's approach (and she was, according to her biographer, quite conservative particularly on religious or moral issues) Mrs. Shepard did not hesitate to use her beneficence as a weapon. On one occasion she cancelled four scholarships to Vassar because she disliked its teaching methods. On two other occasions she redirected elsewhere gifts of \$40,000 to Mount Holyoke and \$50,000 to Wellesley because neither college's Bible Department met her approval.<sup>42</sup>

These incidents, however, only hint at the full dimensions of the upper-class' financial clout. It is reasonable to suggest (and Horowitz has provided some documentation on this point<sup>43</sup>) that upper-class men and women did not often have to resort to this crass financial coercion. Rather, it seems likely that in many instances educational institutions, often dependent upon largesse, tactfully avoided such reprimands by adopting educational approaches which were assumed to be

consistent with the philanthropic class' standards and values.

Finally, it must be noted that active upper-class women's input into education's institutional matrix extended beyond simple financial involvement. There were a large number of women from the research population who chose instead or as well to exercise official executive powers. In all fifty-four members of the research group were directors, founders, or members of the board of trustees of one or more of thirty-two educational institutions.

#### Directions in Institutional Development

##### a. Social Welfare

Active upper-class women's participation in educational institutions tended to follow four main directions. First, there were educational undertakings which stemmed in large measure\*\* from social welfare (and, therefore, social control) concerns. This included not only support and direction of general educational reform programs and day nurseries, as discussed above, but also the founding and management of a number of specific schools and colleges.

For example, there were upper-class women active in educational efforts to improve the social welfare of (and social control over) American blacks. Horowitz comments in this regard:

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\*\*This is a question of emphasis; some projects involved several of the four main themes.

Among the white-financed Negro institutions which pioneered this development [of Negro higher education] was the Tuskegee Institute, which provided Booker T. Washington with his institutional base and was benefacted by such stellar names of corporate wealth as Rockefeller, Huntington, and Morgan.... it was a system in which the white man picked up the bills and laid down the law, and as a system it served only to re-enslave the Negro, who was 'trained to think what is desired of him.' 44

This was not, however, as Horowitz's remarks might suggest, a masculine enterprise.\*\* Grace Dodge\* was a friend and supporter of Washington. Elisabeth Anderson\* (\$25,000), Anna Harkness,\* Mary Harkness\* (\$500,000), Mary Loines,\* Margaret Sage,\* Charlotte Stillman\* (\$50,000), Caroline Stokes\* and Olivia Stokes\* (\$100,000) helped finance the Tuskegee Institute. A similar assemblage supported the Hampton Institute. While the record is incomplete, it is clear that active upper-class women were, in simple economic terms, important participants in the creation and maintenance of black educational institutions.

Similarly, the American College for Girls in Constantinople (Turkey), designed to promote world understanding and to provide young women in an underprivileged country with post-secondary education, was another social betterment project which became a focal point of active upper-class women's activities. The aforementioned Helen Shepard\* and Margaret Sage\* were both substantial benefactors of the College.

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\*\*Emily Howland, the daughter of wealthy Quakers, was a particularly outstanding leader in the movement to develop schools for blacks. She was not included in the research group since she was a resident of Albany, New York. 45

Fanny Villard,\* wife of the co-founder of the Edison General Electric Company, was both a benefactor and a director.

Grace Dodge\* was the principal motive force behind the founding of the College and from 1910-14 she was president of the board of trustees. Virginia Gildersleeve,\* dean of Barnard College, was a member of the College's Board.

Lastly, the Southern Industrial Education Association (S.I.E.A.), intended to provide education to poor white children in the Appalachias, was aided by socially-concerned active upper-class women. The organization was founded in 1905 by Mary Sullivan,\* the wife of Algernon Sullivan of Sullivan and Cromwell (the prestigious New York law firm). She was the president of the Association's New York auxiliary for ten years. Leonora Schuyler\* was the secretary of this same auxiliary and an elector of the National Society of the S.I.E.A.

#### b. Status of Women

Secondly, as apparent above, active upper-class women were not only interested in employing education to help salve general social ills, they were also often specifically concerned with the uses of education to improve the social condition of women. This appears as a recurrent theme. Of the 107 educational institutions to which members of the research group were in some way affiliated, thirty-one (or twenty-nine per cent) were clearly identifiable as women-only schools or colleges. Significantly, eight of these woman's institutions

were founded through the efforts of research group members.

In part, it would seem that active upper-class women, by creating, supporting and directing these 'women's schools' were intent on upgrading the status of women in society. This was, after all, a period not far removed from the concerted efforts of male educators to demonstrate the inherent 'domestic' and 'subordinate' nature of women's social role or from the widespread view that exposure to education was injurious to women's reproductive capabilities.<sup>46</sup> As late as 1848 there had been only three institutions of higher learning in the country which permitted attendance by women.\*\*

Given this social environment and given (as indicated in the following chapter) the involvement of active upper-class women in the women's rights movement, it seems reasonable to suggest that some of these women (notably, as discussed below, Lillie Blake\* and Annie Meyer\*) believed that by developing and/or directing specific 'woman's' educational institutions they could hope to mold women's social roles into a more expanded form. However, as indicated in the following section, it would seem that concern for their sex-caste was only one part of the motivation underlying this involvement with women's colleges and schools.

#### c. Class Solidarity

In addition to applying education to social welfare

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\*\*Georgia Female College, Hillsdale and Oberlin.\*

and women's rights issues, members of the research population were active in erecting and/or supporting educational institutions which catered primarily to the upper class. Consequently, in a significant number of instances their participation in a particular 'woman's institution' appears to have been more an attempt to meet the educational and social needs of women of their own class than to improve the educational lot of women in general. In all, thirteen of the thirty-one women's colleges and schools supported by the research population had a strong upper-class tradition.<sup>47</sup>

The research period was, after all, a time of tremendous advances for upper-class women's education. Of the fourteen upper-class girls' schools listed by Fortune Magazine in 1931 and 1936, all but one (Farmington, 1843) were established between 1877 and 1920. Similarly, the late 1800's witnessed the establishment of some of the first important upper-class women's colleges and universities: Vassar 1865, Smith and Wellesley 1875, Harvard Annex (Radcliffe) 1879, Bryn Mawr 1885 and Barnard 1889. As a privileged class, with leisure and money at their disposal, upper-class women were in a position to take advantage of this emerging school system.<sup>46</sup> Consequently it was in their own interest to help cultivate these new exclusive institutions.

In New York City, Barnard College was a particular focal point of activity and was in large part the product of active upper-class women's labours. In 1873, Lillie Blake,\* a leading suffragist and the offspring of an aristocratic

Southern family, provided the initial impetus behind the founding of the College. She went to Columbia University and personally asked President Barnard that her two daughters (whose illustrious ancestry included two of Columbia's Presidents) be permitted to attend the University. Permission was refused but in 1886 Columbia did condescend to establish a separate and less strenuous B.A. program for women.

This token gesture was, however, unsatisfactory. In 1888, Annie Nathan Meyer\* assembled a small group of upper-class women - notably, Mrs. Cleveland Dodge (sister-in-law of Grace Dodge\*), Ella Weed,\* Frances Fisher Wood\* and Caroline Choate\* - and set about to build up support for a separate but equal woman's college to be affiliated with Columbia. In 1889 Mrs. Meyer's numerous newspaper articles along with the group's petitions succeeded and Barnard College was launched.

From its outset the newborn institution was the pet project of an impressive array of upper-class men and, in particular, upper-class women. Mrs. Choate (who shortly prior to 1889 had helped found the exclusive Brearley School for Girls) became Barnard's vice chairman - second-in-command to the prominent theologian Rev. Arthur Brooks. Leading Wall Street financier, Jacob H. Schiff, became the College's first treasurer. Of the thirty-six women who served as Barnard's trustees in the period from its founding to 1931, seventeen (or fifty-five per cent) met the criteria to qualify as members of the research population.<sup>49</sup> There was a similar strong representation from the upper class amongst the male members

of the board.\*\*

Here, once again, involvement was not limited to executive direction. Active upper-class women provided key financial resources to the College. Mrs. Anderson\*\*\* in 1896 donated the money needed to build Milbank Hall, the administrative building and in 1903 she gave the College several million dollars worth of real estate. Mary Harriman\* gave \$50,000, Grace Dodge\* donated the College chimes and Helen Jenkins\* provided the main gates. Indicative of the continuing support from active upper-class women, in 1957 Adele Lehman\* (sister-in-law of Governor Herbert Lehman) supplied the funds for the College's first major addition since 1926. These benefactions were, of course, augmented by important financial contributions from male class colleagues such as John D. Rockefeller, John S. Kennedy, J.P. Morgan, Jacob Schiff and others.

Finally, reinforcing the exclusive class atmosphere of the College, women from the upper class were prominent members of Barnard's faculty. Emily James Putnam,\* daughter of a New York State Supreme Court judge and wife of George H. Putnam, publisher, was Dean of Barnard from 1894 to 1900 and

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\*\*The thirty-three male trustees during this period included educational and social luminaries such as Albert G. Milbank, cousin of Elisabeth Anderson,\* Nicholas Murray Butler, reform leader, co-founder of the P.E.A. and President of Columbia and Abram S. Hewitt, Mayor of New York and father-in-law of Mary Ashley Hewitt,\* co-founder of the P.E.A.

\*\*\*Mrs. Anderson\* was vice chairman of Barnard's board of trustees (1894-1921).

played a key role in "...defining and stabilizing Barnard's relation to Columbia."<sup>50</sup> In 1914, after taking leave to raise her son, she returned to Barnard and lectured in History and Greek until 1920 when she became associated with the founding of the New School of Social Research. Mrs. Putnam was followed as Dean by Virginia Gildersleeve.\* Also the daughter of a State Supreme Court judge, Miss Gildersleeve held her post for thirty-six years and became for many the brilliant, aristocratic embodiment of Barnard. Mindful of her privileged social position, she once remarked, "I never had to try for anything in my life. My mother sent me to college and after that everything fell into my lap."<sup>51</sup>

In addition, Mary K. Simkhovitch,\* social welfare leader and member of a wealthy railroad and oil family, lectured at Barnard in social economy from 1907 to 1910. Elsie Clews Parsons,\* daughter of Henry Clews, the investment banker, was a Barnard sociology lecturer from 1902 to 1905. Herself a graduate of Barnard, Mrs. Parsons was later to achieve eminence as a leading anthropologist.

In sum, it is apparent that active upper-class women were important factors in the creation, direction and operation of Barnard College. It would seem that through these efforts they sought to erect a class-based institution - one which would reflect and reinforce class standards and values. University and college education was an increasingly crucial accoutrement of upper-class status and elite educational institutions were, through bodies such as alumni (ae)

associations, significant and enduring vehicles for upper-class activities.<sup>52</sup> Symptomatic of this educational consciousness amongst active upper-class women, fifty-five members of the research population (or thirteen per cent) belonged to one or more college or university-based associations (such as, alumnae associations, the Women's University Club or the Association of Collegiate Alumnae).

This preoccupation with intra-class concerns is also apparent in the research population's substantial involvement with upper-class men's educational institutions - notably, Yale, Columbia, Harvard and Princeton. Although (with the exception of a few individuals associated with Columbia) the research population did not take an active or executive role in any of these universities, the published figures on financial contributions\*\* record that sixteen members of the research group donated a total of \$27,475,000 to these four universities. This clearly signifies the willingness of prominent upper-class women to uphold the upper-class tradition and presence in leading men's educational institutions.

However, to draw out the class implications of the research population's support of particular educational institutions is not to deny that this activity in addition had important sex caste ramifications. It does seem that at least some of the research group members saw themselves as on the forefront of efforts to end the social confinement and

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\*\*Since the monetary value of many contributions is not recorded, this is a low appraisal of total value.

subordination of women. In her 1915 commencement address at Vassar, Emily Putnam\* expressed a very iconoclastic and Progressive view of women's education, "I would have girls reared to be mannish. I would have them trained in dangerous sports where their safety of life and limb depends on physical prowess. I would have them taught to look out for themselves and I would have them discard hampering clothing."<sup>53</sup> There were, as well, other Barnard activists (such as Fanny Villard\* and Lillie Blake\*) who were leading exponents of women's rights and who saw education as a principal lever for social change in sex roles.

Consequently, active upper-class women's involvement in women's educational institutions must be understood as a mixture of elements. Many of the institutions they supported reinforced the educational hegemony of the upper class and many of their advances in this field were of immediate significance only to wealthy and privileged women. Yet, their very presence in education and the woman-oriented institutional structures they helped construct were ultimately of tremendous importance to women in general. Their efforts helped to legitimize women's right to higher education, to provide the institutional framework for an intellectually 'equal' scholastic program and to lend an all-important aura of prestige and respectability to women's academic undertakings.

#### d. Professionalism

The fourth and final major theme running through the

research population's involvement in educational institutions pertains to the creation and support of 'professional' schools and colleges. A number of active upper-class women played a central role in developing several important new agencies for professional training. In so doing, they contributed directly to the bureaucratization and standardization of American society, to the creation of the corporate mentality and to the evolution of the 'Cult of Efficiency'.<sup>54</sup>

The Teacher's College of Columbia University is an important example of these endeavours. Public school teaching in the late 1800's was a rather uncoordinated and loosely-defined occupation. Grace Dodge,\* who (as discussed) was a key figure in the propagation of industrial education in New York schools and who served on the New York City School Board, sought to remedy this situation by helping to establish a teachers' college at Columbia University. This institution was to expand the pool of skilled teachers, standardize teaching qualifications and help control the licensing of teaching applicants. The founding of the school was clearly a significant turning point in the bureaucratic development of the city's educational system.

Under the official leadership of the ubiquitous Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler and the guidance of Miss Dodge (who in 1892 became acting treasurer of the College and chairwoman of the Finance Committee of the Board of Trustees), the Industrial Education Association set up the College's forerunner - the New York School for the Training of Teachers (founded 1889).

By 1892 the school, now officially a college, was given its final charter. Although Miss Dodge, who never had any post-secondary schooling, was somewhat out of place in this learned environment, she took a leading part in shifting the school system away from reliance on unskilled 'cooks and mechanics' and towards a professionally accredited teaching staff. As Dr. James E. Russell, for twenty-five years Dean of the College, commented, "'She understood it [the professional training of teachers] before any of us did.'"<sup>55</sup>

The College attracted considerable upper-class attention and support. George Vanderbilt, for example, donated \$100,000 and Ellin Speyer\* and her husband in 1902 gave \$100,000 to the College to found the Speyer School. In addition, in 1892-3 the College became officially connected to two other upper-class institutions - Barnard and Columbia. Finally, Helen Jenkins\* and Dorothy Elmhirst\* were amongst the College's prestigious board of trustees.\*\*

However, it was Miss Dodge who provided the pre-eminent upper-class contributions. Mustering support from her class colleagues, overseeing the day-to-day operation of the College and personally contributing \$400,000 she was the vital force behind the College. As one commentator remarked, "'It was only Miss Dodge's faith that kept Teacher's College alive through these years.'"<sup>56</sup> Reflecting on her key role, Miss

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\*\*Helen Jenkins served on the Board from 1907 to 1934.

Dodge herself once commented, "'I dreamed that college once.'"<sup>57</sup>

The college Miss Dodge dreamed allowed the City's educational system to make tremendous strides towards the routinization and standardization of education. By helping to establish control over the accreditation and socialization of teachers, Miss Dodge was a key participant in the process which placed "...the power of schooling...in the hands of businessmen, political leaders, and professional educators who have been instrumental in the development of the modern corporate state."<sup>58</sup> In so doing, Miss Dodge played an important role in honing the educational system into a more efficient instrument of social control.

Along with contributing to the professionalization of public education, there were active upper-class women who were pivotal figures in the erection of a 'professional education' structure for social welfare and social service work. Mary Harriman,\* for example, a generous benefactor of numerous educational facilities, played an important part in supporting the Bureau of Municipal Research (B.M.R.). The B.M.R., a predominantly upper-class reform group, helped expose the mismanagement and corruption in government departments, programs and budgets (and was accused of being "...the tool of wealthy persons who wanted to keep taxes low."<sup>59</sup>)

To many leading men and women, especially Mrs. Harriman, it seemed that the best solution to such governmental inadequacy was the creation of 'professional' public servants and

government officials - men (and occasionally women) who, like doctors and lawyers, owed their positions to expertise rather than to political connections and who, as a result of their training and professional prestige, would be capable of providing efficient, honest public service. Consequently, Mrs. Harriman, along with John D. Rockefeller Jr., Andrew Carnegie and Jacob Schiff, undertook to finance, as an appendage of the B.M.R., the Training School of Public Service. Mrs. Harriman's contributions to the creation of this school had far-reaching effects, "In the words of Henry Brueke, [first director of the B.M.R.] she must be considered the 'Mater of the Training School and what followed it,' namely, the setting up of courses and schools of public administration in colleges and universities, for many of which the Training School provided the necessary staff."<sup>60</sup>

Not only did Mrs. Harriman provide substantial funding to the school, "...as its original sponsor and a member of a committee of four, she took an active part in discussions on policy and program, particularly during the first three years of development."<sup>61</sup> She was a member of the board of trustees of the B.M.R. until it was recognized as the Training School and later she was a member of the board of trustees of its offspring - the National Institute of Public Administration - until her death.\*\*

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\*\*Indicative of the family tradition in so many of these enterprises, Mrs. Harriman's son, Roland, was a member of the Board after her death.

Reflecting a similar intertwining of professionalism, education and social welfare interests, a number of research group members helped augment and expand the professional structure of sociology and social work. Dissatisfied with established institutions and their sedate, constrained approach to social problems, a number of upper-class leaders - including Florence Lamont\* (wife of J.P. Morgan partner, Thomas Lamont), Dorothy Elmhirst,\* Elsie Parsons,\* Emily Putnam\* and Caroline Bacon\* helped found the New School for Social Research (1919). Mrs. Parsons also lectured in anthropology at the New School and Mrs. Putnam not only lectured there from 1920 to 1932 but also became a member of the New School's Board and "...offered vital encouragement and counsel to its director, Alvin S. Johnson, during its uncertain early years."<sup>62</sup> These ranks were later supplemented by the addition of Caroline O'Day\* who became one of the New School's Directors.

Finally, during the research period, there were active upper-class women making significant contributions to a myriad of less well-known professional institutions. As discussed in the preceding chapter, members of the research population played an important part in the creation and support of professional health care training facilities - particularly those pertaining to women medical professionals. For example, Grace Dodge\* was a trustee of the Medical College for Female Physicians, Elizabeth Thompson\* donated money to the Women's Free Medical College (New York City) and Ellen Demorest\* was Treasurer of the New York Medical College for Women.

Similarly, there were active upper-class women giving critical support to attempts to provide professional training in the arts. In 1892 Ellen Hopkins\* founded the New York School for Applied Design for Women and Alida Root\* established the Elizabeth Root Scholarship there. In 1911 Lucy Skidmore Scribner,\* of the Scribner publishing family, set in motion the Skidmore School of Arts (later Skidmore College). Owing to Mrs. Scribner's support (her benefactions ultimately totalled \$1 million) and her direction (she was chairwoman of the College's board of trustees) the institution was able to introduce training courses in such areas as domestic arts, public school music and art, vocal and instrumental music and so on. In short, the College translated a number of artistic undertakings into practical 'professional' occupations. In so doing it became one of the best-known professional colleges for women.

In sum, there were active upper-class women who played important parts in the promotion of 'professional' education. In a variety of fields, but with particular emphasis on the problems of social welfare and the education of women, they helped fund and/or direct a number of key new professional schools. By doing so they made valuable financial and executive contributions to the overall movement toward the creation of a standardized and thoroughly bureaucratized social order.

### Conclusion on Education

The research results suggest that active upper-class women (as indicated by the research population) were important and powerful participants in the development of the modern educational apparatus. These women held leadership and other executive positions in key educational institutions and associations; they helped found and fund significant new educational bodies, and finally, they were instrumental in the articulation of educational alternatives and educational strategies. They used their influence along with their executive and financial power to help wrest control of the public schools away from opposing political interests, to extend the hegemony of the public school system, to centralize school administration, to standardize and professionalize school procedures, and to embellish the professional and social dimensions of schooling.

These activities, as discussed above, were of social and historical significance. In particular, they contributed to the process described by Spring wherein the educational system was molded into a massive, all-encompassing, bureaucratic monolith - a monolith which, by guiding its charges towards conformity and institutional dependency, safeguarded the extant social order, and thus tended to protect the privileged position of the upper class. In addition, the educational activities of active upper-class women contributed (not to the detriment of class interests) to the extension and

legitimation of woman's place in the educational system.

## 2. Politics: Control over Ideological Struggles

### (i) Political Disputes

In addition to education, there were several other fields of activity that active upper-class women participated in during the research period and which related directly or indirectly to ideological domination by the upper class. Although their involvements in these other realms were not as extensive or as numerous as in education, they were by no means insignificant. In fact, the sum total of the research group's activities in these secondary fields has had important consequences for the structure of both the social order and the upper class.

Surprisingly\*\* there is evidence that members of the research population were embroiled in the politics of their period. Although the political arena was fundamentally a masculine domain, there were a number of active upper-class women who came to the fore in this sphere and who became central figures not only in political organizations but also in political struggles. In these undertakings they frequently provided valuable assistance to their male class colleagues.

The late 1800's and early 1900's was a period in which many members of the upper class were actively engaged in attempting to shore up a distinctly shaky social order.<sup>64</sup>

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\*\*G. William Domhoff suggests that "The feminine half of the upper class does not seem to include a direct involvement in the political parties among its functions." 63

New York's upper-class reformers and their associates realized that in order to implement and direct their 'Progressive' social policies, it was necessary to wrest political power away from the corrupt, Irish-Catholic Tammany Hall. Consequently, throughout the research period, there were continued efforts by reform organizations (dominated by the "socially acceptable and economically comfortable"<sup>65</sup>) to topple Tammany and introduce efficient, effective government. Although these civic groups had, as noted above, all the chauvinism of an exclusive men's club, active upper-class women (who were, after all, allied by familial as well as associational ties to the political elite) did provide important support for these efforts (see Table 3).

Table 3

Industrial-Financial Backers of New York City Reform 1914<sup>66</sup>

V. Everitt Macy	
Cleveland Dodge	Brother of Grace Dodge*
Jacob Schiff	Husband of Therese Schiff*
Samuel Sachs	
John D. Rockefeller Sr.	Father-in-law of Abby Rockefeller*
Dwight Morrow	
Mrs. O.H.P. Belmont*	Alva Belmont*
Mrs. Vincent Astor	
Albert Milbank	Cousin of Elisabeth Anderson*
Mrs. Elisabeth Anderson*	
Adolph Lewisohn	Father of Adele Lehman*
Mrs. William Vanderbilt*	(Presumably Anne Harriman Vanderbilt*)

Actual participation in political disputes was more

difficult - during the research period women were essentially disenfranchised.\*\* This state of affairs was gradually eroded as a number of woman's organizations were established which provided women with a political education and which mobilized them in support of reform politics. Although these organizations tended to function as auxiliaries to the 'main' male-dominated political bodies, they did provide channels through which women could enter into the political fray, publicly express their political position and provide support to specific measures. Significantly, several of the most important of these groups were not only founded by but also led by upper-class women.

The Women's City Club, for example, a somewhat pale reflection of the very active (men's) City Club, was concerned with a number of social issues, including education and functioned, on occasion, as a lobbying group. It had strong representation from the upper class - thirty-two members of the research population (five in executive offices) belonged to the Club. Amongst its founders were social activists, Agnes Warbasse\* and Alice Miller.\*

The Woman's Municipal League, which appears to have been the leading women's civic organization, attracted even more support from the research group. Thirty-seven women from the research population were members and eleven held important

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\*\*New York women were allowed to voted in school elections.

executive offices. The League was founded during the 1894 anti-Tammany campaign by a group of reform-minded upper-class women - notably, social welfare leader Josephine Lowell,\* her associate Maud Nathan,\* labour advocate Margaret Robins\* and Margaret Chanler Aldrich,\* the sister of a U.S. Congressman. The organization was "...for the promotion of humanitarian reform through political action."<sup>67</sup>

Mrs. Lowell became the League's first president and Mrs. Nathan served as vice president. Gradually the organization expanded its operations and became involved in a wide variety of reform measures. It lobbied in support of progressive social and industrial legislation and sought to bring political pressure to bear against corrupt Tammany policies and programs. In so doing the League developed into, as Robert Bremmer remarks, "...an important agency of urban reform in the Progressive period."<sup>68</sup>

Yet throughout this evolution, the League retained its upper-class aura. From 1902 to 1910 Margaret Aldrich\* served as president. In 1915 when the organization's membership reached 1600, Alice Bartlett Stimson,\* niece of Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, became president. Finally, in 1923 when the League was amalgamated with the Citizen's Union, Alice Hocker Jackson\* was a governor and a member of the executive committee.

A similar pattern might be cited with regard to the (New York) League for Political Education (founded by Lillie Blake\*) and the New York League of Women Voters. There were

upper-class women instrumental not only in the founding of these organizations but also in the subsequent direction of their activities. There were also upper-class women prominent in the auxiliaries to the male-dominated civic reform groups. Eight research members were active in the Civil Service Reform Association and, as noted in the preceding chapter, twenty-four were affiliated to the National Civic Federation, an organization with strong political overtones.

The woman-only associations and auxiliaries provided a perfect political medium for active upper-class women. Here they could venture forth into politics, publicly support the concerns of their fathers, husbands and brothers\*\* and yet not offend the prevailing conception of femininity. As Skolnik comments:

Not only the rising professionals but the emerging woman, educated, talented and often unfulfilled, found the civic group suitable to her purposes. It provided a proper, protected sphere outside the home where she could meet with other kindred spirits, male and female, an organization through which to render service, become more worldly and exert influence, all the time avoiding the taint of political activism. 69

Moreover, on specific political issues, this 'influence' could be formidable. Active upper-class women demonstrated

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\*\*Many of the research population members who were leaders in civic reform had male relatives who were also leaders in the field: Emily Putnam's husband was a member of the Committee of Fifteen, Margaret Aldrich's\* brother-in-law organized the Good Government Clubs, Julia Longfellow's\* husband worked for reform under Mayor Seth Low, Mary Gould's\* husband was Low's City Chamberlain and Mina Bruere's\* brother was head of the B.M.R.

through these agencies and other more specific reform groups, that when necessary - as in woman-related disputes concerning education, morality or social welfare - they could bring to bear substantial organizational and financial forces. The victories of the P.E.A. in wresting control of the schools away from Tammany Hall and the contributions of the Woman's Municipal League to the social hygiene campaigns (discussed below) testify to the important political role active upper-class women were prepared to assume.

Similarly active upper-class women's contributions to the politics of peace exemplify this ability to both organize around a particular issue and to help effect long-term alterations in the socio-political order. Opposition to war was, of course, an issue perfectly suited to the prevailing conception of women. Consequently through the research period there were active upper-class women organizing protests against military strife. In all twenty-seven members of the research population were affiliated to one or more of twenty peace organizations or associations; they occupied sixteen executive offices in these bodies and were founders of six peace organizations.

Significantly, some of these activities helped create the foundation for the League of Nations. Eleanor Jones,\* an active leader in civic reform, was a member of the board of the League of Nation's forerunner - the League to Enforce Peace. Harriet Laidlaw,\* who was also active in reform politics and who was formerly a member of the Peace Society,

served as a member of the board and member of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Association. In 1923 Mrs. Laidlaw founded the League of Nations Non Partisan Association. Vera Cushman,\* Y.W.C.A. leader, became vice president of this Association.

(ii) Political Parties

Active upper-class women's political clout was not limited, however, to helping to found and direct these reform-oriented organizations. Some members of the research population gained prominence in the national political party structure and several of these women achieved the uncommon distinction of winning political office. In all eleven members of the research group were active in the Democratic Party and thirty-four in the Republican Party. Although most of these women functioned politically through supportive women's auxiliaries, a significant few rose to importance within the National party structure.

For example, Florence Harriman,\* founder of the Colony Club, served as the National Democratic Committee representative from the District of Columbia from 1924 to 1936. She also helped found and was president (from 1922 to 1930) of the Women's National Democratic Club. Her autobiography clearly suggests that as confidant of such leading Democrats as John P. Mitchell and Woodrow Wilson, she gained in-group status amongst the party's elite. On one occasion she was asked to convince William Jennings Bryan not to vote against Wilson

and to promise him that he would be made the next Secretary of State.<sup>70</sup> Signifying her political stature, Wilson appointed her the only woman member of the important Walsh Committee set up to investigate industrial unrest in America. Later, President Franklin D. Roosevelt acknowledged her political standing by naming her U.S. Minister and Envoy Extraordinaire to Norway.

Mrs. Harriman was not alone in these lofty spheres. Her associate, Caroline WittPenn,\* was also admitted to the party's inner ranks. Both Mrs. WittPenn and her son, Archibald Alexander, were close personal friends of Woodrow Wilson. She was one of Wilson's advisors on welfare problems during his governorship of New Jersey. Later, when Wilson assumed the Presidency, she was named the Democratic National Committee member from New Jersey.

Similarly, Elisabeth Marbury\* was very active in the Democratic Party hierarchy and for a number of years served as a Democratic National Committee member. Finally, Caroline O'Day,\* whose father-in-law was an associate of John D. Rockefeller and who was herself a close personal friend of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,\* became a leading Democrat. For four terms she was Congresswoman-at-large for New York State; she was a member of the Democratic National Committee and a delegate-at-large to a number of Democratic National Conventions.

Expectedly, the Republicans also had a contingent of active upper-class women. Although most of these individuals operated through organizations such as the Woman's National Republican Club,\*\* a few also broke through into the central ranks of the party. For example, Corrine Robinson,\* (Theodore Roosevelt's sister) became a member of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee. Ruth Pratt\* (of the Standard Oil fortune) served as a delegate to the National Republican Conventions from 1924 to 1944, fought against Tammany as a New York alderman and later became New York's first woman member of Congress, serving from 1928 to 1932. Working on the premise that "'There is no limit to the influence one can exert by working through party machinery,'"<sup>71</sup> Mrs. Pratt was an important figure in Republican Party politics right up to the 1950's.<sup>72</sup>

There were other less formal means whereby active upper-class women affected the national political parties and their policies, but in general, there is little reliable documentation of women's indirect influence on the course of political events. Occasionally, however, there is evidence hinting at the impressive, unrecognized political power women

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\*\*Twenty-five of the thirty-four women active in the Republican Party were members of the Woman's National Republican Club and five of these women held executive offices in the Club.

wielded behind the scenes. Upper-class women, united by associational and familial ties to the political elite, had of course the greatest opportunity for discretely guiding political developments. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, was dependent in large measure upon the advice and assistance of his sister, Anna Cowles.\* Mrs. Cowles' biographer notes, "...as Bamie's [Mrs. Cowles'] niece, Eleanor Roosevelt, once said, that 'Uncle Theodore made no major decision in foreign or domestic policy without discussing it with Auntie Bye.'"<sup>73</sup>

Not all upper-class women, however, could make use of this kind of direct personal suasion. Dorothy Straight (later Elmhirst),\* according to Eric Goldman, opted for a more public strategy. Impressed by the conservative political ideology propounded by Herbert Croly, she established The New Republic Magazine, with Croly as editor. Apparently her efforts "'...to put ideas into circulation'"<sup>74</sup> were successful - not only did the magazine flourish, Theodore Roosevelt took up Croly's 'New Nationalism.'

There was, in addition, a small but noteworthy group of active upper-class women who disregarded the traditional party structures and focussed their political attention instead on more critical or radical party organizations. Six upper-class women from the research population came out in support of the Progressive Party and twelve research group members broke class ranks and actively promoted socialism (see Table 4).

Table 4Socialist Support from Research Population Members

Jessie Ashley*	Member of American Socialist Society Member of Intercollegiate Socialist Society
Alva Belmont*	Donated money to socialist journal, <u>The Masses</u>
Inez Boissevain*	Member of Fabian Society (England) Gave legal defense to socialist journal, <u>The Masses</u> , 1913
Martha Bruere*	Member of Socialist Press Club
Florence Kelley*	Member of Intercollegiate Socialist Society Member of National Socialist Party
Helen Marot*	Member of Fabian Society (England) Supported socialist journal, <u>The Masses</u>
Alice Miller*	Published some of her early work in socialist journal, <u>The Masses</u>
Lucy Mitchell*	Supported socialist journal, <u>The Masses</u>
Blanche Oerlichs*	Member of National Socialist Party
Elsie Parsons*	Published articles in socialist journal, <u>The Masses</u>
Rose Stokes*	Delegate to Fourth Congress of Communist International Helped found National Socialist Party, 1912 Member of Central Executive of Workers' Party (forerunner of Communist Party of America)
Louise Wise*	Described in <u>Principal Women of America</u> as socialist

The most prominent of these individuals, Rose Stokes,\* in fact came from a working-class background and acquired her social standing through marriage to James Graham Phelps Stokes. For a number of years she and her husband (who was head of the

Intercollegiate Socialist Society from 1907 to 1917) were amongst New York City's leading exponents of socialism.

In contrast, the others listed in Table 4 were born into the upper class and in some sense disavowed their social origins by becoming socialists. Although none became particularly prominent, their support did include important public gestures. Miss Ashley, for example, whose father was president of the Boston Stock Exchange, ran for Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals (1912) on a socialist ticket; later, she came out in support of the Lawrence, Massachusetts strikers and the women's shirt waist makers' strike, and in 1917 she was arrested for refusing to stand for the national anthem. Less flamboyant, Mrs. Kelley publicly signalled her support for socialism by serving as president of the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society from 1918 to 1921.

In sum, although politics was essentially a masculine field of endeavour, it was not closed to active upper-class women. They served as an important auxiliary to the efforts of male upper-class reformers; they were instrumental in mobilizing support for a number of reforms that were of particular relevance to women and, in a few significant instances, they transcended the barriers surrounding the masculine political hierarchy and became, formally as well as informally, participants in the national political elite. These endeavours helped erode politics' anti-woman ethos but more importantly, (with the exceptions noted above) they were of particular consequence to the interests of the upper class.

As indicated, much of active upper class women's political involvement was in aid of the broader struggle to save the 'financially powerful' "...from impending social revolution".<sup>75</sup>

### 3. Culture: Control over Values and Tastes

#### (i) Public Morality

Clearly the upper class had a vested interest in being able to determine the evaluative structures of society. The ability to influence and direct values was (and is) basic to the maintenance of a stable, well-ordered society. Not surprisingly, therefore, during the turbulent research period the upper class was active in a variety of endeavours related to the control, reinforcement and/or suppression of social values. For example, members of the research population were active supporters of church and religious institutions<sup>76</sup>, patriotic organizations\*\* and so forth which reinforced the socially-stabilizing 'traditional' values in society.

Similarly, in realms where the traditional value system was in peril or simply outmoded, the upper class came to the defence of the status quo by cultivating a conservative response to this crisis in values. Of particular concern during the research period was the value structure surrounding sexuality. While the work ethic and its accoutrements could be promoted in the schools, sexual values broached on a socially taboo subject. Yet, sexual immorality, illegitimacy,

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\*\*For example, Leonora Schuyler\* was director and president of the International Council for Patriotic Service and Mary Van Rensselaer\* was president and founder of the Society of Patriotic New Yorkers.

prostitution and venereal disease were clearly becoming a threat to the social order. In New York City in the late 1800's and early 1900's prostitution was widespread, syphilis and gonorrhea were reported to be threatening the family structure, and governmental corruption was flourishing on proceeds derived from this 'social evil.'<sup>77</sup>

In short, moral values appeared to be at the center of several pressing political and social issues. Significantly, there were active upper-class women prepared not only to tackle this forbidden subject but also to attempt to mold social and sexual values along more acceptable lines. These women and the organizations they helped create did much to sustain society's fundamental conservatism concerning sexuality.

In the late 1800's several European countries attempted to gain control over venereal disease by permitting prostitution in certain 'regulated' areas. When this idea was imported to America, women, often led by upper-class women, took the offensive against this moral decay. Abigail Gibbons\* and later Mary Agnew\* led the New York Committee for the Prevention of the State Regulation of Vice to victory against the proposed innovation.\*\* These leaders, along with the principal feminists of the day, felt such legalized prostitution would only demean women as a whole and would enhance the danger innocent wives

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\*\*As David Pivar points out, these efforts had the indirect effect of reinforcing class solidarity in that they "...sharpened their [the upper class'] feelings of difference from groups lower in society." 78

faced from infected husbands. These moral reformers proposed instead that the prevailing double standard be abolished and that men become as sexually continent as women.<sup>79</sup>

While legalization was avoided, prostitution continued to flourish. Abetted by a corrupt police department, brothels and streetwalkers thrived throughout the city. Reformers, including prominent men from the upper class, grew increasingly concerned not only over the open immorality but also over the concomitant dishonesty in city government. In a series of endeavours they attempted to unseat the corrupt Tammany machine. Upper-class women, as indicated previously, supported these political manoeuvres and specifically the efforts at moral reform. Social welfare leader, Josephine Lowell,\* for example, helped organize a mass meeting at Cooper Hall to discuss and protest against the rampant immorality. The City Club of the Women's Municipal League publicly expressed its concern.

Since immorality and venereal disease were clearly tied to social welfare problems such as crime, public health tenements and so on, upper-class women who were leaders in these areas - such as Florence Kelley,\* Mary Simkhovitch\* and Maud Miner\* - joined in the public discussion of morality. Indeed, many of their social welfare activities developed a strong moralistic overtone. Lillian Parker,\* for example, joined with Anne Vanderbilt\* in 1911 to set up the Protestant Big Sisters program - an organization which by 1917 was

providing fourteen hundred girls a year with domestic training, religious education, moral guidance and so on.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, Maud Miner,\* prominent in work amongst women in prison, in 1910 organized the Girls' Protective League - a mutual moral protection agency "...dedicated to insuring purity for all girls in New York City."<sup>81</sup> By 1915, 2,039 girls in twenty-seven neighbourhood leagues were participating.<sup>82</sup>

Of all the upper-class women who contributed to and on occasion directed the public debate on sexual morality, none was more significant than Grace Dodge.\* Miss Dodge had been active in the struggle against legalized prostitution. Appalled by the seeming moral breakdown of American society, she helped launch a number of organizations which were to have a long-lasting pervasive impact on public attitudes towards sexual morals and female decorum. Her most notable and enduring accomplishment was the establishment of the modern Y.W.C.A.<sup>83</sup>

Miss Dodge also founded, in 1905, the Travellers' Aid Society to protect women, particularly immigrant women, from moral dangers. In 1914, along with her brother and John D. Rockefeller Jr., she provided generous funding for the Society and in 1917 her bequest of \$80,000 made possible the creation of the National Travellers' Aid Society. In addition, she was a leading activist in a series of social hygiene organizations - the National Vigilance Committee, the American Purity Alliance and the American Social Hygiene Association.

In short, Miss Dodge was one of the principal participants in the public discussion on morality. James Gardner, author of Microbes and Morality: The Social Hygiene Crusade in New York City, 1892-1917, characterizes Miss Dodge and John D. Rockefeller Jr. as the chief philanthropists of the movement.<sup>84</sup>

There were, of course, other upper-class men and women active in the movement. Paul Warburg, for example, supported Rockefeller's efforts. Felix Adler, Jacob Schiff, Robert W. de Forest and William Baldwin (all husbands of research group members) served on the famous 1900 Committee of Fifteen to fight vice. Harriet Laidlaw\* was a member of the board of directors of both the American Hygiene Association and the Florence Crittenten League (for unwed mothers). Alice Osborn\* (Grace Dodge's\* sister) was on the board of directors of the New York Travellers' Aid Society for many years. One final example - in 1913 when a ten person committee organized the distribution of the controversial V.D. education film, 'The Guilty Man', the committee included Alva Belmont,\* Anne Vanderbilt\* and Maud Nathan.\*<sup>85</sup>

In sum, the social hygiene movement gives strong indications of upper-class leadership and support. Although men<sup>86</sup> tended to dominate the forefront of this crusade, there were active upper-class women who played powerful, directive roles. Although these women did not succeed in wholly reforming public morals, the social hygiene crusade they helped direct did have important social ramifications - in

terms of both sex caste and class interests. As Gardner points out, the efforts of the moral purists helped draw into question the double standard, helped sanction woman's role as the moral center of the family and helped break the barrier of silence surrounding sexuality.<sup>87</sup> In so doing they laid part of the foundation for the modern evolution of sexual values and sex roles. Further, the campaigns for social hygiene supported broader struggles "...to rationalize and order the social-economic matrix."<sup>88</sup> The 'rational' standard morality was, like the uniform, bureaucratic educational system, one more component toward the creation of modern corporate society - a stable, ordered society under the firm hegemony of the upper class.<sup>89</sup>

### (ii) 'Culture' and Values

Finally, active upper-class women were important participants in a host of activities that fall under the general rubric of 'culture.' As indicated in Table 5 members of the research population helped found and direct musical, artistic, scientific, horticultural and historical organizations and institutions.

Predictably, activity in these cultural enterprises tended to coalesce around certain institutions which were traditionally the beneficiaries of upper-class support and direction (see Table 6). For example, the Metropolitan Opera, for many years the great arbiter of good taste and social distinction and the brainchild of such society leaders as

Table 5

Summary of Cultural Contributions

Nature of Institution	Number of Organizations Involved	Number of Research Women Involved	Number of Organizations Founded by Research Group	Number of Research Women in Executive Posts
Theatrical Associations	22	32	4	10
Musical Arts	36	49	4	15
Museums and Art Galleries	17	41	3	10
Historical Associations	30	39	2	13
Horticultural Associations	23	33	0	12
Scientific Associations	13	38	1	5

Table 6Pivotal\*\* 'Cultural' Institutions

Organizations	Number of Research Women Involved	Number of Women in Executive Posts
1. Theatrical Associations		
Metropolitan Opera Guild	6	2
2. Musical Arts		
New York Philharmonic Society	14	5
Thursday Musical Club of New York	5	1
3. Museums and Art Galleries		
American Museum of Natural History	8	0
Metropolitan Museum of Art	22	1
Museum of Modern Art	8	4
4. Historical Associations		
New York History Society (Woman's) Roosevelt Memorial Association	7 9	1 6
5. Horticultural Associations		
Garden Club of America	9	6
New York Botanical Club	5	3
6. Scientific Associations		
American Academy of Political and Social Science	8	0
National Institute of Social Sciences	24	5

\*\*Institutions or organizations in which five or more members of research population are active.

J.P. Morgan, Jay Gould, William C. Whitney and Alva Belmont\* ultimately came under the management of Eleanor Belmont,\* who in 1933 became the first woman member of and in 1944 the chairwoman of the board of directors of the Opera's Guild. Similarly, Laura Roosevelt\* became vice president of the equally prestigious New York Philharmonic Society and Helen Reid\* was made a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In general, however, the great cultural institutions with upper-class roots (such as the Museum of Natural History and the Metropolitan Museum of Art) tended to be founded and supervised by upper-class men. Women, while they provided valuable support, both financial and social, rarely dominated the executive activities. Nonetheless, there were a few significant instances in which active upper-class women, essentially on their own, initiated cultural organizations that both endured and had a significant impact on society.

One outstanding example of this is the Museum of Modern Art. The Museum was created in 1929 through the efforts of Abby Rockefeller,\* Lizzie Bliss\* and Mary Sullivan.\*<sup>90</sup> There was additional support from other upper-class women - notably, Mary Rumsey\* and Grace Rogers\* - and upper-class men. These energies and benefactions produced an institution which had important and long-lasting ramifications not only for artistic tastes but also for the cohesiveness of the upper class. The Modern, on the one hand, was instrumental in allowing "...modern art...to come of age in America."<sup>91</sup> On the

other hand, the Museum became another important institutional cornerstone for the upper class.\*\* Faye Levine describes the complex family network which is woven into the history of the Modern:

First, there were founders of the Museum of Modern Art, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller and Mrs. Cornelius Sullivan. And Abby begat John, who took for a wife Blanchette Hooker, and she assumed the presidency of that organization; and Abby begat David, and David, lo! he was chairman of the board and vice chairman also; and Abby begat Nelson, and Nelson, he too was top executive officer of that august and stuffy body for a while.

And Mrs. Sullivan passed control to her cousin William Paley, and lo! he was another chairman. And Paley wed Barbara Cushing, and Barbara's progenitors also begat Betsy, and Betsy's husband John Hay Whitney, lo! he too was on the MOMA board of directors. And Payne and Helen Whitney, who had begat John, also begat Joan Whitney Payson, and greatest of marvels! she sat on the board not only of the MOMA but also of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. 92

Similarly, Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney\* (noted sculptor) and her Whitney Museum of American Art\*\*\* played a pivotal role in the etiology of American art and American artistic tastes. Eugene Speicher, artist, stated that she was "...the most valued single patron and devoted friend<sup>1</sup> of the American

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\*\*Faye Levine in her work, The Culture Barons: An Analysis of Power and Money in the Arts provides an interesting, if somewhat sketchy, analysis of upper-class men and women's present-day influence in the arts.

\*\*\*It is clear from biographical sources that Mrs. Whitney was the driving force as well as the key financial backer behind the museum. In her will alone she provided the museum with \$2,500,000.

artist."<sup>93</sup> Commenting on Mrs. Whitney's considerable impact on American culture, her biographer, B.H. Friedman, commented,

Gertrude's dream has become institutionalized, her shadow has lengthened - lengthened far beyond the walls of the museum which she founded. It now influences hundreds of newer museums, as well as patrons, collectors, and dealers. With mass media and mass marketing, everything about her dream has become enlarged, extrapolated, exaggerated and, at times, caricatured. Partly because of Gertrude's pioneering, art in general, American art in particular, has become chic. <sup>94</sup>

Although relative to the dramatic realities of political struggles and social unrest, the influence and power of the research population in these cultural ventures may seem trivial, even frivolous, they were not inconsequential. Although (apparently) not of particular significance to sex caste issues, they were an important facet in the hegemony of the upper class. Control and direction of cultural values and institutions helped reinforce and sustain the general influence and prestige of the upper class. In addition, the individual 'leading' cultural institutions (many of which the research population helped sustain) such as the Museum of Modern Art were, as indicated, frequently important agencies for maintaining class distinctiveness and cohesiveness.

#### Conclusion

The above analysis suggests that, as a whole, the various activities subsumed under the general category 'ideological domination' constitutes an important dimension in active upper-class women's public endeavours. In this sphere, much as in social welfare, there was substantial,

direct involvement by upper-class women. Research group members founded, funded and directed (formally as well as informally) important organizations and movements and they plunged into the midst of public struggles over morality, politics and education.

Further, as indicated, the research population's 'ideological' efforts were of social-historical significance. Many of the organizations and institutions they created, supported and/or led had lasting and widespread effects. Members of the research population made important contributions to the erection of New York's modern public education system, they established organizations which became long-term participants in the debate over public morality and they helped create 'trend-setting' cultural institutions.

In brief, the research group women were powerful in this broad sphere; however, they were not, in general, pre-eminent. In contrast to the field of social welfare, men (in particular, upper-class men) tended to clearly predominate in these ideological ventures. The great cultural institutions, the various political machines, the most prestigious universities and colleges and so forth were masculine enterprises. Consequently, more so than in social welfare, upper-class women appeared collaborating with or assisting their male class colleagues. Unlike charity and public health, education, politics and public morality were not viewed primarily as facets of woman's domain.

Nonetheless, these various fields were clearly inter-related. Education had implications for the social conditions of the poor; public morality was tied to the role of women in the family. Research group members it seems were able to make use of these inter-relationships\*\* in order to move beyond the traditional woman's sphere. Although they never fully escaped from the constraints of their sex roles and were often obliged to function through separate and/or subordinate woman-only organizations or institutions, they appear to have been able to build upon their prestigious role in social welfare and to make important inroads into what was previously masculine territory. In so doing it would seem that active upper-class women helped lead the way for women's further advances in the public domain. Particularly in education, politics and public morality the woman's institutions and organizations they established, funded and directed and the distinguished precedents they personally set helped serve as a foundation for the general expansion of woman's public role.\*\*\*

Once having established themselves in the public domain, the research population women devoted their energies to supporting and augmenting the projects of their male class colleagues. Although some upper-class men opposed the

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\*\*In addition, these upper-class women would have access to social prestige, influential associates and so forth which would facilitate their entrance into the public domain.

\*\*\*An expansion which did not question the basic sources or constraints of woman's social role.

involvement of women—in particular in political disputes—there does not appear to have been any basic conflict between social class and sex caste interests in this field. For example, having gained a voice in educational policy, the active upper-class women promoted bureaucratization, specialization and professionalization and thus helped assure both the stability of the social order and the perpetuation of the upper class' social control. Similarly in the arts, the research members helped maintain and perpetuate the upper class' long-standing involvement with and control over many leading cultural enterprises.

In sum, it seems that in this field, the research population could exercise important power while maintaining a loose compromise between social class and sex caste priorities. These active upper-class women were guided by sex caste considerations — they often worked through woman's organizations, built upon traditional female interests (such as marriage and the family) and struggled to extend woman's 'accepted' public role. Yet, having gained access to the public domain, they directed much of their energies to the support of distinctly upper-class organizations and projects.

Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>C. Wright Mills, "The Cultural Apparatus", in Irving Louis Horowitz, ed., Power, Politics and People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 406.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 406.

<sup>3</sup>See above pp. 191-192.

<sup>4</sup>Joel Spring, Education and the Rise of the Corporate State, with a foreword by Ivan Illich (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), p. 149.

<sup>5</sup>Ivan Illich, Foreword in Spring, Education, p. x.

<sup>6</sup>Raymond Mohl, "Education as Social Control in New York City, 1784-1825", New York History, LI (April 1970), p. 220.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 220.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>9</sup>For a brief review of Nearing, Counts and Sinclair's work see Spring, Education, pp. 126-248.

<sup>10</sup>See Upton Sinclair, The Goose-Step: A Study of American Education (Pasadena, California: privately published, 1922), pp. 181-2.

<sup>11</sup>Raymond Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. vii.

<sup>12</sup>Notable American Women, 1971, VI, p. 492.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 492.

<sup>14</sup>For a detailed discussion of the significance of this innovation see Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency.

<sup>15</sup>Notable American Women, 1971, I, p. 496.

<sup>16</sup>Abbie Graham, Grace H. Dodge Merchant of Dreams (New York: The Woman's Press, 1926), p. 65.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>18</sup> Notable American Women, 1971, I, p. 490.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 490.

<sup>20</sup> Sol Cohen, Progressives and Urban School Reform  
The Public Education Association of New York City 1895-1954  
(New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> Louis Adamic, Dynamite (New York: The Viking Press, 1931), p. 57.

<sup>22</sup> Eric Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny A History of Modern American Reform (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Richard Skolnik, "Civic Group Progressivism in New York City", New York History, LI (July 1970), pp. 422 and 435.

<sup>25</sup> Cohen, Progressives, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 99-100.

<sup>35</sup> Spring, Education, p. 154.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>37</sup> Celeste Andrews Seton with Clark Andrews, My Mother-in-law (London: Michael Joseph, 1954), p. 65.

<sup>38</sup> David Horowitz, "Billion Dollar Brains", Ramparts Magazine, VII (May 1969), p. 36. See also David Horowitz with David Kolodney "The Foundations", Ramparts Magazine, VI (April 1969), pp. 38-48.

39 Mary Ellen Chase, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. 52.

40 Burton, J. Hendrick and Daniel Henderson, Louise Whitfield Carnegie (New York: Hastings House, 1950), p. 267.

41 Seton with Andrews, My Mother-in-law, p. 71.

42 Ibid., pp. 71-72.

43 Horowitz, "Billion Dollar Brains", pp. 37-38.

44 Horowitz with Kolodney, "The Foundations", p. 43.

45 See Judith Breault, The World of Emily Howland (Millbrae, California: Les Femmes Publishing, 1976).

46 See William L. O'Neill, Everyone was Brave (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), p. 80. See also Victoria Schuck, "Sexism and Scholarship: A Brief Overview of Women, Academia, and the Disciplines", Social Science Quarterly, LV (December 1974), pp. 563-577.

47 See above pp. 92-93 for a discussion of upper-class schools.

48 See above pp. 137-142 for an expanded discussion of the significance of upper-class girls' schools.

49 For a complete list of Barnard Trustees see Marian Churchill White, A History of Barnard College (New York: Columbia Press, 1954), pp. 199-200.

50 Notable American Women, 1971, III, p. 107.

51 New York Times, July 9, 1965, p. 1.

52 See above pp. 141-142.

53 New York Times, September 9, 1944, p. 15.

54 See Callahan, Education and Spring, Education for an in-depth discussion of these general developments.

55 Quoted in Graham, Grace H. Dodge, p. 180.

56 Ibid., p. 194.

57 Ibid., p. 16.

58 Spring, Education, p. 149.

59 Persia Campbell, Mary Williamson Harriman (New York: [Columbia University Press], 1960), p. 21.

60 Ibid., p. 24.

61 Ibid., p. 26.

62 Notable American Women, 1971, III, p. 107.

63 G. William Domhoff, The Higher Circles (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), p. 55.

64 See Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny for a detailed examination of the role of the patricians in modern American reform - for examples, pp. 15-16, and pp. 125-6.

65 Skolnik, "Civic Group Progressivism", p. 425.

66 Original list from Arnold Rosenberg, "The New York Reformers of 1914: A Profile", New York History, L (April 1969), p. 195.

67 Notable American Women, 1971, II, p. 438.

68 Ibid., p. 438.

69 Skolnik, "Civic Group Progressivism", p. 420.

70 Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, From Pinaflores to Politics (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923), p. 109.

71 Hope Chamberlain, A Minority of Members Women in the U.S. Congress (New York: New American Library, 1973), p. 85.

72 Ibid., p. 85.

73 Lillian Rixey, Bamie Theodore Roosevelt's Remarkable Sister (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1963), pp. 181-2.

74 Goldman, Rendezvous, p. 178.

75 Rixey, Bamie, p. 219.

76 See above pp. 180-181.

77 See James Frank Gardner, "Microbes and Morality: The Social Hygiene Crusade in New York City 1892-1917" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1974), pp. 1-2.

78 David J. Pivar, Purity Crusade, Sexual Morality and Social Control 1868-1900 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1973), p. 35.

<sup>79</sup> Gardner, "Microbes and Morality", p. 1.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>83</sup> See above pp. 179-180.

<sup>84</sup> Gardner, "Microbes and Morality", p. 341.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 356.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., pp. 374-76, pp. 28-29.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 374.

<sup>89</sup> See Pivar, Purity Crusade for an expanded discussion of the social control implications of the social hygiene campaign.

<sup>90</sup> See Russell Lynes, Good Old Modern (New York: Atheneum, 1973) for a detailed history of the museum.

<sup>91</sup> Notable American Women, 1971, I, p. 179.

<sup>92</sup> Faye Levine, The Culture Barons An Analysis of Power and Money in the Arts (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1976), pp. 139-40.

<sup>93</sup> Quoted in B.H. Friedman with Flora Irving, Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1978), p. 661.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 667.

## VI

### THE STATUS OF WOMEN\*

#### Introduction

The following chapter examines the part played by research group women in the sex-role related controversies (in particular, suffrage) of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This analysis is divided into three principal components. The first portion of the chapter takes a broad overview of the research results and, focussing not on individual cases but on the larger patterns of involvement, discloses the general dimensions of the research population's participation in this field. Secondly, having briefly indicated the socio-economic factors which underlay changes in the role of women, the discussion details the history of the women's movement from 1800 to 1920, indicates, where appropriate, the exercise of power by individuals from the research population and points out the significance of specific actions relative to attendant developments in the area. The final segment considers the implications of the research group's actions in terms of their sex caste versus class loyalties and in terms of the contemporary struggle over women's role in society.

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\*Throughout chapter indicates membership in research population.

### 1. Overview of Research Population's Suffrage Activities

The present research suggests, first, that the women's movement was considered an important issue by active upper-class women of the period. In all, 134 members of the total research population, or thirty-three per cent were directly involved in the struggle over suffrage. In addition, as discussed in preceding chapters, many members of the research population were embroiled in other ventures which pertained directly to the status of women in society.

Secondly, the evidence reveals that active upper-class women played a potent role in the suffrage controversy and were not infrequently leaders in important\*\* suffrage organizations. Of the research population women who were active in the National American Women's Suffrage Association (N.A.W.S.A.) or its affiliates, forty-seven per cent held executive positions, and of those active in the more radical National Woman's Party, thirty-six per cent held executive positions. It would seem that upper-class women's participation was by no means peripheral or inconsequential.

The significance of the research population's executive role is even apparent when (as indicated in Appendices L, M and N) it is placed against the overall composition of the 'national' pro- and anti-suffrage executive bodies. As apparent, members of the research population made up only a

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\*\*The importance of these organizations is indicated in the standard histories of the movement. 1

small portion of the total executives. They were, however, as indicated here and in the following section, a steady and important element in the conservative, radical and anti-suffrage national hierarchies.

It must be noted that the presence of these research population members by no means indicates the full dimensions of the national executives' upper-class ties. Other members of the executive might be members of the upper class but fall outside the parameters of the present research - for example, as probable in a 'national' executive, many may have not been residents of New York City, some may have been bypassed by the research process and in other cases there may have been insufficient evidence of class status. As evident in the Appendices cited above, even a cursory examination of biographical information suggests that many members of the national executives possessed important ties to the upper class. Table 1 and 2 below summarize this information vis-à-vis the 'national' suffrage organizations. Upper-class domination of the anti-suffrage leadership is indicated but there is insufficient information on the executives' membership to provide comparable statistics.

Similarly, Appendices O through T suggest that throughout the critical years of the suffrage struggle (particularly 1910 to 1917) members of the research population held key positions in all the most important suffrage and anti-suffrage 'state' and 'city' organizations. Once again,

Table 1Upper-Class Ties of N.A.W.S.A.\*\* Executive 1900-1920

	Number of Women	Percentage of Total Executive Group
Evidence of Upper Class Ties	18	38
(Members of Research Population)	(3)	(6)
No Listing in <u>Notable American Women</u>	24	51
No Evidence of Upper Class Ties	5	11
Women who held Executive Positions in N.A.W.S.A.	47	100

Table 2Upper-Class Ties of National Woman's Party  
Executive Committee Members 1917-1920

	Number of Women	Percentage of Total Executive Group
Members of Research Population	3	15
Attended Prestigious Colleges or Educated in Europe	6	30
Evidence of Upper Class Ties	4	20
No information	7	35
Total Executive Group	20	100

while they were not numerically preponderant, active upper-

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\*\*And affiliates.

class women were a persistent presence in the highest ranks of the executive. In all, of the seventy-six executive positions listed for the New York City and State pro-suffrage organizations, eighteen per cent were occupied by research population women. The information on the anti-suffrage movement is too incomplete to be comparable but there is, as discussed below, reason to believe that there was a preponderance of upper-class executives.

Appendices U and V summarize the recorded financial and literary contributions of the research population. There is no way of formally determining the importance of these contributions relative to those made by women from other classes or in other vicinities - there is no complete listing of the publications or financial contributions directed to the suffrage movement. However, as indicated in the section below, the principal analyses of the women's rights struggle suggest first, that it was upper-class women such as Alva Belmont\* and Mrs. Frank Leslie\* who provided the movement with financial backing at critical points in its history and secondly, that upper-class writers, notably Lillie Blake,\* Josephine Dodge\* and Elsie Parsons,\* were amongst the leading exponents of the pro- (and anti-) suffrage views.

Finally, the research indicates that active upper-class women were present throughout the full spectrum of important New York suffrage organizations. As Table 3 below reveals, research population women were present both as members and executives in all of the major suffrage bodies both in

Table 3

Research Population Participation in  
Principal Suffrage Organizations-National and New York

	Number of Women from Research	Number of Women from Research
	Population Active	Population Holding in Organization
	One or More Executive Positions	
<u>N.A.W.S.A. and Affiliates</u>		
Political Equality League	4	1
College (or Collegiate**) Equal Suffrage League (of New York or U.S.)	12	4
New York Equal Franchise Society (League)	29	5
New York City or State*** Woman Suffrage Party or Association****	38	19
National American Woman Suffrage Association	12	9
Total	83	38 (46% of total)
<u>National Woman's Party and Affiliates</u>		
National Woman's Party (including predecessor, the Congressional Union)	14	7
Women's Political Union (including predecessor, Equality League for Self-Supporting Women)	30	9
Total	44*****	16

\*\*There are references to both the "College" and "Collegiate" League. However, there are no indications of separate organizations.

\*\*\*In many instances there is no indication as to whether the individual operated at city or state level of the organization.

\*\*\*\*Prior to 1907, the New York N.A.W.S.A. organization was called the Woman Suffrage 'Association'. In 1907, Mrs. Catt developed a more politically-oriented organization and the name was changed to Woman Suffrage 'Party'.

\*\*\*\*\*As indicated in Table 4, some individuals were members in both organizational frameworks and some were active in several groups.

New York and nationally. Consequently, it would seem that conservative as well as radical suffrage organizations attracted upper-class women's participation. Of the 112 research population members who could be classified as belonging either to the N.A.W.S.A. structures or to the National Woman's Party structures, thirty-seven per cent belonged to the latter, radical organizations.

While, as indicated in Table 4 below, the majority of research population members opted for the conservative N.A.W.S.A. approach, a significant proportion accepted anti-suffrage or a more radical pro-suffrage format. Further, as indicated in Table 5 below, even in these organizations, the upper-class women's involvement was not peripheral or short-term. For example, thirty-two per cent or thirteen members of the research population who were active in the National Woman's Party structures held some executive position and, as discussed in the following section, many of these women supported the Party throughout many years of bitter controversy.

In sum, the research results suggest that active upper-class women were powerful suffrage figures. As speakers, writers, benefactors, and leaders, these women played an important part in determining the course and content of the suffrage struggle. The following discussion locates the research population's activities amidst a detailed history of the suffrage movement and indicates their significance relative to events of the day and to critical developments in the status of women.

Table 4

Overview of Research Population's Involvement  
in the Principal Suffrage Organizations  
Memberships

	Number of Women from Research Population Active in Organizations	Percentage of Total Suffrage Population N=134
N.A.W.S.A. and Affiliates**	71	53
National Woman's Party and Affiliates***	41	31
Active in Both	24	18
Anti-Suffrage Organizations	22	16

Table 5

Overview of the Research Population's Involvement in  
the Principal Suffrage Organizations  
Executive Positions

	Number of Women from Research Population Holding One or More Executive Positions in Organizations	Percentage of Total Research Group Active in Particular Organizational Structure
N.A.W.S.A. and Affiliates	33	47
National Woman's Party and Affiliates	13	32
Anti-Suffrage Organizations	9	41
Total	55	41 (of total 'suffrage' population)

\*\*N.A.W.S.A. affiliates include New York and National College (Collegiate) Equal Suffrage League, New York Equal Franchise Society, New York State and City Woman Suffrage Party (Association) and the Political Equality League (of New York).

\*\*\*The Woman's Party affiliates include its predecessor, the Congressional Union, and the Women's Political Union, including its predecessor, the Equality League for Self-Supporting Women.

2. Upper-Class Women and their Role in  
the History of the Women's Rights  
Movement

Socio-economic Background to the Changing  
Status of Women 1800-1900

The parameters of existence for most women in early nineteenth century America were hearth, home and husband.<sup>2</sup> In general, women of the period devoted their 'productive' years to child-bearing and the care and maintenance of their family. The prevailing ideology reflected and reinforced this material reality by asserting that women were basically biological creatures - 'made' to bear and care for children. Woman was, accordingly, maternal, physically weak, dependent on men, unsullied by the crude struggle for survival and morally superior. Kept within the home, this character served as the foundation of a happy, productive family and a stable republic.

As Barbara Welter comments in "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-60," "Men were supposed to be religious although they rarely had time for it, and were supposed to be pure, although it came awfully hard to them, but men were the movers, the doers, the actors, Women were the passive, submissive responders."<sup>3</sup> These tenets were, in turn, embodied in the American legal code up to 1800, "Married women could not sign contracts; they had no title to their own earnings, to property even when it was their own by inheritance or dower, or to their children in the event of legal separation."<sup>4</sup>

Should a woman tamper with this 'natural' sexual order

she courted disaster. As Carroll Smith-Rosenberg notes, "Within this system, woman was seen at the same time as a higher, more sensitive, more spiritual creature - and as a prisoner of tidal currents of an animal and uncontrollable nature (and in this way denied the two cardinal Victorian virtues of control and rationality);"<sup>5</sup> Disregard for this 'natural' dichotomy would only provoke personal as well as social disorder. "Education, attempts at birth control or abortion, undue sexual indulgence, and too fashionable a life-style, failure to devote herself fully to the needs of husband and children - even the advocacy of woman's suffrage - all might guarantee a disease-ridden menopause."<sup>6</sup>

By the mid-1800's, the socioeconomic order and this attendant perception of sex roles were on the verge of dramatic and pervasive change. As the capitalist economy flourished and expanded, it spawned increasing industrialization and urbanization.<sup>7</sup> For women, these developments were portents of important changes in the material conditions of their lives. For some, young and unmarried, the factories meant new-found, though short-lived, economic independence. For the married woman, the decline of the rural economy meant fewer children to bear and care for.<sup>8</sup>

Urbanization and industrialization also advanced inroads into the dominant sexist ideology. As Welter points out, the Cult of True Womanhood was doomed by an important internal contradiction, "The very perfection of True Womanhood, moreover, carried within itself the seeds of its own destruction. For

if a woman was so very little less than the angels, she should surely take a more active part in running the world, especially since men were making such a hash of things."<sup>9</sup>

As early as 1800 women had formed ladies' societies 'dedicated to pious and charitable ends' and designed to inject their moral purity into the public domain.<sup>10</sup> Urbanization, with its increased inter-personal accessibility and industrialization, with its improved means of communication and transportation, exacerbated these developments. Keith Melder comments, "The years between 1800 and 1830 witnessed a remarkable expansion of women's charitable activities: a quantitative growth of organizations, an impressive geographical expansion, and a great diversification in the kinds of work supported."<sup>11</sup> This process culminated in women's involvement in broader issues, notably, abolition and temperance.

As women expanded their horizons, they necessarily came into conflict with the prevailing ideology and ran afoul of specific social injunctions such as those against women travelling unescorted or making public addresses. These confrontations in turn highlighted women's forced exclusion from the public domain and in a few key instances moved the participants not only to question prevailing sex roles but to demand that changes be made.<sup>12</sup>

Not only did the Civil War accelerate the industrialization and urbanization process, it intensified this movement of women into the public sphere. In aiding the war effort, in serving as nurses and in holding fund-raising fairs women

could, on socially legitimate grounds, further erode their confinement to the home and expand their sphere of action. Eleanor Flexner comments that "The influx of women into teaching and their entrance into government offices dates from the Civil War. Thousands more broke away from stove and laundry tub to look for work in the cities...."<sup>13</sup>

Throughout the post-war period to the turn of the century, capitalism maintained, despite major setbacks, its frantic evolution. In so doing, it continued to alter the material conditions of women's lives and to provide for, even demand, alterations in the sexual status quo. The quiet, frail, pious and provincial mother, confined to her home by an overwhelming burden of parental and housekeeping responsibilities was being outmoded. As Flexner explains:

From 1865 on, a veritable domestic revolution was under way, which freed those able to take advantage of it for pursuits other than house-work. The development of gas lighting, municipal water systems, domestic plumbing, canning, the commercial production of ice, the improvement of furnaces, stoves, and washtubs, and popularization of the sewing-machine aided growing numbers of women to escape from the domestic treadmill. <sup>14</sup>

In brief, the new economic order provided a structure which permitted women (or demanded in the case of the working-class woman) to be, within severe limitations, actors in the public domain. Working-class women became an accepted part of the work force; "Between 1880 and 1900 the employment of women in most parts of the economy became an established fact. This was surely the most significant event in the modern history

of women."<sup>15</sup> More well-to-do women, impelled by their aforementioned moral and religious obligations, "became involved in housekeeping tasks on behalf of society at large".<sup>16</sup> By the end of the century, women's reform and charitable organizations had not only multiplied but taken on important national dimensions (for example, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, founded 1890 and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, founded 1874).

The net result of these social and economic developments was an increasing inconsistency between the material day-to-day realities of women's lives and the traditional notions about sex roles. This discrepancy demanded a re-examination of woman's role in society. Consequently, the women's rights proponents, along with pro- and anti-suffrage activists, in a sense, sought to determine the parameters and focus of woman's emergent status. The accomplishments and limitations of these women and, in the case at hand, of their upper-class contingent, can only be judged against this broad panorama of historical and economic change; the radical and conservative nature of their endeavours can only be gauged against the extant social condition of women.

#### Beginnings of the Women's Rights Movement 1800-1900

Advances in the social and legal status of women date back to the early 1800's.<sup>17</sup> However, the first pivotal event in the development of the women's movement took place in 1840 when the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London refused to

seat any women delegates. Affronted, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton determined to oppose such constraints on women. In 1848, largely through their efforts, a convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York, and the Declaration of Sentiments, detailing and denouncing the oppression of women was set forth. The American women's rights movement was thus launched.

From its earliest days, the movement was tinged with a measure of affluence. Mrs. Stanton, who was to play a key role in the women's rights movement until 1892 and whose daughter and granddaughter were to be key suffrage leaders, came from the fringes of the upper class. Her father was a member of the U.S. Congress and a judge in the Supreme Court of New York. Her cousin, whom she frequently visited in her youth, was Gerrit Smith, a wealthy reformer, philanthropist, suffrage supporter and the son of the partner of John Jacob Astor. Finally, Mrs. Stanton's husband was a lawyer and state senator. Lucretia Mott, while not wealthy, attended private schools and led a very comfortable middle-class life.

Not surprisingly, given this leadership, the new-born group tended to focus on issues of particular relevance to the more well-to-do classes - such as the control of property and earnings, guardianship, divorce, opportunities for education and employment, and the legal and religious status of women.<sup>18</sup> Karen Sacks, in her study of the "Class Roots of Feminism" cites the following specific example of this bias. At the Rochester convention held later in 1848, "While

all other resolutions passed clearly stated beliefs and principles, this one hedged: Resolved 'that those who believe the laboring classes of women are oppressed, ought to do all in their power to raise wages, beginning with their own household servants [Sacks' emphasis].'"<sup>19</sup>

In 1850 the first 'national' women's rights convention was organized in Worcester, Massachusetts by another affluent lady, Paulina Kellogg Wright Davis, the wife of a wealthy manufacturer and later U.S. Congressman. For every year from 1850 to 1860, excepting 1857, yearly conventions helped keep the new-born movement alive. During the Civil War, women's rights leaders, many of whom were also abolitionists, put their work aside and supported the enfranchisement of the blacks. In 1866, Woman's Rights and Anti-Slavery Societies united in New York City to form the American Equal Rights Association. The organization, led by men, petitioned Congress to enfranchise women along with the blacks. Congress refused and the woman's movement leaders, some so bitter that they refused to support enfranchisement of blacks so long as women were excluded, took up the battle for suffrage. In 1867, Kansas was the first state to hold a suffrage referendum, and in 1868 the first measure for woman suffrage was introduced to the United States Congress.

This same year, 1868, the discussion encounters the first of the research group members. Abigail Gibbons,\* a pioneering social reformer in New York City and the wife of one of the city's more prominent financial and business figures,

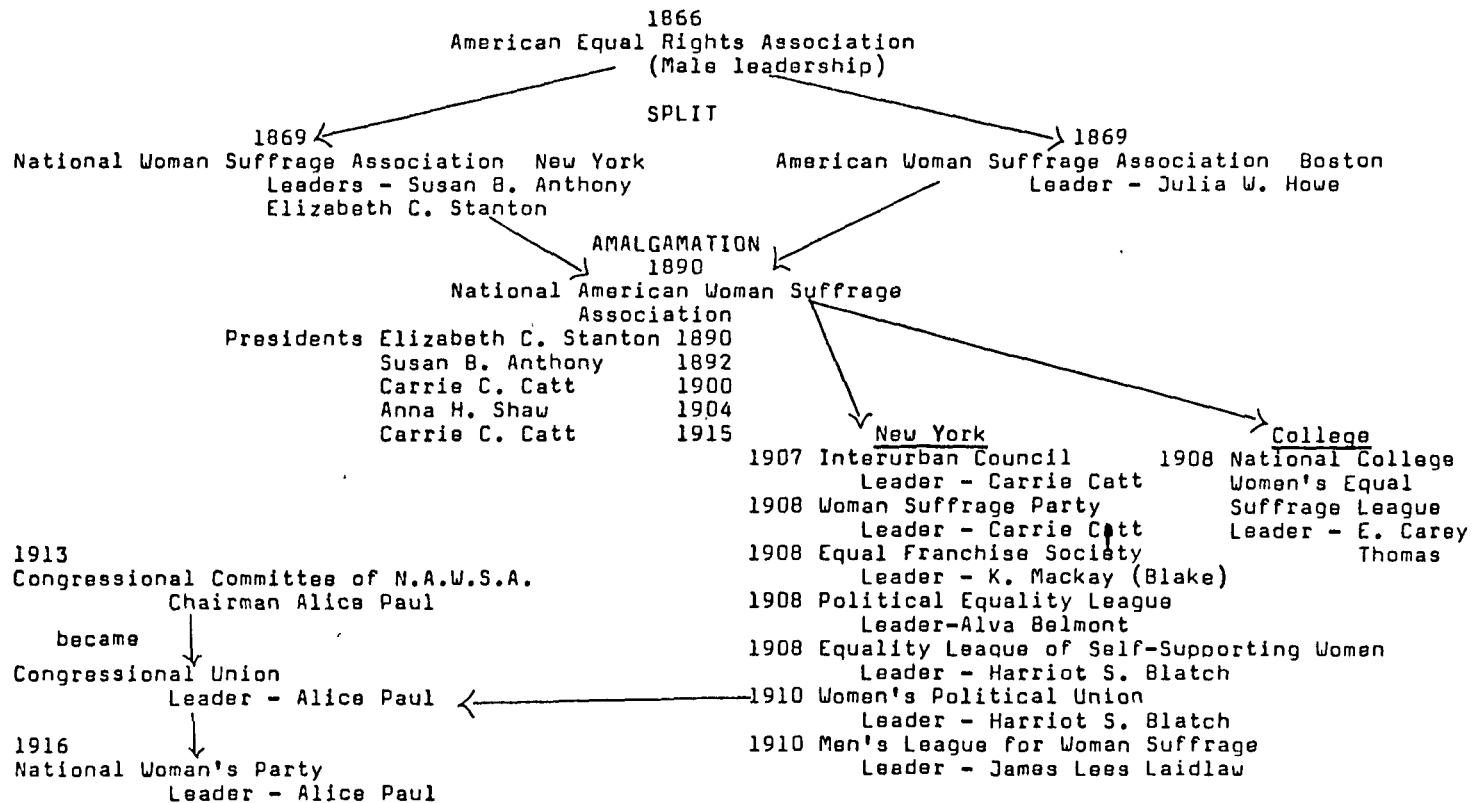
came out in support of the suffrage movement, a movement which, as noted, had already given some indication of its receptivity to affluent disciples. Mrs. Gibbons joined Mrs. Stanton, Miss Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Smith Mills (daughter of the aforementioned Gerrit Smith) in sending a letter to the National Republican Convention asking that party to reward women's faithful Civil War service by adding suffrage to their party platform. Despite the respectability and prestige Mrs. Gibbons lent to the act, the effort proved ineffectual. In the following years an increasing number of upper-class women were to become allies of the cause and close associates of its top leadership.

The next year, 1869, the young movement ran into internal difficulties. At this point, dissension within the ranks was such that it split the organizational structure into two rival and opposing groups (see Diagram 1 for an overview of these later organizational developments). On the one hand was the National Suffrage Association, based in New York, open only to women and devoted to a more radical and thorough-going reformation of woman's estate. This body, led by Susan B. Anthony (whose maternal grandfather was a member of the Massachusetts legislature and whose father ran a successful insurance business) and Mrs. Stanton, was willing to unite with labour and women of the working class. In fact, Miss Anthony was at one time a member of the Knights of Labor, one of the original labour organizations.

The two leaders were eager to pursue the sentiments

Diagram 1

Overview of Principal Suffrage Organizations  
1866 - 1920



expressed at Seneca Falls and sought not just suffrage but broad political, social, religious, sexual and marital changes for women. They published a journal entitled The Revolution and supported such innovative figures as free love advocate Victoria Woodhull. This was clearly the most 'radical' faction in the women's movement but there was, at the same time, a basic conservatism and hence respectability in their approach. Linda Gordon points out that the free-lovers and suffragists "...hoped that given political power to women would help to reinforce the family, to make the government more just and the economy less monopolistic".<sup>20</sup> She notes, "Clinging to the cult of motherhood was part of a broader conservatism shared by Free Lovers and suffragists - acceptance of traditional sex roles."<sup>21</sup>

In opposition to the National was the American Woman Suffrage Association, based in Boston. This organization pursued a more thoroughly conservative tack, was more interested in simple legal reform for women (notably suffrage) and was not sympathetic to labour. Its most prominent leader was Julia Ward Howe, author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic", sister-in-law of socially prominent minister and suffrage advocate Henry Ward Beecher<sup>\*\*</sup> and aunt of Margaret Chanler Aldrich,\* great great granddaughter of John Jacob Astor.

The year, 1869, not only signalled this important bifurcation in women's ranks, it marked the entrance of the second important research population member into the movement.

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<sup>\*\*</sup>Beecher was the great uncle of suffrage leader, Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

Lillie Devereux Blake\* was the daughter of a wealthy Southern plantation owner, and a descendant of Thomas Polk, colonial governor of North Carolina and of Samuel Johnson, first president of King's (later Columbia) College. She was educated at Miss Athorpe's School and at Yale under private tutors. In 1858 she moved to New York City with her husband Frank Umsted, a Philadelphia lawyer, and their two children. In 1859 she embarked on what was to be a highly successful career as a writer. Later that same year, her husband, having dissipated their fortune, killed himself. Mrs. Blake supported herself through her writing until 1866 when she married Grinfill Blake.

In 1869, Mrs. Blake, long frustrated by the limitations imposed upon women, ventured forth to New York's suffrage headquarters. Greeted at the door by wealthy philanthropist Elizabeth B. Phelps, she was immediately impressed by the gentility of the suffragists. Her daughter recalls: "I remember vividly how ardently she said, after we had begun our dinner that evening, 'Grinfill, I went to the Woman Suffrage Headquarters today - and, Grinfill, they're ladies [original emphasis]!'"<sup>22</sup> Duly satisfied as to the basic respectability of this enterprise, Mrs. Blake became a vigorous exponent of women's rights, contributing her oratorical and literary talents to the cause.

In 1870, Mrs. Blake started to attend the conventions of the iconoclastic National Woman Suffrage Association and within a few years her speeches were a regular feature of

the National's gatherings. At the same time she became one of the more prominent theoreticians. In 1874 she wrote Fettered for Life (which sold 1300 copies the day of publication), followed in 1883 by Woman's Place Today (a book which, according to her biographers, made her in a month one of the most quoted and best-known women in the country),<sup>23</sup> and in 1892 she wrote A Daring Experiment.

Mrs. Blake's writing ability was not her sole asset. Apparently, she was also adept at capitalizing on the benefits of being a 'lady'. Her biography reports that whenever Mrs. Blake made arrangements for a meeting place in a strange town, she first went to the County Courthouse. "She was attractive, well-dressed, a lady. This usually disarmed the County Clerk, and she was pleasantly greeted."<sup>24</sup> Cognizant of the social prestige and influence that, in general, went with being a lady, Mrs. Blake made it her policy to seek out women from the higher echelons of society, "Realizing the power that social leaders exercise on community opinion, Mrs. Blake had continuously worked to make the campaign for woman suffrage in New York appeal not only to working women, but to society women, impressing on them the knowledge that they too needed their rights as human beings..."<sup>25</sup>

By 1879, Mrs. Blake's efforts had ensured her ascendancy within the state movement and she was unanimously elected president of the New York (State) Woman Suffrage Association, a post she was to hold for eleven years. In 1880 she succeeded in achieving state-wide school suffrage

for women. In the next years of her presidency, Mrs. Blake made yearly tours of the state advocating not only suffrage but legal reforms such as laws requiring women doctors in mental institutions, and she addressed numerous committees of the state and national senate and assembly. In 1886, Mrs. Blake founded the Society for Political Study to work for legislative gains rather than suffrage alone and she was elected president of the New York City Woman Suffrage League, a post she would hold for fourteen years.

In short, the evidence suggests that Mrs. Blake played a key role in defining and executing the goals of the women's movement in the state of New York,\*\* "the great battleground for the rights of women".<sup>26</sup> These were critical years in the development of the women's movement. Suffrage became an increasingly central goal and other legislative and social reforms were steadily eclipsed. Mrs. Blake, according to her biographers, bitterly opposed this narrowing focus.<sup>27</sup> However, while she may have advocated more sweeping reforms in woman's estate, Mrs. Blake did so from a conservative frame of reference. She abjured the free-lovers\*\*\* and promoted a conception of woman's role deeply rooted in the Cult of True Womanhood:

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\*\*As indicated throughout the suffrage histories, New York State was of pivotal importance in the suffrage struggle.

\*\*\*Mrs. Blake commented, for example "'I felt this should be a strong public demonstration in favor of marriage and decency. The free-lovers had made their abominable views so public in connection with woman suffrage that it had become important that a word should be said to demonstrate that the suffrage society itself was on the conservative side of the question.'" <sup>28</sup>

A woman's place is home and her first duty is to her children, and it is on this account that she will surely be a most valuable and conscientious voter. The men of the state come from the market-place, from the stock-board, and from the barroom to the ballot box; the women of the state will come from the fireside. Which, think you, will bring the purest hands to the work? 29

Gradually, the conservative perspective promoted by Mrs. Blake and others won out. Increasingly, the New York woman's movement retreated on social and moral issues. With the decline of the Knights of Labor and the ascendancy of the American Federation of Labor, the movement withdrew completely from associations with working-class organizations. In 1892, Lucy Stone, a prominent suffrage leader, reflecting this alienation from the working class, asked Homestead strikers why they did not save their earnings to start their own businesses if they were dissatisfied with their jobs.<sup>30</sup>

By 1890, the New York association had progressed so far along this path of political conservatism that it was possible for the New York and Boston factions, once radically opposed, to reunite under the common leadership of Mrs. Stanton. The new group was called the National American Women's Suffrage Association (N.A.W.S.A.). Although it had not yet discarded all of its desire to 'redefine' women, much of its critical social analysis had been shed. As Victoria Schuck comments, "What these women seemed to be saying was that they wanted entry into the system."<sup>31</sup>

Concomitantly, it would seem that efforts by Mrs. Blake and others to attract upper-class adherents to the

cause were also successful. Belle de Rivera,\* prominent New York social reformer and daughter of one of the oldest members of the New York stock exchange, was active in leading the New York City movement and for seven years was president of the New York Equal Suffrage League when it was the only woman suffrage association in Manhattan. Mary Loines,\* first cousin to New York City's mayor Seth Low, was also active in the early organizations, serving as secretary of the Brooklyn Equal Rights Association and in 1869 attending the conservative American Suffrage Association's first convention as a delegate from Brooklyn. Later she was to head Brooklyn's Woman's Suffrage Association from 1899 to 1919.

As Mrs. Blake's biographers note, "Slowly, Woman Suffrage was becoming fashionable."<sup>32</sup> In 1893 the suffrage ranks were reinforced by Harriet Laidlaw\* who in this year, gave her first speech for suffrage in Albany. Mrs. Laidlaw was the wife of James Laidlaw, wealthy founder of Laidlaw and Company, stockbrokers, and future president of the National Men's Suffrage League. In the following year, Margaret Chanler Aldrich\* and Mary Putnam Jacobi\* undertook to aid Mrs. Blake's efforts. They, Mrs. Blake and Harriette Keyser, all representing the women of New York City, spoke before the Suffrage Committee of the Constitutional Convention in the Assembly Chamber of the Capitol at Albany in an attempt to secure a clause for woman's suffrage in the state constitution.

Mrs. Aldrich, (at this time Miss Chanler), was the

great great granddaughter of John Jacob Astor. Her illustrious ancestry included two Colonial Governors and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. She was related to the socially prominent Livingston and Beekman families of New York and her aunt was Caroline Schmermerhorn Astor, ruler of New York's "Metropolitan 400". Her great aunt, as noted above, was Julia Ward Howe. Dr. Jacobi was equally rooted in the upper class. She was the daughter of George P. Putnam, founder of G.P. Putnam's Sons publishing firm. Dr. Jacobi had already defied social convention by becoming a physician; she was to go on to pursue a career devoted to medicine and the amelioration of woman's estate. Her address to the constitutional hearing entitled "Common Sense Applied to Woman Suffrage" was considered so compelling that it was later reprinted and used as a campaign document by New York suffragists in 1914.

Locally, other upper-class women came forward in support of these efforts to revise the state constitution. Ida Harper's History of Woman Suffrage reports that "Women of social influence in this city [New York], who never had shown any public interest in the question, opened headquarters at Sherry's, held meetings and secured signatures to a suffrage petition. The leaders of this branch were Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell,\* Mrs. Joseph H. Choate,\* Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi,\* Mrs. J. Warren Goddard, Mrs. Robert Abbe, Mrs. Henry Sanders and Miss Adele M. Fielde."<sup>33</sup> Mrs. Lowell came from a family of wealthy Boston merchants and achieved prominence as a pioneer social welfare leader in New York City. Her brother-

in-law, George William Curtis, her sister, Anna Curtis, and her niece, Miss Elizabeth Burrill Curtis, were leading suffrage advocates in Massachusetts. Mrs. Choate was the daughter of a wealthy iron manufacturer and the wife of anti-suffragist, Joseph Choate, former Ambassador to England and prominent lawyer.

Ultimately these actions were all to no avail. The Constitutional Amendment was voted down. The pro-suffrage forces, led by Edward Lauterbach, an influential New York lawyer, close associate of J.P. Morgan and husband of Amanda Lauterbach\* (vice president of the Woman's Suffrage League), were overwhelmed. The chairman of the convention, the above-mentioned Joseph Choate, had appointed a Suffrage Committee laden with anti-suffragists and he himself cast the final vote against the amendment. However, the suffragists were undaunted. A month later Edward Lauterbach and Miss Anthony addressed the Committee on Resolutions of the State Republican Convention, and Miss Anthony and Mrs. Blake similarly addressed the Democratic Convention, unsuccessfully, for a woman suffrage stand in their respective platforms.

Many of the upper-class suffrage pioneers continued to play important roles past the turn of the century and often they worked in small groups in direct association with the national leaders of the movement. Mrs. Aldrich, for example, joined Mrs. Chapman and Mrs. Alice Stone Blackwell in speaking before the New York Judiciary Committee on suffrage, Mrs. Blake,

as a state leader, naturally was an ubiquitous figure at committee hearings and N.A.W.S.A. gatherings. However, by the end of the 1800's, Mrs. Blake's association with the movement's leaders, while close, was showing signs of stress. According to existing accounts, Miss Anthony had grown suspicious of Mrs. Blake's efforts to win socially prominent New York women to the cause through events such as the Pilgrim Mothers' Dinners (1892-1906). In 1899, Miss Anthony, apparently fearful of losing command of the organization, effected the abolition of Mrs. Blake's Committee on Legislative Advice. Mrs. Blake continued to be supported by Mrs. Stanton, but her position in the suffrage hierarchy was effectively undermined. In 1900, Mrs. Blake, supported by Mrs. Stanton, Dr. Jacobi\* and Margaret Sage\* (Mrs. Russell Sage), made an unsuccessful bid for the N.A.W.S.A. presidency. Carrie Catt became the new president.

Despite this failure, Mrs. Blake had had an important impact on the women's movement. A contemporary newspaper reporter noted "'I have watched Mrs. Blake's course with interest, and to her, more than to any other woman of this country, the women of this State will be indebted for the ballot when the State gives it to them, as it surely will.'"<sup>34</sup> The suffrage organizations themselves acknowledged her pivotal role: "Newspapers reporting the first meeting of the New York City Suffrage League in 1900 entirely concurred in the statement of Mrs. Trowbridge, the principal speaker,

when she said that the laws of New York State were better for women than the laws anywhere else in the world, and that this was the result of Mrs. Blake's untiring efforts..."<sup>35</sup>

In sum, the evidence suggests that even in these pre-1900 years when the movement was still relatively small and adventurous, upper-class women had taken up key executive positions and had played an important part, as writers and orators, in representing the movement to the population at large. However, the movement itself had made little advancement. As Harriot Stanton Blatch notes in her memoirs, "The suffrage movement was completely in a rut in New York State at the opening of the twentieth century. It bored its adherents and repelled its opponents. Most of the ammunition was being wasted on its supporters in private drawing rooms and in public halls where friends, drummed up and harried by the ardent, listlessly heard the same old arguments ...."<sup>36</sup>

The achievements provided by these efforts were scant. Suffrage had been debated only once in the United States Senate and it had never even reached the House of Representatives. Much energy had been wasted in futile attempts to achieve state suffrage amendments. The well-organized, well-financed California campaign of 1896, despite support from upper-class women such as Mrs. Randolph Hearst and Mrs. Leland Stanford, had been robbed of victory by the skulduggery of the liquor interests. Sparsely populated Colorado and Idaho were the sole suffrage conquests.

Consolidation and Resurgence 1900-1907

Only gradually in the decade after 1900 did the movement revive itself with more adherents and different strategies and invigorate itself with new organizational structures. In these years, as the suffrage movement gained momentum, the role of its upper-class adherents also shifted. Up to 1900 they brought to the struggle valuable prestige and social standing as well as important executive, speaking and literary skills. After 1900, as the struggle intensified, they also often contributed, in addition to social distinction and respectability, specific professional talent and concrete financial backing.

One of the first steps taken to re-invigorate the suffrage organizations was an attempt to open new avenues of support, particularly, from the working class. As mentioned above, the movement in the late 1800's had tended to turn away from, even in some instances, against, the working-class and the trade union movement. However, as more and more lower-class women entered the factories, they came to constitute a pool of social power that could be no longer ignored. Further, in the early 1900's, a number of upper-class women were actively involved in organizing and unionizing working-class women in the state and this not only remodelled the working-class women's public image, it provided direct lines of communication into their midst. As Sacks comments, "While the overt anti-working class, racist and nativist arguments

remained until the end, there were growing numbers of N.A.W.S.A. members after the turn of the century who believed it important to speak to the working class."<sup>37</sup>

In line with these developments, several prominent upper-class women reformers joined the suffrage ranks in the early 1900's to advocate the cause of the working class and to draw working-class women into their organization. In 1904, Maud Nathan,\* who in 1897 had founded the New York Consumers' League in the hopes of using consumer pressure to achieve improved working conditions for women, addressed the N.A.W.S.A. national convention on "The Wage Earner and the Ballot." Mrs. Nathan, the granddaughter of a prominent New York rabbi and the wife of a prosperous broker, advocated suffrage on two grounds. First, she suggested that "...some of the evils from which they [women wage-earners] suffer would not exist if the women had the right to place their votes in the ballot-box".<sup>38</sup> Secondly, appealing to the self-interest of the predominantly affluent audience she argued that only by use of the vote could women hope to ensure that the products they consumed were "...free from adulteration...had been produced under clean, wholesome and humane conditions...."<sup>39</sup> In brief, Mrs. Nathan helped break ground for the position that suffrage must be recognized as one important step in improving the life-conditions of all women (and men).

Later in the same year, indicative of her high standing in the suffrage prestige hierarchy, Mrs. Nathan joined a select group of suffrage leaders - notably, Anna Howard Shaw

(soon to be president of the N.A.W.S.A.), Harriot Blatch (daughter of Elizabeth Stanton), Emily Howland, a wealthy philanthropist, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman (the movement's leading theoretician) - in addressing the United States Senate and House Committee on Suffrage.

In 1906, Gertrude Barnum\* followed up on Mrs. Nathan's speech about the working class by exhorting the N.A.W.S.A.'s national convention to incorporate wage-earning women into its body. Miss Barnum, the daughter of a prominent Chicago attorney and granddaughter of a United States Senator, was at this time secretary of the National Women's Trade Union League, an organization recently founded in New York City, directed by upper-class women and designed to uplift as well as organize working-class 'girls'. Miss Barnum's address, while tinged with a certain paternalism, went far in demanding solidarity with working-class women.

'A speaker should have been chosen from their ranks', she said. 'We have been preaching to them, teaching them "rescuing" them, doing almost everything for them except knowing them, and working with them for the good of our common country. These women of the trade unions, who have already learned to think and vote in them, would be a great addition, a great strength to this movement. . . . You must bring them [working people] to your conferences and conventions and let them speak on your platform. They will speak much better for themselves than you can get any one to speak for them ....' (emphasis added). 40

Meanwhile, the suffrage movement was expanding in other directions. By the early 1900's, the women's colleges and universities had experienced unparalleled growth and now

constituted a new and valuable source of support. To harness this prestigious body, organizations such as the College Equal Suffrage League were established. These groups not only represented collegiate suffragists, they sought to recruit new supporters from the college campuses.<sup>41</sup>

This was inevitably a field ideally suited to leadership by upper-class women. As discussed in the preceding chapter, they had played key roles as students, teachers and benefactors in these institutions and they had been instrumental in pioneering women's higher education. Consequently, it is not surprising that from this time until suffrage was achieved finally, many of these upper-class women started their suffrage careers as leaders in the college suffrage organizations.

In 1905, Helen Flexner\* helped set this pattern by being elected vice president of the College Equal Suffrage League of New York, a post she held for four years. Mrs. Flexner, at one time a Bryn Mawr instructor, was the wife of Simon Flexner, director of the Rockefeller Institution for Medical Research. Her brother-in-law, Abraham Flexner, was a prominent educator and philosopher (and the father of Eleanor Flexner, author of Century of Struggle, one of the classic accounts of the Women's Rights Movement in the United States). Her sister, E. Carey Thomas, was not only the president of Bryn Mawr but from 1908 the president of the 'National' College Equal Suffrage League.

This new intelligentsia amongst upper-class women also

supplemented the movement's literary resources. In 1906, Elsi Clews Parsons,\* whose father Henry Clews was one of the financial mandarins of New York, whose great uncle was President Madison and whose husband was a suffrage advocate, Republican Congressman and Republican National Committeeman, wrote The Family. This, the first of Mrs. Parsons' feminist tracts, argued that in order for women to be fit wives and mothers, they must enjoy the same opportunities as men. Mrs. Parsons, who was to achieve prominence as a renowned anthropologist in the 1920's, went so far as to advocate trial marriage. This work was followed in 1913 by The Old Fashioned Woman, in 1914 by Fear and Conventionality and in 1915 by Social Freedom. Throughout, Mrs. Parsons maintained that excessive conformity, sexual stereotypes, and "ingrained ideas and prejudices"<sup>42</sup> must be broken down if men and women were to develop their true and full capacities.

During this first decade of the twentieth century, upper-class women also continued to contribute along more traditional lines, specifically, as the leaders and spokes-women for the movement. A new addition to these ranks was Helen Garrison Villard.\* In 1900, after the death of her husband Henry Villard, financier, President of the Northern Pacific Railroad and co-founder of the Edison General Electric Company, Mrs. Villard had added political activism to her already extensive participation in social and educational reform. In 1906 she turned specifically to the suffrage movement and following in Mrs. Blake's\* footsteps became a

member of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association's executive board. In New York City proper, she belonged to three suffrage societies (in 1903 there were fifteen organizations in New York City devoted to suffrage propaganda)<sup>43</sup> and was president of the one named for her famous father, the William Lloyd Garrison Equal Suffrage Club. In 1907, Mrs. Villard's work took on national dimensions when she was named to the six woman business committee which was responsible for the N.A.W.S.A.'s finances.

Like Mrs. Blake, Mrs. Villard toiled at the suffrage cause in large part because she believed in the moral superiority of Victorian America's 'True Woman'. She, along with a number of suffragists, advocated rights for women not, following the Seneca Falls' declaration, in terms of simple human justice, but rather on the grounds that women voters could inject order, purity and morality into American society.

This conservative view was shared by Margaret Olivia Sage\*(Mrs. Blake's supporter during the N.A.W.S.A. presidential campaign). Mrs. Sage (future founder of the Russell Sage Foundation) was also convinced that women must be enfranchised in order to successfully effect their moral and spiritual reconstruction of society. In 1905 she wrote an essay entitled "Opportunities and Responsibilities of Leisured Women" detailing the particular burden upper-class women must shoulder in this moral rearmament.

By 1906, like Mrs. Villard, Mrs. Sage was an active

exponent of the womens' movement.\*\* Although she was not moved to hold executive positions, she did provide much needed financial support. In 1906, when the national officers of the N.A.W.S.A. required \$60,000 to continue their work Mrs. Sage donated the \$20,000 required to meet this goal.

By 1907, these efforts and the cumulative inroads women had made into the public domain, began to breathe vitality into the suffrage struggle. However, the movement itself, as embodied in Mrs. Sage and Mrs. Villard, was very much caught up in a conservative rationale. Despite attempts to broaden the base of support and to encompass the working class, the suffrage analysis became steadily more narrow and reformist.

#### Gathering Momentum 1907-1908

In 1907 and 1908, the suffrage movement began to evidence its old strength and vigour. During these two years, five new and important suffrage organizations were established and a whole new contingent of upper-class supporters joined the suffrage ranks. New York State\*\*\* came alive to the suffrage issue and became the focal point of its struggle.

It was at this pivotal point that Mrs. Catt, who had resigned the presidency of the N.A.W.S.A. in order to devote

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\*\*In these ventures Mrs. Sage was supported by her husband. In 1894 Russell Sage aided the campaign to amend the New York State Constitution by adding his prestigious support to a suffrage petition.

\*\*\*Until 1915, at the national level the N.A.W.S.A. would be enervated by this ineffectual leadership of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. 45

her energies to the international woman's suffrage movement, returned to the New York arena and established the Woman's Suffrage Party. This group attempted to overcome the clumsy organization of the N.A.W.S.A. by setting up an extensive interlocking network based on wards and districts. Each ward and district, under the direction of its captain, was to attempt to maintain suffrage pressure on the Democratic party machine, Tammany Hall.

This new organizational structure quickly attracted strong upper-class support. Emily Eaton Hepburn,\* a social reformer whose husband was president and chairman of Chase National Bank and one-time United State Controller of the Currency, found time to work closely with Mrs. Catt on her new venture. Katrina Tiffany,\* president of the College Women's Equal Suffrage League and wife of Charles Lewis Tiffany of the Tiffany jewellery family, became recording secretary of the Party. Mrs. Laidlaw,\* secretary of the College League for Equal Suffrage, who had made her suffrage debut in 1893, served, when necessary, as acting chairman of the Party. Mrs. Nathan,\* the above-mentioned founder of the Consumers' League, was made corresponding secretary. Helen Mansfield,\* whose husband was a member of the prestigious law firm of Lord, Day and Lord, was the first head of the Party's education section, organizing travelling libraries and correspondence schools to promulgate suffrage views. Later she became a member of the state organization's executive committee.

The second rung of power, the district leaders, seemed similarly inundated with upper-class recruits. Maud Winchester,\* mother-in-law of Robert Patterson, one-time Secretary of War, was a member of the committee leading the first assembly district. Emma Woerishoffer,\* granddaughter of a wealthy German newspaper publisher, Anna Ottendorfer,\* Helen Plimpton,\* owner and manager of Sheppard Company, Maud Probasco,\* daughter of famous orator and political figure, Robert G. Ingersoll, Mary Bookstaver Knoblauch,\* whose father was a prominent lawyer and supreme court judge, and, finally, Marie J. Howe,\* wife of lawyer and People's Institute director, Frederic Howe, were all district leaders.

Meanwhile, advancements on the college front had been such that by 1908 a new organization was established there. Dr. Parsons\* of Barnard College, who as mentioned above was actively making a literary contribution to the movement, joined with five of her fellow women academicians to call for a meeting. At this convention the 'National' College Equal Suffrage League was established with E. Carey Thomas as its head. It was, in effect, the N.A.W.S.A.'s college women's auxiliary. Bespeaking the relative affluence of N.A.W.S.A. members, this educationally privileged group soon had the largest voting delegation, with the exception of New York, at the national suffrage conventions.

In this same year, 1908, indicative of the gathering respectability and momentum behind the changing status of women, two of New York's wealthiest and most socially prominent

women joined the suffrage fray. The first was Katherine Mackay\* (later Mrs. Katherine Blake), a member of the historically prominent Duer family and the wife of Clarence Mackay, one of the scions of the Comstock Lode fortunes and president of the Postal Telegraph-Cable Company. In 1908, Mrs. Mackay awakened to an interest in suffrage and entered upon providing support for that cause by opening her house to suffrage meetings and by founding the Equal Franchise Society, "...an organization of men and women, affiliated with the N.A.W.S.A."<sup>46</sup> While Mrs. Mackay assumed the presidency of her new organization, another member of the Duer clan, Alice Duer Miller,\* wife of a prominent stockbroker and great granddaughter of William Alexander Duer, president of Columbia University became the group's vice president. In 1910, Mrs. Nathan\* took over as vice president.

Mrs. Mackay made an immediate and ultimately significant contribution to the suffrage cause when she introduced N.A.W.S.A. President Anna Howard Shaw to Alva Belmont\* and thus launched the redoubtable Mrs. Belmont on a long and active suffrage career.

This new-found advocate had, in the 1880's, been the wife of William Kissam Vanderbilt, grandson of Cornelius Vanderbilt and she vied with Mrs. Astor for the leadership of New York Society. In 1895 she scored a major social coup when her daughter Consuelo (under duress from her mother, as was later revealed) married the Duke of Marlborough.

Having achieved unequalled social prominence, Mrs. Belmont scandalized society in 1895 by divorcing her husband and a year later marrying Oliver Hazard Perry Belmont, a social leader and son of the Rothschild family's New York representative. Converted to the suffrage cause by President Shaw, Mrs. Belmont turned her considerable energy and enthusiasm to suffrage. Like Mrs. Mackay, she opened her palatial Newport home to suffrage meetings, she made public addresses on suffrage and she founded her own suffrage organization, the Political Equality League.

The N.A.W.S.A. leadership, which, as indicated, had steadily moved away from any critical analysis of woman's status and which by now was preoccupied with presenting a respectable public image, was elated at these prestigious additions to their ranks. The official N.A.W.S.A. history stresses the significance of Mrs. Mackay and Mrs. Belmont's involvement:

While in New York City women of the highest character and ability had sponsored the suffrage work it had not attracted the women who could give it financial support. When Mrs. Mackay and Mrs. Belmont identified themselves with it, opened their homes for lectures and interested their friends, public attention was aroused. The meetings given in August by Mrs. Belmont at Marble House, Newport, which never before had been opened to the public, received an immense amount of space in the New York papers and those outside. The big headquarters soon were thronged with women; magazines, syndicates and the daily press had articles and pictures; mass meetings and parades followed and thousands of women entered the suffrage ranks. 47

The N.A.W.S.A. was particularly pleased by the prestigious male support such upper-class women could provide. For example, Mrs. Villard's\* son, Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the New York Evening Post, was called upon by Anna Shaw to set up the Men's League for Woman Suffrage in New York. The presidency of the organization was taken over by Mrs. Laidlaw's husband, James Lee Laidlaw. Husbands of other active upper-class women became important members of the League, notably Herbert Parsons and Dr. Simon Flexner. Significantly, the N.A.W.S.A. records "the endorsement of prominent men"<sup>48</sup> as one of the key factors behind the ultimate suffrage victory in New York.

This conservative preoccupation with respectability and decorum did not, however, wholly permeate the suffrage ranks. Harriot S. Blatch (daughter of Mrs. Stanton) was, for example, less than enthusiastic about Mrs. Mackay's conversion to the cause, "...here was a young and beautiful woman, a social leader, longing for a broader stage to move upon than the usual outlet given by fashionable society. Naturally an office under a leader, did not attract her in the least. She wanted to be the top, running the show herself."<sup>49</sup> Mrs. Blatch acceded to becoming a member of Mrs. Mackay's board of trustees, but she bridled under Mrs. Mackay's absolute abhorrence of public demonstrations - mass rallies and suffrage marches. Although she herself was the daughter of a lawyer and state senator, the widow of a well-to-do English businessman and not loathe to use her upper-class

contacts to further the cause,<sup>50</sup> Mrs. Blatch wanted to inject a more aggressive and flamboyant note into the suffrage struggle and in particular she wanted the organization to appeal not just to the 'ladies' but to the broad masses of women.

In 1907, inspired by the founding in England in 1903 of Emmeline Pankhurst's militant Women's Social and Political Union, Mrs. Blatch set up in New York the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women. She explained the innovation involved in the following terms:

We all believed that suffrage propaganda must be made dramatic, that suffrage workers must be politically minded. We saw the need of drawing industrial women into the suffrage campaign and recognized that these women needed to be brought in contact, not with women of leisure, but with business and professional women who were also out in the world earning a living. 51

In 1910, the new organization amended its policy, allowed members who were not self-supporting and changed its name to the Women's Political Union. However, the Union persisted in Mrs. Blatch's policy of developing a group which was more broad-based and tactically more radical than existing structures. By October, 1908, the Union had acquired nineteen thousand members and was one of New York's 'important' suffrage organizations.

The founding of Mrs. Blatch's group marked the first step toward a new, important bifurcation of the suffrage movement. The conservative suffragists, most attached to the N.A.W.S.A. organization (on the state, city or national level)

sought to advance the cause through social gatherings, lobbying, committee hearings and other respectable, lady-like means. Mrs. Blatch and her more radical activists felt that suffragists should shed this decorous image and that suffrage should be advanced by direct and dramatic public action - parades, marches and mass demonstrations. While both groups essentially accepted the same analytical framework (namely, that women ought to be enfranchised because this was just and, particularly, because the vote would allow women to 'tidy up' society) they differed considerably in terms of their respect for the extant socio-political system and, consequently, in terms of their manner of addressing that system.

Significantly, upper-class women, who were, as indicated, heavily represented in the highest echelons of the conservative structure, were equally rife in Mrs. Blatch's new, radical group.

In particular, a number of upper-class women, who were active in supporting and working with the working class or who were active in socialist politics, came forward to join the new group. Miss Barnum\* of the W.T.U.L., who as discussed above had been pushing the N.A.W.S.A. to gather working-class recruits, became an officer of Mrs. Blatch's Equality League of Self-Supporting Women. Jessie Ashley,\* a young lawyer and active socialist, whose father had been president of the Boston Stock Exchange and whose brother became dean of the New York University Law School, became a leading supporter of

the League and a member of its executive board. For the next few years she straddled the conservative and radical wings, being president of the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League and treasurer, in 1910, of the N.A.W.S.A., while also being a leading Equality League speaker, a member of both the I.W.W. and the Socialist Party and a leading advocate of working-class involvement in the suffrage movement.

Similarly, Florence Kelley,\* during this period, combined allegiances to both the radical and conservative spheres. She was the daughter of William Darrah Kelley, who, as a member of the United States House of Representatives from 1861-90, had been instrumental in keeping the suffrage issue alive in the House. In her youth, Mrs. Kelley appears to have disavowed her class origins. While doing post-graduate work at the University of Zurich she was converted to socialism and won distinction by translating Friedrich Engels' The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844 as well as a number of Karl Marx's addresses. Returning to America, she turned her efforts more and more to social reform, notably through the Consumers' League. Given Mrs. Kelley's socialist consciousness and her labour activities, Mrs. Blatch's working class-oriented Equality League naturally drew her support. Indeed, she served on its executive board. Yet at the same time she continued to play a prominent role in the N.A.W.S.A., becoming one of its vice presidents in 1909.

Inez Milholland\* (later Mrs. Boissevain) was another of these young, socialist upper-class women whose involvement

in the rights of labour allied them to the Equality League. Miss Milholland was, like Miss Ashley, a lawyer; her father had made a fortune as an inventor and her future husband, Eugen Boissevain\*\* was the son of a very wealthy Amsterdam newspaper publisher. Miss Milholland had already achieved notoriety by enrolling two-thirds of the Vassar study body in a campus suffrage organization. She now threw this energy behind the Equality League, lecturing, marching and arranging rallies.

Once Mrs. Blatch's Equality League dropped its 'self-supporting requirement' and became instead the Women's Political Union, it drew additional leadership recruits and support from the upper class. Elizabeth Rogers,\* a descendant of Roger Sherman, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the wife of a distinguished Professor of Clinical Surgery at the Cornell Medical College, and Mrs. Knoblauch,\* a captain in Mrs. Catt's Woman Suffrage Party, became members of the Union's executive board. Eunice Brannan,\* daughter of Charles Dana, editor of The Sun, became the Union's Finance Committee chairman. Ellen Lente\* and Belle Mayer\* became Union captains of assembly districts. In addition, Alice and Irene Lewisohn,\* members of the powerful New York banking family and daughters of the founder of the American Smelting and Refining Company and the Amalgamated Copper Company,

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\*\*Eugen Boissevain later married noted author, Edna St. Vincent Millay.

donated \$1,000 towards new headquarters for the Union.

In brief, the years 1907 and 1908 marked a critical juncture in the evolution of the suffrage movement. At this point, particularly in New York City, it developed new and vital organizational structures - structures often founded, supported and/or directed by women from the upper class. However, the movement also commenced to move along two lines. Initially, the two factions - the N.A.W.S.A., its affiliates and other conservative organizations on one hand, Mrs. Blatch's Women's Political Union, on the other - moved in an essentially parallel direction and consequently there was a friendly overlapping of personnel. Gradually, in the course of the next five years, the two separated and grew to increasingly oppose one another's methods and goals. The resultant division, as discussed below, was to persist beyond the achievement of suffrage and to plague the women's movement into the 1960's and 70's.

#### Splitting the Suffrage Ranks 1908-1913

Mrs. Blatch's newly-founded Women's Political Union set about stimulating the suffrage movement by being flamboyant. In 1909, in honour of Emmeline Pankhurst, the Union staged the largest suffrage meeting ever held in the United States. Significantly, the upper-class suffragists were prominently displayed at the rally. On the speakers' platform alongside Mrs. Blatch, head of the Union and Dr. Shaw, president of the N.A.W.S.A., was Mrs. Kelley,\* Miss Milholland\* and Margaret

Dreier Robins,\* wealthy reformer and founding head of the National W.T.U.L.

This event was followed in 1910 by plans for a mammoth suffrage parade, the first of its kind, through New York City. The more conservative suffragists were aghast at this intended affront to public dignity. Mrs. Blatch provides this account: "The press...quoted Mrs. Stevens of New Jersey, in view of women marching in the street [sic], as resigning from the Equal Franchise Society and foreswearing suffrage. Mrs. Mackay\* was described as greatly shocked and Mrs. Belmont\* as furious and retiring to Long Island...."<sup>52</sup> Despite this opposition from the 'society' leaders, the parade was staged and the upper class was well-represented. Miss Milholland\* along with Sarah McPike led the parade. Mrs. Laidlaw\* replaced the 'unwell' Mrs. Catt as the representative of the Woman Suffrage Party. Her husband, James Laidlaw and Mrs. Villard's\* son, Oswald Garrison Villard, were amongst the prominent men representing the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. Miss Ashley\* took her place amongst the speakers at the parade. The event, despite the fears of its critics, was a popular success.

Nonetheless, the more conservative faction, including Mrs. Belmont\* and Mrs. Mackay,\* preferred to contribute to the movement in a more circumspect and demure manner. In 1909, Mrs. Mackay joined Anne I. Cockran,\* wife of famed orator and politician W. Bourke Cockran, on the N.A.W.S.A.'s prestigious Advisory Committee. There, in association with

such notables as Julia Ward Howe, Jane Addams, William Garrison, and the governors of the four enfranchised states,\*\* Mrs. Mackay was in a setting more suited to her standing and more amenable to her skills.

Similarly, Mrs. Belmont was more familiar with dispensing largesse. In 1909, she gave the N.A.W.S.A. a much needed boost by providing it with national headquarters in New York City. She rented the entire twentieth floor of a new office building for two years and offered it to the New York State Suffrage Association and the N.A.W.S.A. In addition she donated \$600 a month to support a Press bureau for the N.A.W.S.A. Up until then the national headquarters had been buried away in Warren, Ohio. Mrs. Belmont's gift brought them into the midst of the struggle. As the official N.A.W.S.A. history notes, through Mrs. Belmont's gesture, "...the movement received a strong impulse not only in New York but in the country at large."<sup>53</sup>

Mrs. Belmont's generosity could not, however, resolve the N.A.W.S.A.'s basic difficulty. The national organization had been maintaining its program of state campaigns, representations to various suffrage committees and 'educational' propaganda. N.A.W.S.A. representatives toured the country promoting suffrage. For example, in 1909 Mrs. Villard\* joined Mrs. Kelley,\* Charlotte Perkins Gilman and other key suffragists in an extensive suffrage tour. Yet all these efforts were producing scant results.<sup>54</sup>

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\*\*Colorado, Idaho, Utah and Wyoming.

Frustrated by this lack of progress and dissatisfied with established procedures, many prominent suffragists, especially those affiliated with the Women's Political Union or enthusiastic over Mrs. Pankhurst's Women's Social and Political Union, began to criticize the N.A.W.S.A. policy and advocate a reorientation. Specifically, these critics questioned the wisdom of the N.A.W.S.A.'s futile efforts to win over each individual state. In 1912, Alice Paul, who had been working in England with the Pankhursts, took over the chairmanship of the N.A.W.S.A.'s Congressional Committee. Up until this time, the N.A.W.S.A. had expended very little effort or money to achieve a national constitutional amendment. Miss Paul was intent on reversing this course and pursuing the federal approach to suffrage.

Reflecting the sentiments and strategies of Mrs. Blatch's Women's Political Union, Miss Paul's first major effort was to arrange a suffrage parade in Washington the day of President Wilson's inauguration. The parade turned into a riot; unfriendly spectators assailed the marchers and attempted to block their progress. While this outcome shocked and appalled the N.A.W.S.A.'s executive, Miss Paul was delighted at the public sympathy the fiasco aroused. The following year she established, as an affiliate of the N.A.W.S.A., a national organization devoted to the federal course. However, at the N.A.W.S.A. convention that year, her determination to launch a federal attack on suffrage could not be reconciled with N.A.W.S.A. policy. Miss Paul and her

followers split away from the N.A.W.S.A. and established a separate and autonomous body, dedicated solely to federal action - the Congressional Union.

It must be noted that this split in the national ranks was more than the result of a tactical dispute. Rather, it was rooted in the same sorts of analytical as well as strategic disagreements that had produced the New York Women's Political Union. The critics of the N.A.W.S.A. and its affiliates, some of whom held executive positions within the N.A.W.S.A. structure, were moving towards a rejection of the conservatism, respectability and class bias of these traditional suffrage bodies. They sought in suffrage not only justice and reform but some measure of social freedom for all women and they increasingly sought to effect this change by compelling rather than imploring the established social order to accede to their demands.

Miss Ashley,\* in 1910 both treasurer of the N.A.W.S.A. and a leader in the Women's Political Union, helped articulate this more militant, more caste-based analysis in a series of articles for the 1911 Woman's Journal. She argued that all women, working-class and leisure-class, must be awakened to their common oppression as women. To this end, the movement must drop its middle-class rhetoric and reach the working class. However, women of all classes, she suggested, including the leisure class, are oppressed and they must all be united around their common oppression. She concluded:

All women, of whatever class, must become conscious of their position in the world; all must be made to stand erect and become self-reliant, free human beings....We must be rid of mere ladylikeness, we must succeed in making the oppressed class of women the most urgent in the demand for what we all must have. When we have brought this about, we [women] shall be irresistibly strong. 55

Miss Ashley's analysis, which drew considerable criticism from conservative suffragists, urged a thorough-going re-examination of the status of women. "I refuse to contemplate the ballot through a magnifying-glass, for suffrage is only a part, though an important one, of the world-wide movement for a real democracy and to give to women their true inheritance."<sup>56</sup> Miss Paul's Congressional Union took up this aggressive, woman-as-caste perspective.

In contrast, the N.A.W.S.A. was not inclined to view class differences between women as an important issue. Having essentially dropped its anti-working class rhetoric,<sup>57</sup> the N.A.W.S.A. adopted the self-satisfied stance that class was not a problem in their movement. Mrs. Miller,\* vice president of the N.A.W.S.A. affiliate, the Equal Franchise Society, stated at the 1910 national convention:

It is not the organization, the growth of membership and the spread of theories that makes me confident of success. It is the extraordinary spirit that dominates the women who are working for suffrage, the sense of comradeship and community among them, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, old and young, mothers and daughters....But between women the barriers have been of a more serious type. They have been segregated not only class by class but individual by individual and house by house. Now these barriers too are dissolving.

Women are finding an expression for their sense of comradeship, for their impersonal loyalty to their own sex; they are waking up to the fact that a sense of equality is more thrilling to those who have the right stuff in them than any sense of superiority could ever have been. 58

In brief, by 1913 it was apparent that the suffrage movement was splitting into two separate and increasingly hostile factions. The N.A.W.S.A., the principal (in terms of size) suffrage structure, had established itself as the embodiment of suffrage conservatism. The groups founded by Mrs. Blatch and Miss Paul formally rejected the N.A.W.S.A.'s middle-class respectability and exclusivity and sought instead to develop tactics as well as analyses which were rooted in a more radical perspective. Significantly, the radical organizations received critical support from active upper-class women.

Just as Mrs. Blatch had found leaders amongst the upper class for her iconoclastic Women's Political Union, Miss Paul's breakaway Congressional Union quickly drew upper-class adherents. Louise Havemeyer,\* whose husband was the wealthy head of the American Sugar Refining Company, helped Miss Paul set up the Union. Later, Mrs. Havemeyer played an important role in speaking in behalf of the Union and raising funds for it. She is described by one of the Union's historians as "one of its most eloquent speakers, and generous contributors to its funds."<sup>59</sup> Mrs. Havemeyer was joined by Martha Bruere,\* sister-in-law of Henry Bruere, vice-president of the American Metal Company and of Mina Bruere,\* one of

America's leading women bankers. Mrs. Bruere, a socialist and member of the W.T.U.L., became the vice chairwoman of the Congressional Union.

Alva Belmont,\* former society leader and conservative suffragist, also joined the radical ranks. In the past several years since her initial suffrage involvement in 1908, she had apparently been radicalized through her association with Mrs. Blatch's Political Union. Unlike Mrs. Mackay, who held firm to her conservative approach, Mrs. Belmont came to accept the need for a more militant and outspoken campaign. By 1912, she was a leading figure amongst the radical suffragists, marching in the suffrage parades she once disavowed and pointedly challenging the established order.\*\* Indeed, on one occasion in 1912, Senator Sage, an anti-suffragist, "...quoted Mrs. O.H.P. Belmont as saying that the women of America were going further than their English sisters and would not use rocks but guns, and would shoot".<sup>61</sup> Given this transformation in her political stance, Mrs. Belmont was

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\*\*The research did not uncover any indication as to how Mrs. Belmont's male relatives responded to this radicalization. It would seem that (aside from those significant upper-class men who came out in support of suffrage and marched in the suffrage parades) upper-class men in general took the activities of their female relatives 'in stride'. Cleveland Amory, in his examination of proper Bostonian society, suggests a similar harmonious detachment between upper-class men and women's activities, "One of these merchant-husbands, asked how he felt about the manifold activities of his wife, a well-known reformer of her day, replied that he attended the closer to his own business the more his wife attended to other people's." 60

naturally drawn to the more hard-line Congressional Union and soon was a member of its executive board.

In sum, by 1913 the national suffrage organization was breaking into two separate and relatively autonomous camps. Much the same process occurred at the state level. In 1913, Mrs. Catt (under the aegis of the N.A.W.S.A.) attempted to further her systematic reorganization of the suffrage movement in New York State by uniting all the suffrage groups under a central Campaign Committee. The Women's Political Union, led by Mrs. Blatch, rejected this proposal, disassociated itself from the N.A.W.S.A. and set about pursuing its own policy. Mrs. Rogers\* presented the Union's position and made clear the implicit criticism of the N.A.W.S.A.'s 'conservative' approach:

To those of our members who are worrying over this co-operate idea, we would point out that if in the past four or five years the Women's Political Union in New York City had been bound by a two-thirds vote of a campaign committee, like the one now formed, we would never have had a parade, or an outdoor meeting, or a campaign against certain enemies in the Legislature. 62

In 1915 the Women's Political Union consolidated the radical organizational structure by amalgamating with Miss Paul's Congressional Union.

The radical wing, freed from the constraints of the more conservative N.A.W.S.A., quickly went to work enlivening the suffrage debate. They stepped up their program of parades, rallies and representations to Senate and House Committees. In 1914, following their new policy of holding

the 'party-in-power' (whatever the position of its individual members) responsible for woman's suffrage, they campaigned against President Wilson's party in the federal election. Hoping to convince the Democrats of their political clout, they urged all women in enfranchised states to vote for Wilson's opponent. The suffrage amendment did this year finally come to a vote on the floor of the Senate and House of Representatives, but was defeated.\*\*

In 1915, the Union maintained its efforts to pressure Wilson's party and sent numerous deputations to him and his chief lieutenants. In 1916, another election year, it once again campaigned against the Democrats, this time organized as an alternative political party under the name The Woman's Party.

In these efforts, the radical faction continued to be aided and guided by its upper-class adherents. Mrs. Belmont,\* for example, provided the Union with the benefit of her organizational ability as well as her affluence. In 1914 she brought Christabel Pankhurst to the United States and organized a lecture tour for her. This same year she opened her Newport estate to a Conference of Congressional Union leaders. It was at this crucial meeting that Miss Paul presented, at Mrs. Belmont's behest, the 'party-in-power' theory and program which were to guide the Union's future

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\*\*The arguments of the anti-suffrage forces are discussed below.

activities.<sup>63</sup> In 1916, Mrs. Belmont collaborated with 'society' celebrity Elsa Maxwell in producing a suffrage operetta, starring Marie Dressler. In June of the same year, at the Chicago convention which founded the Woman's Party, Mrs. Belmont, echoing Mrs. Blatch's promise of 500,000 supporters, pledged \$500,000 to the Party.

By this point, Mrs. Belmont was clearly one of the most influential leaders in the movement. Her prestige amongst the radical faction is recorded in the Woman's Party history, Jailed for Freedom: "She was the first suffragist in America to be 'militant' enough to wage a campaign against office-seekers on the issue of woman suffrage. She was roundly denounced by the opposition press, but she held her ground. It is interesting to record that she defeated the first candidate ever campaigned against on this issue."<sup>64</sup> Significantly, her contribution was deemed important beyond simple financial support: "Mrs. Belmont has given hundreds of thousands of dollars to suffrage, both state and national, but she has given greater gifts in her militant spirit, her political sagacity and a marked tactical sense."<sup>65</sup>

Although Mrs. Belmont was to be the most visible upper-class exponent of suffrage militancy, she was not alone. Mrs. Brannan,\* Miss Ashley,\* Mrs. Rogers\* and Mrs. Havemeyer\* continued to support the Women's Political Union and its successors, the Congressional Union and the Woman's Party. Mrs. Blatch described Mrs. Havemeyer\* as "one of our most

successful speakers"<sup>66</sup> for the Congressional Union in its 1915 New York campaign. In 1916, Mrs. Rogers,\* previously active in the leadership of the Women's Political Union, (later chairwoman of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party and the Party's legislative chairwoman for New York State) toured the country on the 'Suffrage Special'. On the 'Special', Mrs. Rogers,\* Mrs. Blatch, along with twenty-one leading suffragists canvassed the west seeking support for the soon-to-be-formed Woman's Party. Later that same year, Mrs. Rogers\* gained momentary notoriety by unfurling a suffrage banner before the President as he addressed Congress. Also in 1916, Mrs. Boissevain\* was touring the country on behalf of suffrage. In California, while on the speakers' platform, she succumbed to exhaustion and collapsed. When she subsequently died,\*\* the Woman's Party proclaimed her a martyr to the cause and held a massive memorial service for her in Washington, D.C.

During the same period, there were, in addition, fresh recruits from the upper class. Vira Whitehouse,\* wife of a prominent New York banker, came out in support of the radical wing. In 1913 she joined with Helen Reid,\* wife of the president of the New York Herald Tribune, in organizing suffrage meetings. In 1914, she participated with other leading suffragists (notably Mrs. Blatch and Mrs. Rogers\*) in

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\*\*Mrs. Boissevain was thirty years old.

presenting the views of the Women's Political Union to the Democratic and Republican Conventions. Also in 1914, Mrs. Whitehouse\* became chairwoman of the Women's Political Union's Seventeenth Senatorial District. According to Mrs. Blatch, "She won many wealthy, influential women over to the cause."<sup>67</sup> In 1915 she was made manager of the Union's New York office. In 1916, apparently dissatisfied with the policy of the Union and that of its successor, the Woman's Party, she left the organization and became chairwoman of the more conservative (N.A.W.S.A. - associated) New York State Women's Suffrage Party.

There were at this same time, however, new recruits from the upper class who did not retreat from the increasing militancy of the radical suffragists. Maud Younger,\* a young heiress whose two sisters had married Austrian barons, became one of Miss Paul's chief lieutenants. Miss Younger, who had been active in the settlement movement in New York City, had in 1911 organized the Wage Earners' Equal Suffrage League in California. Returning to the east in 1912, she quickly became a prominent advocate of the Congressional Union position. It was she, for example, who, as keynote speaker at the 1916 founding of the Woman's Party, set forth the new Party's objectives: "With the foundation of the Woman's Party, a new force marches onto the political field, a new cry rings out in the national campaign. For the first time in a presidential election, voting women are a factor

to be reckoned with....With enough women organized in each state to hold the balance of power, the women's votes may determine the presidency of the United States."<sup>68</sup> Similarly, it was Miss Younger, along with Sara Field, who spoke at the memorial service for Miss Boissevain\* and appealed to the President to act. In addition to these oratorical contributions, Miss Younger headed the National Woman's Party Congressional committee and through it was instrumental in implementing the Party's policy of pressuring the individual members of Congress.

In sum, by 1916 the radical faction of the suffrage movement had essentially dissociated itself from the N.A.W.S.A. and had organized its activities around one central organizational structure - the National Woman's Party. With extensive assistance from upper-class suffragists, it proceeded to pursue a militant and aggressive campaign to achieve suffrage. Casting aside traditional views of gentility, respectability and ladylike behaviour, the Party attempted to use political force - principally, women's votes in enfranchised states, but also public demonstrations, deputations, committee representations and symbolic acts of protest - to coerce a capitulation from the federal government. With these tactics, the radical suffragists succeeded not only in invigorating the suffrage struggle, but also in drawing important support away from the N.A.W.S.A. The national body, however, was not about to collapse; in fact, from 1914 to 1916, it acquired a new life.

The N.A.W.S.A. and its Upper-Class Advocates  
1914 - 1916

In 1914, still flagging under the inadequate leadership of Dr. Shaw, the N.A.W.S.A. had waged suffrage campaigns in seven states and yet won victories in only Montana and Nevada. Once again, the National convention that year witnessed a wholesale turnover of the N.A.W.S.A. executive. However, in New York State, the basis was being laid for a resurgence in the organization. In New York, Mrs. Catt had perfected a comprehensive and orderly state-wide organization. She and her group waged a fierce battle for the 1914 state referendum and when defeated immediately began work for the next vote. It was this efficiency, order and solidarity which was needed on the national level. Finally, in 1915, the N.A.W.S.A. was given its opportunity. Dr. Shaw retired and Mrs. Catt took over as president.

The new leader immediately set about structuring and systematizing the national scene. To accomplish this, she devised 'The Winning Plan'. Under this secret six year strategy, all state leadership was to be subordinated to the national executive and emphasis was to be on the passage of a federal suffrage amendment. In order to ensure passage, suffrage was to be campaigned for in certain critical states, namely one state in the 'anti' East and one state in the 'anti' South. In addition, every effort was to be made to achieve at least primary suffrage in other states.

However, despite this secret advocacy of the Woman's

Party goal, the N.A.W.S.A. stuck to its more tactful procedures. The organization firmly rejected the Woman's Party policy of attacking the party in power and they strongly criticized it for possibly alienating valuable political allies. The N.A.W.S.A. still sought to 'educate' the population and the politicians and to win them over by the simple justice of its cause. Now, it was equipped to pursue this policy in a more systematic and comprehensive fashion.

The N.A.W.S.A. was supported throughout this transformation by its upper-class exponents. Mrs. Laidlaw\* continued to play a key role amongst the national leadership and in fact was urged by Dr. Shaw to succeed her as president of the N.A.W.S.A. Mrs. Laidlaw opted instead to become vice president of the New York State Suffrage Association. Mrs. Villard\* also remained active, touring and speaking for the N.A.W.S.A. Symbolic of her status within the N.A.W.S.A. hierarchy, she was at Dr. Shaw's side when the president made a public statement on her decision to resign. Mrs. Miller\* remained equally prominent; in 1916 she served as chairwoman of the Committee on Resolutions at the N.A.W.S.A. national convention. Similarly, Mrs. Tiffany\* maintained her active support of the movement. At the 1915 convention, she joined Dr. Shaw and other speakers in illuminating the N.A.W.S.A.'s saccharine approach: "How to advance women suffrage by making friends instead of enemies."<sup>69</sup>

There were, of course, fresh additions to the ranks during these years. Mary Dreier,\* (sister of social reformer

and philanthropist, Margaret D. Robins\*) resigned her position on the New York Board of Education and devoted herself full-time to the suffrage cause, serving as chairwoman of the Industrial Section of the New York State Woman's Suffrage Party and chairwoman of the Americanization Committee of the New York State and City Suffrage Party. Eleanor B. Roosevelt,\* daughter-in-law of President Theodore Roosevelt, became a member of the board of the Volunteer League, an organization which sought to draw unaffiliated suffragists into the ranks of the N.A.W.S.A.

Meanwhile, other upper-class supporters provided invaluable financial aid. Just as the Woman's Party owed much to the largesse of Mrs. Belmont,\* the N.A.W.S.A. was helped along by its benefactresses. In 1916 Dorothy W. Straight\* (later Mrs. Elmhirst) donated \$10,000 towards the \$682,500 required for the final New York State campaign; hers was the largest single donation. Mrs. Straight was the daughter of the financier and Secretary of the Navy, William Collins Whitney. Mrs. Straight was active in a variety of social reform movements as well as the suffrage cause. Despite her own privileged position, she agreed with the N.A.W.S.A. stand that class was not an important issue between women. She stated, "The working girl isn't a bit different from the professional woman, or society woman, or the farm woman, or the old-fashioned woman if there ever were such a person."<sup>70</sup>

However, Mrs. Straight's generosity, along with that

of many others, was dwarfed into insignificance by the bequest made by Mrs. Frank Leslie.\*<sup>\*\*</sup> Mrs. Leslie (formerly Miriam Florence Leslie and later the Baroness de Bazus) was the wife of wealthy publisher, Frank Leslie. Although not wholly acceptable to refined society (she was, after all, not only a divorcee, but also the product of a common-law marriage), she was extremely wealthy and gave lavish entertainments for such notables as Cornelius Vanderbilt and Emperor Dom Pedro II of Brazil. In old age, having achieved personal renown as a publisher, Mrs. Leslie was won over to the suffrage cause by Mrs. Catt. As a result, when Mrs. Leslie died in 1916, she left her entire two million dollar estate to Mrs. Catt for the furtherance of woman's suffrage. It was these funds which helped convince Mrs. Catt that she could accomplish her goals as leader of the N.A.W.S.A. and which, as the official history records, "...equipped [her] for carrying the movement to certain victory."<sup>71</sup>

#### 1916-1918 Victory

In 1917, the First World War intruded on the suffrage struggle. The N.A.W.S.A. quickly decided that the best strategy was for its membership to actively support the war effort but at the same time to keep as their first priority the achievement of suffrage. Consequently, the N.A.W.S.A. directed some of its personnel to war work, while focussing the bulk of its energies on the 'Winning Plan'.

Not surprisingly, once again upper-class women

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<sup>\*\*</sup>Mrs. Leslie legally adopted the first name, Frank.

assumed key positions. Mrs. Catt asked Mrs. Tiffany\* to draw up and present to the N.A.W.S.A. convention a plan for an Overseas Hospital in France. Once the plan was approved, Mrs. Tiffany\* was made chairwoman of the hospital committee. Meanwhile, in New York State proper, war work was directed in large part by Mrs. Laidlaw,\* now a member of the N.A.W.S.A. executive, and Caroline F. Slade,\* a relative newcomer. Mrs. Slade, the vice chairwoman of the New York Woman's Suffrage Party, was the wife of a prominent manufacturer and philanthropist.

Hoping to have assured public sympathy with their war efforts, the N.A.W.S.A. kept up its state campaigns for suffrage. Finally, in 1917, it achieved a major breakthrough: suffrage referenda were won in Ohio, Indiana, Rhode Island, Nebraska, Michigan, Arkansas, and, most importantly, New York. With success in New York, the N.A.W.S.A. broke the back of the 'anti' east. Significantly for this research, of the fifteen New York leaders who came to the N.A.W.S.A. convention that year to discuss their victory, five were members of the upper-class research population: Mrs. Laidlaw\* (N.A.W.S.A. executive board member and vice chairwoman of the New York Woman's Suffrage Party), Mrs. Tiffany\* (Assembly District leader), Miss Katherine Blake\* (daughter of pioneer suffragist, Lillie D. Blake\* and chairwoman of the Teachers' Department), Mrs. Reid\* (state treasurer) and Mrs. Whitehouse\* (state president). Having won these major victories, the N.A.W.S.A.

had all but completed Mrs. Catt's 'Winning Plan'.

Meanwhile, the Woman's Party was equally active. Pointedly refusing to collaborate in the war effort, this radical contingent of suffragists escalated their militancy and aggressiveness. On January 10, 1917, irked by President Wilson's continuous refusal to aid the suffrage amendment, the Woman's Party took the unprecedented step of picketing the White House. Despite public uproar, the governmental authorities at first ignored the demonstration. However, as the women persisted in their activities and as their presence at the White House became an increasing embarrassment to the government, the decision was made to arrest the protesters.

The women arrested disputed the legality of their charges, refused to pay any fines and, as a result, were confined at Occoquan Workhouse. There, according to Woman's Party reports, poor food, filthy living conditions and systematic humiliation were employed in a purposive attempt to break the suffragists. In three days, under strong public pressure, the President personally pardoned all the picketers. The women, unrepentant, returned to their picketing and were once again imprisoned.\*\* As this process continued to repeat itself, each side took an increasingly harder line. The government authorities lengthened the sentences they imposed and the women became more strident. In August, pickets paraded with a banner inscribed, "Kaiser Wilson. Have you

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\*\*In one month fifty women were jailed.

forgotten how you sympathized with poor Germans because they were not self-governed? 20,000,000 American women are not self-governed. Take the beam out of your own eye."<sup>72</sup> In a capital enfevered with wartime patriotism these sentiments quickly precipitated a riot. The police, reflecting public opinion of the time, not only refused to intervene on the suffragists' behalf but contributed to the violence against them.

Once again thrown in jail,<sup>73</sup> the suffragists began to make more systematic efforts to arouse public sympathy against the appalling conditions they faced in prison. In this they were to some measure successful. In July, Dudley Field Malone, a close friend of President Wilson and a prominent Democrat, resigned his position as Collector of the Port of New York in protest over the cruel and unjust treatment of the suffragists. The government, however, was not about to relent under this kind of pressure. Instead, it sentenced Woman's Party leader, Miss Paul, to seven months in jail for 'obstructing traffic'. The suffragists responded to the government's relentlessness by undertaking hunger strikes, and the authorities in turn resorted to forced feeding.

In November, faced with increasingly adverse publicity over the mistreatment of the suffragists, the government had all suffrage prisoners unconditionally released from prison. However, this provided only a lull. In the absence of action on the suffrage amendment, the Woman's Party returned to

picketing, mass rallies and public demonstrations. The government returned to its policy of imprisoning the protesters.

In brief, in 1917 and 1918, the Woman's Party demonstrated that it was the most militantly radical suffrage organization in America. The Party engaged in persistent and purposeful civil disobedience; it snubbed prevailing standards for 'feminine' conduct and it openly criticized the justice and legitimacy of the highest echelons of government. Doris Stevens, a leader in the Woman's Party, expressed this bitter hostility to the power structure, "The Administration pinned its faith on jail - that institution of convenience to the oppressor when he is strong in power and his weapons are effective. When the oppressor miscalculates the strength of the oppressed, jail loses its convenience."<sup>74</sup>

While the controversy grew more heated and the struggle more fierce, upper-class women continued to play an active, even decisive, role in the Woman's Party leadership. Foremost was Mrs. Belmont.\* She actively supported the radicalization of the movement. At a mass meeting held in December of 1917, Mrs. Belmont opened the proceedings by proclaiming her faith in Woman's Party policy and strategy:

The suffrage pickets stood at the White House gates for ten months and dramatized the women's agitation for political liberty. Self-respecting and patriotic American women will no longer tolerate a government which denies women the right to govern themselves. A flame of rebellion is abroad among women, and the stupidity and brutality of the government in this revolt have only served to increase its heat. 75

In 1921, Mrs. Belmont attested to her unflagging support

for the Woman's Party by donating the \$146,000 required to establish the Party's national headquarters in Washington, D.C. The membership, in turn, expressed its gratitude for her invaluable support and its respect for her abilities by electing her president of the Party, a position she was to hold until her death in 1933.

Other upper-class women took an even more active role in the Party's militancy. Mrs. Brannan,\* a member of the Party's executive, whose father had been a trusted counsellor to President Lincoln and whose husband was president of the prestigious board of trustees of New York's Bellevue Hospital, was arrested for picketing July 14, 1917, and sentenced to sixty days in Occoquan. Pardoned by the President after three days, she was again arrested November 10, 1917, and sentenced to forty-five days. Her social position won her no differential treatment in prison. In Steven's book, Jailed for Freedom, she describes in an affidavit her abuse at the hands of prison officials:

None of the matrons or women attendants appeared at any time that night. No water was brought to us for washing, no food was offered to us....

I was exhausted by what I had seen and been through, and spent the night in absolute terror of further attack and of what might still be in store for us. I thought of the young girls who were with us and feared for their safety. The guards...acted brutal in the extreme, incited to their brutal conduct towards us....by the superintendent. 76

Similarly, Mrs. Rogers,\* wife of the 'celebrated thyroid expert' and chairwoman of the Advisory Council of the

National Woman's Party, was arrested July 14, 1917, and sentenced to sixty days in Occoquan. She was also pardoned by the President after three days. Undaunted, Mrs. Rogers\* reiterated her support for the National Woman's Party at its December, 1918 convention in Washington, and joined others in burning the President's speeches. Mrs. Rogers\* stated, "We hold this meeting to protest against the denial of liberty to American women....America must live up to its pretensions of Democracy....This meeting is a message to President Wilson. We expect an answer. If it is more words, we will burn them again. The only answer the National Woman's Party will accept is the instant passage of the Amendment in the Senate."<sup>77</sup>

Lastly, Mrs. Havemeyer,\* widow of the powerful head of the American Sugar Refining Company, was arrested February 10, 1919, for taking part in the final watchfire demonstration. At this event, President Wilson was burned in effigy. Mrs. Havemeyer,\* mistress of ceremonies, started to make a statement to the crowd: "We women of America are assembled here today to voice our deep indignation that.... American women are still deprived of a voice in their government at home. We mean to show that the President..."<sup>78</sup> Her statement was foreshortened by the arresting officer.

The evidence indicates that upper-class women were amongst the most active and visible supporters of the most radical faction in the woman's suffrage movement. Indeed, from Miss Stevens' list of the 168 women who were actually imprisoned for National Woman's Party activities, there appears to have

been strong representation from the upper class.\*\* For example, Mrs. Sarah Tarleton Calvin (Minnesota), "member of the famous Tarleton family of Alabama," Julia Emory (Maryland), daughter of Maryland state senator, Lucy Ewing (Chicago), niece of Vice President Adlai Stevenson, Mrs. Matilda Hall Gardener (Washington), daughter of the editor of the Chicago Tribune, Elsie Hill (Connecticut), daughter of the Congressman from Connecticut and Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, daughter of the Secretary of State under President Cleveland were all amongst the prominent women who were arrested and imprisoned.<sup>79</sup>

Significantly, it would seem that the social position of its imprisoned members proved valuable to the National Woman's Party. According to Miss Stevens, much of the personal pressure exerted upon President Wilson to intercede in the mistreatment of the suffragists and to accede to their demands came from the prominent and influential friends and relatives of some of the prisoners. She comments, for example:

Mr. J.A.H. Hopkins went to the White House.  
'How would you like to have your wife sleep  
in a dirty workhouse next to prostitutes?'  
was his direct talk to the President. Again  
the President was 'shocked'. No wonder!  
Mr. and Mrs. Hopkins had been the President's  
dinner guests not very long before, celebrating  
his return to power. They had supported him  
politically and financially in New Jersey.  
Now Mrs. Hopkins had been arrested at his  
gate and thrown into prison. 80

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\*\*These women are not members of the research population since they are not residents of New York City and area.

In August, 1920, the Woman's Party struggle as well as the efforts of the N.A.W.S.A. came to a conclusion with the final ratification of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. More than eighty years of organized effort came to fruition. Due in no small measure to the efforts of upper-class women (and men), women finally won the legal right to vote.

Each suffrage organization had, however, no intention of disappearing. The N.A.W.S.A. set up the League of Women Voters to provide women with a non-partisan political education. In New York State, Mrs. Laidlaw\* was elected chairwoman in 1918. Her work was carried on in the 1920's by a fellow member of the upper class, Narcissa Cox Vanderlip, wife of Frank Vanderlip, president of the National City Bank of New York. Similarly, the National Woman's Party, under the leadership of Mrs. Belmont, and with the help of upper-class activists such as Miss Younger, undertook to promote the controversial Equal Rights Amendment - a piece of legislation designed to eliminate all public discrimination between men and women.\*\*

Both organizations gradually faded into relative obscurity in the course of the next several decades. The approach they had each taken in the suffrage struggle was, however, to have as discussed below, a lasting effect on analyses of women's status in society.

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\*\*The controversy arose in regard to the impact of such an amendment on existing protective legislation for working women.

Upper-Class Women and the Anti-Suffrage Movement

No history of upper-class women's involvement in the suffrage struggle is complete without mention of the central role they played in the anti-suffrage ranks. These anti-suffragists are not only important as a reflection of the most conservative social views of the day, but as the suffrage movement's chief public opposition. As such, their arguments and their criticism did much to direct, and ultimately sedate, the suffrage position. As Schuck notes:

The emotional strength of the feminists' argument for 'inalienable' rights was no match for the entrenched conservatism of their opponents. Anti-suffragists cried that the very core of Victorian ideology - pure womanhood - would be sullied if women received suffrage. In response, suffragists behaved as good Victorians by extolling home and family. 81

According to O'Neill, the first important 'anti' suffrage gesture was made in 1870 when Madeline V. Dahlgren, wife of Admiral Dahlgren, Mrs. William T. Sherman, wife of General William Tecumseh Sherman, and Almira Lincoln Phelps, sister of Emma Willard, presented a fifteen thousand signature petition to Congress urging it not to enfranchise women. There followed a number of minor skirmishes wherein small groups of anti-suffragists, male and female, took public issue with women's enfranchisement. By the 1890's, in recognition of the growing strength and consolidation of the pro-suffrage forces, the anti-suffragists formed their own organizational structures and, despite their smaller numbers,

undertook serious battle with the suffrage advocates.

As might be expected, these efforts to conserve the status quo and safeguard tradition were greeted with strong upper-class support. As Flexner notes, "Almost without exception, the women in these organizations were ladies of means and social positions."<sup>82</sup> Consequently, it is not surprising that a number of women from the research population, although not so many as in the pro-suffrage contingent, were members of and leaders in anti-suffrage organizations.

The initial contribution of the research population was as theorists for the 'anti' movement. In 1894, Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer,\* a member of the socially elite Van Rensselaer family, wrote "Shall We Ask for Suffrage?". In this publication, she proceeded to explain why women should disregard politics and concentrate instead upon their families and educational or intellectual matters. According to Mrs. Van Rensselaer, the public domain was best left to men. As a final fillip, she pointed out that if women were to vote, uneducated lower-class women would be exploited and mislead, thus undermining the justice of the political order. In 1897, Helen Kendrick Johnson\* followed up on Mrs. Van Rensselaer's theme. Mrs. Johnson, the daughter of a prominent educator, set forth her anti-suffrage views in "Woman and the Republic".

In 1899, Mrs. Johnson took on a more active role and journeyed with several other anti-suffragists to Albany in order to testify against a limited suffrage bill. The head

of the deputation, Josephine Murray Dodge\* was a fellow member of the upper class and one who would play an increasingly central role in the efforts of the anti-suffragists. Mrs. Dodge was the daughter of the ex-Postmaster General of the United States and the daughter-in-law of one of New York City's wealthiest merchants and leading philanthropists.

In 1900, Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dodge continued in their role as leading spokswomen for the anti-suffragists. Mrs. Johnson, who had written several anti-suffrage tracts by this time, spoke before the House Judiciary Committee against suffrage. Mrs. Dodge, joined by Mrs. Johnson spoke to the same end before the United States Senate Committee. In the next several years, Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dodge were active exponents of anti-suffrage both in Albany and Washington.

By this time, a strong state organization had been developed to challenge the suffragists and to support speakers such as Mrs. Dodge and Mrs. Johnson at governmental committee hearings. Formed in 1895, the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was ably supported in these endeavours by several prominent upper-class women. Bertha Achelis,\* whose husband was president of American Hard Rubber Company, was for some years vice president of the organization. Alida Hazard,\* a descendant of Eli Whitney, Kathleen Lapham,\* daughter of an influential Canadian theologian and Alice Stimson,\* whose uncle was U.S. Secretary of State, all served on the Association's executive. Finally, Annie Burr Jennings,\* whose uncle was William Rockefeller and whose father was a director

of Standard Oil, was for many years a 'leading member'.

After the turn of the century, as the suffrage cause picked up momentum, the 'anti' movement was forced to expand and coordinate its activities. In 1908, Mrs. Johnson became founder and president of a new anti-suffrage club. The Guidon, although ostensibly for the study of women's social and political relations, was, in fact, a vehicle for propounding anti-suffrage propaganda. In 1911, the anti-suffragists moved onto the national scene and Mrs. Dodge moved to the top of the anti-suffrage ranks. At her home, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was formed and she assumed the presidency, a position she was to occupy until 1917. During these critical years, Mrs. Dodge was also the editor of the anti-suffrage journal, Woman's Protest.

As president and anti-suffrage leader, Mrs. Dodge continued to speak and write against suffrage. In 1914, she appeared before the House Judiciary Committee to counter suffrage presentations. She stated:

We are here to represent the majority of women still quiet but not going to be quiet very much longer....I wish to say that the suffragists who make these threats are not representing the women of the country. It is the women of the country whom we try to represent and we have tried for several years against the noisy, insistent and persistent demands of a group. 83

In 1917, as the focus of the suffrage struggle shifted to Washington, the National Association moved its headquarters to the national capital. Mrs. Dodge stayed on as first vice president of the national organization and chairwoman of the

executive council of the state association. The presidency of the Association fell to Alice Hay Wadsworth,\* daughter of the ex-U.S. Secretary of State and wife of a U.S. Congressman. Mrs. Wadsworth led the final ill-fated efforts to undermine the suffrage movement.

From this brief sketch, it is evident that women from the upper class (aided by a number of powerful male relatives, notably Henry L. Stimson, Elihu Root and President Cleveland) played a decidedly important role in the anti-suffrage campaign. However, this involvement in anti-suffragism cannot be discounted as simply reactionary attempts to safeguard class interests nor can the anti-suffragists be dismissed, as O'Neill suggests, as disordered personalities.<sup>84</sup> There were in actuality a number of issues underlying the anti-suffrage position.

There were, of course, those in the southern United States who considered suffrage a states' rights issue and who opposed any federal intervention. There were, as well, the wealthy liquor interests, who, as was later revealed, covertly provided financial support to anti-suffrage organizations. The liquor interests feared that women voters would bring in temperance legislation. There were those men and women who feared that the enfranchisement of women would jeopardize the entire social structure.

In effect, some exponents of this latter view, rather than being simple-minded reactionaries, based their stand on an advanced and thoughtful conception of the social order.

Perceiving that capitalism, the family and the subordinate status of women were all to some degree interlocked, these individuals feared that a fundamental alteration in women's estate would upset the whole social balance. While opposed to what they perceived as 'revolutionary' change such as suffrage, these anti-suffragists were not necessarily unprogressive. As O'Neill notes, "Many antis were earnest social reformers."<sup>85</sup> For example, Mrs. Johnson was on the board of the Henry Street Settlement, Mrs. Wadsworth was active in hospital work and Mrs. Dodge was a leader in the establishment of day nurseries.

The anti-suffragists did not reject change per se; they rejected 'reckless' change. Some saw in suffrage a possible threat both to social tranquility and to women's position in society. Thoughtful anti-suffragists, such as Ida Tarbell, feared the erosion of American society and of women's distinctive role in it.

Others argued that the presence of women voters would not benefit the social or political order at all and that therefore woman's suffrage was pointless. Finally, there were those who, anticipating the arguments made by modern opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment,<sup>86</sup> feared that women would lose the benefits of special protection under the law. Mrs. Dodge commented that "...the woman worker has had to be protected in her industrial life in order that the state might conserve her value as the woman citizen. Women cannot

be treated exactly as men are, and motherhood, potential or actual, does determine woman's efficiency in industrial and social undertakings."<sup>87</sup>

It was only in the final bitter years of the struggle that the antis adopted a reactionary stance and red-baiting tactics: "In the final stages of the ratification struggle it [The Remonstrance, an anti-suffrage journal] insisted that woman suffrage would lead directly to communism, free love, and the nationalization of women."<sup>88</sup> In charging their opponents with being socialists, pacifists and pro-German, the anti-suffragists unleashed their deep-seated, but ill-founded, fears that suffrage was about to overthrow the social order.

In sum, there is ample evidence which suggests that upper-class women were by and large the motive force behind the anti-suffrage movement both in New York and in the nation. These anti-suffragists were not, as indicated, simple-minded reactionaries nor was their contribution to the suffrage struggle insignificant. Although they were, relative to the suffragists, small in number and while they failed in their principal objective,<sup>89</sup> they articulated and kept alive the conservative analysis of women's role. This perspective continues to this day to affect the dialogue on women's status in society.\*\*

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\*\*Although modern anti-women's rights advocates and the anti-suffragists share a common intellectual position, there is no indication of historical ties linking the two groups.

### 3. The Implications of the Research Population's Involvement in the Women's Rights Movement

#### The Status of Women

The evidence outlined above suggests that during the period from approximately 1880 to 1920, active upper-class women were amongst the leading participants in the struggle over the status of women in American society. They were to be found, for example, amongst the foremost exponents of the strongly conservative anti-suffrage movement, the reform-oriented N.A.W.S.A. and the more radical and iconoclastic National Woman's Party. In each setting, members of the research population appeared exercising direct as well as indirect forms of power - holding executive positions, providing critical financial backing, writing influential treatises and being accorded prestigious roles in organizational proceedings. The question that now remains is what was the significance of this exercise of power in terms of sex caste interests, social class interests and the subsequent evolution of the women's movement.

First, the women's rights movement and, in particular, the suffragists' activities cannot be dismissed<sup>90</sup> (as analysts such as O'Neill seem to suggest) as a misdirected, ineffectual attempt to achieve token reforms. As Ellen Dubois and Eleanor Flexner both note, the bitter opposition to suffrage in itself indicates that this was not seen as a minor or inconsequential issue. "As a matter of fact, the opposition to woman suffrage itself bears witness, in a perverse kind of

way, to its significance; nothing unimportant would have been so bitterly resisted."<sup>91</sup> Although, as discussed below, the suffrage movement failed to raise basic questions regarding woman's role in society, it did have important implications for women. As Dubois points out, relative to the period, relative to the severe restrictions of the Cult of True Womanhood and Victorian morality, suffrage was a radical demand, "By demanding a permanent, public role for women, suffragists began to demolish the absolute, sexually defined barrier marking the public world of men off from the private world of women."<sup>92</sup> She concludes, "Without directly attacking women's position in the private sphere, suffragists touched the nerve of women's subordinate status by contending that women might be something other than wives and mothers."<sup>93</sup>

The suffragists were, after all, attacking a very rigid conception of women's place in society. Elsie de Wolfe\* notes some of the restrictions placed upon upper-class women's actions in the 1890's:

It was much more of a man's world, too, for while there were certain hostesses who were dictators in their own right, women were held down by a rigid code of conventions. No unmarried woman, unless she were engaged to him, could be seen out alone with a man. Girls, old and young, were kept under the guidance and the eye of their chaperones. No 'lady' dined out alone in public with a man unless he were her husband, and not until she had been out for several seasons could she take as much as a glass of wine at dinners or dances. 94

By becoming involved in the woman's rights movement, by bringing to it legitimacy and respectability, upper-class

women helped rid themselves as well as other women of these social restraints. Abby Rockefeller's\* remarks appear to typify the attitudes held by many upper-class women regarding women's greater social freedom: "I am delighted that girls are having a greater chance to express themselves. I love to see the old hypocrisies being shattered."<sup>95</sup>

However, while research population members who were pro-suffrage may have helped to eradicate some 'old-fashioned' notions regarding women's public role, suffrage was not basically a radical movement; it did not challenge the fundamental political, economic or sexual structures of society. Indeed, suffragists accepted and, when necessary, promoted a conservative perspective on a variety of social issues.\*\* The significance of the research population's suffrage involvement must be approached in terms of suffrage's basic conservatism.

#### The Success of Suffrage - The Failure of Feminism

In the 1880's and 90's, as discussed above, the N.A.W.S.A. developed not only into the principal (in terms of size) suffrage organization but also into a thoroughly conservative body. O'Neill remarks that "The conservative spirit which dominated suffragists after the 1870's was,

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\*\*For example, as discussed below, some suffragists were not above adopting very traditional stands on sexuality, racism and nativism when this was useful to the suffrage cause.

therefore, of a very special kind. It accepted certain Victorian stereotypes, rejected radical ideas about the condition of women and gave priority to the vote."<sup>96</sup> The present research suggests that active upper-class women who held leading positions in the suffrage movement helped promote and maintain this conservative orientation.

Lillie Blake\* (president of the New York State N.A.W.S.A., 1879-1890), for example, attacked the radical free love advocates and urged suffragists to accept the primacy of women's familial role.<sup>97</sup> Similarly, upper-class women theorists not only failed to tie suffrage into a broader critique of the social system, they often reflected the most conservative sentiments on other social injustices. Mary Jacobi,\* in her 1894 "Common Sense Applied to Woman Suffrage", made an explicit appeal to nativist and anti-working class fears:

No matter how well born, how intelligent, how highly educated, how virtuous, how rich, how refined, the women of today constitute a political class below that of every man, no matter how base born, how stupid, how ignorant, how vicious, how poverty-stricken, how brutal. The pauper in the almshouse may vote; the lady who devotes her philanthropic thought to making that almshouse habitable may not.... The half-civilized hordes pouring into our country through the open gates of our seaport towns, the Indian if settled in severalty, the negro on the cotton plantation, - all, now, or in a few years, have a vote. But the white woman of purest blood, and who in her person, or that of her mother or grandmother has helped to sustain the courage of the Revolutionary war, to fight the heroic battle of abolition, and to dress the wound of the Rebellion - this woman must keep silence. (Emphasis added.)<sup>98</sup>

Similarly, Florence Kelley\* (although she later recanted)

resorted to racist arguments to advance the cause.<sup>99</sup> Finally, as noted above, suffrage leaders like Mrs. Blake and later Katherine Mackay (Blake)\* and Alva Belmont\* encouraged the N.A.W.S.A. to enlist 'society' women and thus to develop a respectable but also somewhat 'exclusive' aura.

In short, the research population appears to have made important contributions to the conservatism of the N.A.W.S.A. and to its resultant narrow perspective. In so doing, these women may well have been instrumental in ensuring the ultimate success of suffrage (and failure of early feminism). Eliane Silverman points out that the respectability and conservatism of the main suffrage movement may have been one of the principal reasons suffrage was ultimately implemented. She argues that leading politicians and reformers, notably in her analysis Theodore Roosevelt, came to perceive the 'respectable' suffragists and the women social reformers (as discussed previously, many outstanding social reformers of the period were upper-class women and many of these were also ardent suffrage advocates)<sup>101</sup> as a valuable resource in the struggle against increasing social unrest and disorder. Silverman states:

Roosevelt publicly describes his conversion to the suffrage cause in this fashion: 'I grew to believe in Woman Suffrage, not because of associating with women whose chief interest was in Woman Suffrage, but because of finding out that the women from whom I received most aid in endeavoring to grapple with the social and industrial problems of the day were themselves believers in Woman Suffrage'. These women were

politically effective but more than that he conceived them to be women brought up like him and the women he knew intimately....In short, when approving women's suffrage Roosevelt was advocating the restoration of government by his own class and seeking renewal of social control by people like himself. 101

It would seem, therefore, that participation in the conservative wing of the suffrage movement did not involve the research population in basic conflicts with their class interests. Rather, their class-related characteristics - commitment to the status quo and faith in the socio-political order - appear to have been injected into the suffrage fray as a foundation for analyses and strategies. Upper-class attributes - respectability and social prestige - were not challenged but rather served as valuable assets in the winning of public interest, sympathy, and, finally, support.<sup>102</sup> Consequently, active upper-class women seem not only to have played a central part in the achievement of suffrage, but they also appear to have been, at least in part, \*\* responsible for the narrow reformist analysis developed by the N.A.W.S.A. These limitations in the N.A.W.S.A.'s perspective, in turn, helped prevent the early feminist movement from developing much beyond the 1920 enfranchisement of women. As O'Neill explains:

...it should be clear that well before 1917 the woman's movement, while not altogether bankrupt intellectually, had lost its original verve and openness to new ideas. It had, moreover, embraced a code of sexual morality that precluded

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\*\*There were, in addition, social and political factors which contributed to this conservative trend. 103

serious attention to the social context of emancipation and would cost it the full attention and respect of the generation that came of age in the 1920's. But what would in the long run be fatal to the movement was not so much prudery as its inability to ask fundamental questions about itself. Hard-core feminists, having firmly rejected their own radical origins, were, by the turn of the century, too respectable and too certain that women's rights were a simple political matter....(Emphasis added.) 104

#### Radical Feminism

Involvement in the conservative ranks was not the sum total of the research population's activities. There was, as noted previously, an important radical faction in the movement - a faction which challenged the power that be and the socio-political status quo. This group's tumultuous public protests, its unsuccessful attempts to ally with working-class women, its explicit disregard for and criticism of the legal process and its vehement and direct attacks upon the hypocrisy of American democracy, struck at the core of the conservative perspective. As the present research reveals, well-dressed, dignified 'ladies' from the upper class not only participated in, but also on occasion led these affronts to the established order.

It would seem there were active women in the upper class who were prepared to disavow their class interests for the sake of sex caste loyalties. Some, like Jessie Ashley\* and Florence Kelley,\* who were socialists, formally criticized their class, and urged women, regardless of their class origin, to unite around their common oppression as women and to fight

the present social structure. As Sacks comments:

Whom the women's movements perceived as the enemy illuminates the primacy of class lines over sex. In the working-class movement it was clearly the employer. The suffragists saw their enemies mainly as the liquor interests and, to some extent, big-business interests. Only the Woman's Party actually saw the President and much of Congress as real enemies of women. For this breach of class loyalty they got the same treatment as working-class strikers: jail, police brutality, etc. 105

As indicated, leaders from the upper class, like Alva Belmont\* and Louise Havemeyer,\* helped the relatively small, radical movement develop its aggressive and iconoclastic approach to the women's rights struggle.

It must be noted, however, that while upper-class women made significant contributions to the radical suffrage strain, and this no doubt resulted in intra-class dissension, these women do not appear to have abandoned their class or to have been abandoned by it. Mrs. Belmont, for example, while president of the National Woman's Party was listed in the New York Social Register and spent much of her time remodelling a gracious chateau on the French Riviera. Similarly, socialist Mrs. Kelley maintained many upper-class friendships<sup>106</sup> and her son Nicholas was listed in the 1925 New York Social Register, belonged to exclusive upper-class clubs and was a director of the Chrysler Corporation and the Equitable Life Assurance Company. As Lillie Blake's\* biographers note, "If one who is wealthy elected to be radical, society condones the defection from type."<sup>107</sup>

In brief, upper-class women's activities as radical suffragists do not seem to have signified a complete breach of class loyalties. They do suggest that some upper-class women, in the interests of their sex caste, were prepared to criticize the class system and to oppose vehemently the socio-political power structure. These actions, in turn, had important implications for the suffrage controversy and, as discussed below, for the subsequent development of the women's movement. Although it is not clearly the case that the National Woman's Party was responsible, as its historian suggests, for the ultimate achievement of suffrage, radical organizations did reveal the depths of the N.A.W.S.A.'s conservatism (the N.A.W.S.A. quietly accepted the government's violent repression of the Woman's Party protests), the strength of anti-suffrage sentiments and finally, the viability of an alternative, radical orientation to woman-related issues. By providing the necessary financial backing and by bringing, as leaders and spokewomen, their prestige and respectability to this unpopular approach, upper-class women activists appear to have played a crucial part in the etiology of early radical feminism.

#### Long-term Implications

The implications of the research population's suffrage activities do not end with an increase in women's social freedom and the achievement of suffrage. As indicated, active upper-class women contributed in significant ways to both the

conservative and radical wings of the suffrage movement. In so doing, they helped create a basic split in the women's movement ranks - a split between the ladylike, respectable and somewhat exclusive conservative N.A.W.S.A. suffragists and the more radical, iconoclastic National Woman's Party advocates. The dichotomy that they helped to establish has never been resolved and continues to this day to condition the struggle over women's social status.

The conservative orientation has been taken up by the groups Judith Hole and Ellen Levine describe in the Rebirth of Feminism as the women's rights movement. These organizations, notably the National Organization of Women, appear, like their N.A.W.S.A. predecessor, to be primarily concerned with gaining access through legal means to the professional and political world of men and they seem somewhat removed from the plights of unprivileged lower-class women. As Hole and Levine note, this "...branch of the women's movement [is] primarily active in attempting to bring about legislative, economic and educational reforms to eradicate sex discrimination in social institutions. The women most often work through traditional political and legal channels."<sup>108</sup>

Although the National Organization of Women adopted the platform of the once radical National Woman's Party - the Equal Rights Amendment - it has tended to follow in the footsteps of the N.A.W.S.A. It opted, for example, for respectability. As Veronica Geng notes, "NOW wanted publicity

and the illusion of a unified movement without actually having to identify itself with anything or anyone unusual."<sup>109</sup> It appealed to "Conservative and moderate feminists, whose ideology was firmly based on achieving equality by working together with men...."<sup>110</sup> Similar to the N.A.W.S.A., it appeared to be made up of a somewhat exclusive and privileged membership. As Hole and Levine point out, "Some of the younger women viewed NOW (and still do) as part of the 'capitalist establishment' attempting to gain privileges only for middle-class white women...."<sup>111</sup>

In opposition, a radical faction has also grown up which appears in certain important respects to be the contemporary analogue to the National Woman's Party. These groups, which Hole and Levine term women's liberationists, have tended to be more broad-based and more radical in their analyses and tactics. Echoing the sentiments of the National Woman's Party,<sup>112</sup> these women view the sex-role issue as a struggle for power. As Geng explains, women who later became radical feminists were "...deeply affected by The Second Sex, finding in it what they could never have found in Friedan, [NOW leader], because it is not there: a political analysis of the status of women - that is, an analysis in terms of power."<sup>113</sup> Like the National Woman's Party exponents, these women have engaged in aggressive social protests and like early radical feminists, they have attempted to organize women regardless of class lines.<sup>114</sup>

In brief, through their critical support for both the

radical and conservative factions in the suffrage struggle, active upper-class women helped lend credibility to both perspectives and thus helped lay the foundation for a basic dichotomy in the feminist ranks. According to Geng, the resulting dissension between radical and conservative feminists and the division of resources - money, leadership and other personnel - jeopardizes the future of the women's movement.

On the one hand, many radicals, in a desire to disassociate themselves from the conservative wing of the movement have adopted an extremism that undermines the movement's popular appeal:

The Sisterhood Mafia...got organized radical feminism into considerable trouble. They discouraged, sometimes even kicked out, valuable leaders....They urged many women into pseudo-lesbian separatism, not only from men but from the 'patriarchal culture' - thus abandoning most of the ground on which male power can be fought. They congealed the rush of ideas and emotional truth that had given life to their organizations.<sup>115</sup>

On the other hand, many conservatives attacked the radicals as 'female chauvinists' and gave up much of the original critical content of the movement in order to establish a respectable (hence, credible) public image. Geng comments, "Ms. magazine started regular publication that year [1972]. It completed the image-making process by presenting itself as the voice of a unified movement, giving lip service to radical feminism while rarely espousing anything more profound than Wonder Woman as role model."<sup>116</sup> The conservative tactics helped not only to defuse the movement

but to alienate women outside the labour force - many of whom felt that organizations like N.O.W. were relevant only to 'career women'.<sup>117</sup> In sum, the conservative-radical division produced internal conflicts which polarized the movement into two increasingly hostile and rigid camps. Whether or not the movement can ultimately overcome this rupture remains to be seen.

#### Conclusion

The research indicates that active upper-class women were not only involved with but also prominent in the women's rights struggle. Throughout the long history of the suffrage controversy, on both national and local levels and amidst the radicals as well as the conservatives\*\*, these women were amongst the leading exponents and supporters of the movement. As leaders, financial backers, speakers, and writers they were powerful contributors to the shaping of the suffrage issue.

Clearly active upper-class women were moved to address sex caste issues. Their position on these issues varied considerably. Some adopted the kind of conservative stance commonly attributed to the upper class. In particular, the anti-suffragists seemed to be guided by upper-class values and commitments\*\*\*. The pro-suffragists, while reform-oriented

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\*\*Including the anti-suffragists.

\*\*\*For example, the desire to maintain the status quo and to accept decorum and respectability as crucial social values.

and generally more liberal, did not, however, necessarily forsake or even question their class loyalties. For example, the N.A.W.S.A. was, in many respects, tactically and ideologically a conservative organization. Only in the National Woman's Party and its radical forerunners were active upper-class women called upon to choose between upper-class decorum and the woman's cause.

Significantly some women from the research population were prepared to adopt the radical stance and openly rebel against the political-legal establishment. Caught between the requirements of lady-like respectability and their commitment to changing the status of women, these individuals chose to ignore class dictates and opted for sex caste priorities. This did not, however, entail an abrogation of class ties. Some of these radical upper-class women were supported by male members of their class and none seemed to have been prevented from continuing to enjoy the distinctions and prerogatives that derive from membership in the upper class\*\*.

In sum, active upper-class women, guided by social class and, in some important instances, by sex caste loyalties, wielded power in the struggle over the status of women. Their contributions to this field were of socio-historical significance. They played a central role in the enfranchisement of women and

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\*\*For example, membership in upper-class clubs and listing in The Social Register.

in the eradication of Victorian constraints on women's social freedom. Finally, active upper-class women (in particular through the respectability and support they provided for the radical wing of the women's movement) helped to establish a long-standing and thorny split in the feminist ranks - a split between the radical feminists who challenged the social order and its power differential between men and women and the more moderate women's liberationists who accepted many of the existing socio-political parameters and who seemed primarily concerned with gaining entrance for women into the system. This split may, as indicated, imperil the ultimate survival of the modern women's movement.

### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this chapter the discussion of the history of the women's rights movement is drawn primarily from Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (New York: Atheneum, 1972), William O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), Aileen Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement 1890-1920 (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1965), Ida Harper, ed., The History of Woman Suffrage, IV, V, VI, (New York: Arno and the New York Times, 1969). Information on specific individuals' background and activities is derived primarily from the research process detailed previously.

<sup>2</sup> For an expanded discussion of this point, see, for example, Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 23-70.

<sup>3</sup> Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860", in Michael Gordon, ed., The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Puberty to Menopause: The Cycle of Femininity in Nineteenth Century America", in Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner, eds., Clio's Consciousness Raised (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1974), p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> See above. pp. 96-97.

<sup>8</sup> Daniel Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America", in Hartman and Banner, eds., Clio's Consciousness-Raised, pp. 121-22.

<sup>9</sup> Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood", p. 242.

<sup>10</sup> Keith Melder, "Ladies Bountiful: Organized Women's Benevolence in Early 19th-Century America", New York History, XLVIII (July 1967), p. 232.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 238.

<sup>12</sup> As Sophonisba Breckinridge points out in Women in the Twentieth Century (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), p. 1, the exclusion of women delegates from the 1840 World's Anti-Slavery Convention helped propel Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton into the women's rights movement.

- 13 Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 106.
- 14 Ibid., p. 179.
- 15 O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, p. 148.
- 16 Margaret Adams, "The Compassion Trap", in Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, eds., Woman in Sexist Society (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971), p. 558.
- 17 Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 69.
- 18 Karen Sacks, "Class Roots of Feminism", Monthly Review, XXXVII, (February 1976), pp. 30-32.
- 19 Ibid., p. 32.
- 20 Linda Gordon, "Voluntary Motherhood: The Beginnings of Feminist Birth Control Ideas in the United States", in Hartman and Banner, eds., Clio's Consciousness Raised, p. 55.
- 21 Ibid., p. 67.
- 22 Katherine Devereux Blake and Margaret Louise Wallace, Champion of Women The Life of Lillie Devereux Blaks (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1943), p. 74.
- 23 Ibid., p. 154.
- 24 Ibid., p. 159.
- 25 Ibid., p. 178.
- 26 Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, IV, p. 839.
- 27 Blake and Wallace, Champion of Women, p. 80.
- 28 Ibid., p. 94.
- 29 Ibid., p. 103.
- 30 Kraditor, Woman Suffrage Movement, p. 126.
- 31 Victoria Schuck, "Sexism and Scholarship: A Brief Overview of Women, Academia and the Disciplines", Social Science Quarterly, LV (December 1974), p. 571.
- 32 Blake and Wallace, Champion of Women, p. 183.
- 33 Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, IV, p. 850.
- 34 Blake and Wallace, Champion of Women, p. 107.

35 Ibid., p. 201.

36 Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), p. 92.

37 Sacks, "Class Roots of Feminism", p. 41.

38 Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. V, p. 97.

39 Ibid., p. 97.

40 Ibid., pp. 165-66.

41 O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, p. 140, points to the disproportionate contribution made by educated (and presumably well-to-do) women.

42 Notable American Women, 1971, III, p. 41.

43 Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, VI, p. 459.

44 Notable American Women, 1971, III, p. 521.

45 Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 238.

46 Blatch and Lutz, Challenging Years, p. 117.

47 Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, VI, p. 445.

48 Ibid., p. 467.

49 Blatch and Lutz, Challenging Years, p. 118.

50 See, for example, Ibid., pp. 11-12.

51 Ibid., pp. 93-94.

52 Blatch and Lutz, Challenging Years, p. 129.

53 Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, VI, p. 445.

54 See Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 248.

55 Quoted in Kraditor, Woman Suffrage Movement, p. 126.

56 Ibid., p. 137.

57 Ibid., pp. 108-9.

58 Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, V, p. 283.

59 Doris Stevens, Jailed for Freedom (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1949), p. 361.

60 Cleveland Amory, The Proper Bostonians (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company Inc., 1947), p. 103.

61 Stevens, Jailed for Freedom, pp. 167-68.

62 Blatch and Lutz, Challenging Years, p. 208.

63 Stevens, Jailed for Freedom, p. 31 and p. 33.

64 Ibid., p. 31.

65 Ibid., p. 31.

66 Blatch and Lutz, The Challenging Years, p. 233.

67 Ibid., p. 217.

68 Quoted in Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 276.

69 Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, V, p. 450.

70 New York Times, December 16, 1963, p. 50.

71 Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, V, p. xxii.

72 Stevens, Jailed for Freedom, p. 124.

73 Ibid., p. 149.

74 Ibid., p. 98.

75 Quoted in Ibid., p. 246.

76 Ibid., p. 205.

77 Quoted in Ibid., pp. 291-92.

78 Quoted in Ibid., p. 316.

79 Ibid., pp. 354-371.

80 Ibid., p. 110.

81 Schuck, "Sexism and Scholarship", p. 572.

82 Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 296.

83 Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, V, pp. 436-37.

<sup>84</sup> O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, p. 64.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>87</sup> Josephine Dodge, "Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights", Annals, LVI (November 1914), p. 101.

<sup>88</sup> O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, p. 228. See also Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, V, pp. 536-37, for the role of Mrs. Wadsworth\* in these efforts.

<sup>89</sup> Apparently, as a result of these factors, very little detailed research has been done on the anti-suffrage movement. A notable exception is Jane Camhi, "Women Against Women: American Antisuffragism 1880-1920" (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Tufts University, 1973).

<sup>90</sup> It is the thesis of O'Neill's book that early feminism failed. See O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, p. viii.

<sup>91</sup> Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. xii-xiii.

<sup>92</sup> Ellen Dubois, "The Radicalism of the Woman Suffrage Movement: Notes toward the Reconstruction of Nineteenth-Century Feminism", Feminist Studies, III (Fall 1975), p. 65.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>94</sup> Elsie de Wolfe, After All (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935), p. 113.

<sup>95</sup> Quoted by Mary E. Chase, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. 74.

<sup>96</sup> O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, p. 52.

<sup>97</sup> See above, p. 363\*.

<sup>98</sup> Quoted by O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, pp. 75-76.

<sup>99</sup> O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, p. 73.

<sup>100</sup> See, for example, Flexner, Century of Struggle, pp. 204-5.

<sup>101</sup> Eliane Leslau Silverman, "Reform as a Means of Social Control Theodore Roosevelt and Women's Suffrage", Atlantis, II (Fall 1976), p. 30.

<sup>102</sup> See above, p. 380.

103 See Flexner, Century of Struggle, p. 211.

104 O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, p. 47.

105 Sacks, "Class Roots", p. 46.

106 See above p. 239.

107 Blake and Wallace, Champion of Women, p. 78.

108 Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, Rebirth of Feminism (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971), p. ix.

109 Veronica Geng, "Requiem for the Women's Movement", Harpers, CCCLIII (November 1976), p. 54.

110 Hole and Levine, Rebirth of Feminism, p. 91.

111 Ibid., p. 92.

112 See, for example, Kraditor, Women's Suffrage Movement, p. 208n.

113 Geng, "Requiem", p. 52.

114 See, for example, Hole and Levine, Rebirth of Feminism, p. 137.

115 Geng, "Requiem", p. 55.

116 Ibid., p. 56.

117 Ibid., p. 56.

## VII

### CONCLUSIONS

#### 1. Review of Research

The above research is, at base, an inquiry into the nexus between social class and sex caste. The particular social group through which this problem is investigated is upper-class women who were active in New York City between 1880 and 1920. This group at this particular time and place is at an important confluence of class and sex caste developments. The activities of these women and their relationship to the broader socio-historical context reveals the internal workings of powerful class and caste forces.

There have been two general positions on class and caste and their influence on upper-class women.\* One approach, emphasizing the impact of sex caste, suggests that upper-class women's role is narrowly circumscribed by their status as women. Upper-class women, like women in general, are subordinate, impotent and assigned to the relatively frivolous and inconsequential fields of human endeavour. This view is perpetuated, for example, by sociological investigations of the upper class which trivialize or ignore the activities of upper-class women. Recently, certain analyses in the women's

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\*As noted previously, these position are differentiated in terms of the relative emphasis each places on class and caste factors.

studies literature have reinforced this perspective by stressing the pre-eminent influence of sex caste on women's social role.

The opposing orientation - that class is the predominant influence - has been equally persistent. Adherents of this view argue that upper-class women, as members of the upper class, share in the power as well as the privilege of that class. G. William Domhoff in The Higher Circles provides a formal sociological exposition of this perspective.

The present research reopens the basic issues and exposes them to more comprehensive, systematic analysis than has heretofore been the case. Specifically the inquiry addresses three questions: 1. Do active upper-class women exercise power? 2. Is this exercise of power socio-historically significant? 3. Through this exercise of power do active upper-class women seek to advance the interests of their social class or their sex caste? Answering these questions - relative to a particular socio-historical context - illuminates the degree to which and the way in which class and caste analyses capture the realities of upper-class women's existence.

The research results suggest first that upper-class women who were active in the public domain\* did wield power - that is, they held key executive offices, were 'influential' figures or were founders, leaders or benefactors of movements,

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\*As discussed, there was some indication that many upper-class women were publicly active during the research period.

organizations or institutions. Secondly, the accumulated evidence tends to confirm the view that, taken as a whole, the research population's exercise of power was of socio-historical significance - many of the organizations, institutions and movements in which these women exercised power were 'important'.

In social welfare, active upper-class women figured prominently amongst those individuals who modelled the modern welfare state. In education, politics, public morality and the arts, active upper-class women helped - often through projects directed by their male class colleagues as well through their own agencies\* - to promote the rationalization, standardization and bureaucratization of the social order. Lastly, as leaders, supporters and financial backers, they had an importance impact on the struggle for (and against) women's rights.

Although many of the research population's endeavours were directed to local concerns, a significant number of the organizations and institutions they founded, sustained and/or led affected the overall social order - for example, the Y.W.C.A., the American Red Cross, the National Consumer's League, the National American Woman's Suffrage Association and so on. In addition, several of their 'local' efforts had an impact on developments in the larger societal context - for example, the Charity Organization Society, the Bellevue Training School

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\*Active upper-class women's own agencies would include, for example, the Public Education Association, the Women's Trade Union League, the Equal Franchise Society and the early Museum of Modern Art.

for Nurses, the Women's Trade Union League and the Whitney Museum. A number of research members - for example, Grace Dodge, Josephine Lowell, Louisa Schuyler, Lillie Blake and Gertrude Whitney - became national leaders in their respective fields. There is, in short, ample testimony for the significance of the research population's enterprises.

The final element in the inquiry - the sex caste versus social class implications of this exercise of power - is the most complex. There is substantial evidence indicating that many of the research subjects aided on-going projects of the upper class and defended the interests of their class. There are a few notable women\* who disavowed their class and advocated critical or radical political stances. The overwhelming majority, however, appear to have kept to class lines.

This does not mean, of course, that the research population consistently advanced reactionary ideas and institutions. As discussed above, this was a period of social turmoil. Upper-class observers of the day, such as Theodore Roosevelt, recognized that reactionary policies or social retrenchment on the part of the upper class would only exacerbate social unrest and perhaps accelerate the threatening social revolution. Consequently, during the research period many members of the upper class (including, as indicated, upper-class women) were active in progressive efforts to lessen social unrest by attacking municipal corruption and responding

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\*For example, Florence Kelley and Gertrude Barnum.

to the needs of the socially under-privileged. In social welfare, in particular, but also in education, politics and public morality, these upper-class men and women (working both together and separately) made significant contributions to smoothing the harsh edges of the capitalist social structure. They thus helped ensure the continued hegemony of the upper class.

This preoccupation with upper-class projects and interests is not, however, the only or always the outstanding dimension in the research population's undertakings. Interwoven with class concerns is an involvement with sex caste-related organizations and issues. As noted, many of the research population's activities were undertaken through woman-only organizations or were directed specifically to women. In a sense the research population was locked into the woman's world and efforts to expand into male-dominated areas or groups (such as politics) were opposed even by fellow class members. Yet, upper-class women's alliance with other women was not necessarily a negative condition. The Cult of True Womanhood set women apart and held them to be united by their common moral superiority; the suffrage movement encouraged women to view themselves as bound together in a struggle against disenfranchisement and oppression. Evidence suggested that during the research period these ideologies allowed women to come together and to ally with one another - even across class lines - in the settlement houses, in the women's labour movement and so on.

In some of these woman-related or woman-directed ventures members of the research population made noteworthy, direct contributions to improving the status of women. Not only through the support they gave to the suffrage movement but also through, for example, the backing (social as well as financial) they provided for women's educational institutions and the aid they directed to under-privileged women, the research population helped upgrade woman's lot and expand woman's role in the public domain. Although some of these efforts, such as the funding and directing of women's colleges and universities, seemed to reflect a concern for improving the status of upper-class women only, other activities, such as support for women strikers, bespoke a commitment to women that transcended class lines.

It seems that sex caste interests were often an important consideration in active upper-class women's undertakings and that women from this class played a significant, often leading role in advancing woman's estate. These efforts, however, were not basically in conflict with class priorities. Indeed, as indicated, upper-class women's ameliorative activities with women were often an analogue to upper-class men's efforts with men.

The striking exceptions to this basic compatibility of class and sex caste activities are the Woman's Party and, to a lesser degree, the Women's Trade Union League. These organizations took issue with and even attacked the power structure. There were a few leading women from the upper class

who, in the interests of their sex caste, were prepared to ally themselves with these radical ventures and to suffer the consequences - which, for example, was imprisonment for some suffragists. The history of these two organizations during the research period attests to the strength of sex caste loyalties amongst some active upper-class women.

In most instances, however, class ties weathered even these activities. The suffrage leaders, for example, were not expelled from the Colony Club or the Social Register. In turn, only a handful of active upper-class women extended their commitment to suffrage or to the women's labour movement into a condemnation of society or the class structure. In general, involvement with sex-caste issues and women-only organizations did not require or result in a renunciation of upper-class values or position.

## 2. Theoretical Implications

Foremost, the research suggests that social class is in many respects the fundamental determinant of social interests and values. Women of the upper class were, indeed, powerful and they tended to come out in support of organizations and movements which accepted and/or buttressed the existing social order and the hegemony of the upper class. Class power transcended the presumed sex caste barriers and class-dictated values tended to prevail over other considerations.

Sex caste is not, however, irrelevant. Within the parameters established by class values, sex caste influenced

the selection of social concerns and issues. For example, the research population was frequently active in areas which were directly related to the social role of women. Further, sex caste conditioned the organizational structures through which these interests were pursued. Specifically, women-only or woman-related organizations and institutions were popular media for social activism.

Within this general framework, allowance must be made for important exceptions. There were individuals who rejected class values - such as, upper-class women who became avid exponents of socialism. In addition, there were women who identified so strongly with their sex caste that they promoted its interests even when this required criticism of the social order and the ruling class.

In brief, the research suggests that the sex caste perspective, in so far as it tends to suggest that all women, regardless of class, are socially impotent, is incorrect. A strict class analysis is not, however, the complete solution. Clearly upper-class women's social activities and historical role cannot be viewed simply as expressions of class interests and values. Rather, analyses must remain sensitive to an interplay between class and sex caste influences. While class position and its accoutrements\* may provide the basis for exercising power, caste status may frequently direct and condition

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\*For example, important familial and associational ties and distinctive institutional affiliations.

the actual exercise of power - that is, women's issues and women's organizations may be the principal foci of activity. Although sex caste and class interests may, in general, be harmoniously combined, sex caste values may on occasion conflict with an even supersede the dictates of class position. Analyses of upper-class women's socio-historical role must remain sensitive to these internal dynamics.

The second major theoretical implication of the research is the need for refinements in present conceptualizations of the upper class.\* In particular, the inquiry strongly indicates that the family is in a real sense\*\* the foundation of the upper class and that kinship ties are crucial to the integration and perpetuation of the class. More specifically, social domination by the upper class is not expressed solely or even most importantly\*\*\* through the economic power of upper-class men. Rather, upper-class men and women are powerful in a wide variety of fields and their activities in these fields are of direct relevance to the maintenance of the upper class' social position. Approaches to the upper class which discount or ignore the important active role of women would be seriously

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\*Whether or not the research results can be generalized to the contemporary upper class is a crucial topic for future research.

\*\*As discussed in Chapter I, although theorists have accepted this general format, actual inquiries into the upper class have tended to trivialize or ignore the female component of the family.

\*\*\*While economic power may be the ultimate foundation of the upper-class' hegemony, the implementation of power in other areas (notably, cultural domination and social control) may be more central to the day-to-day perpetuation of the upper class' position.

flawed.

Further, there is some indication that upper-class status intersects with sex caste so as to set upper-class women off as a somewhat separate and distinct social entity. While, for example, upper-class clubs and associations remove these women from contact with the lower classes, women's organizations and clubs set them apart from upper-class men. It seems that as a result upper-class women experience a certain measure of group consciousness and solidarity - a solidarity which is expressed through the aid and co-operation they provide to one another in certain projects. It would follow that the upper class should be conceptualized not only as incorporating a male and female contingent but as encompassing male and female components which in terms of interests and organizational structures are somewhat autonomous.

Finally, the success of the research in uncovering extensive evidence regarding upper-class women's power reaffirms the need for sociologists to abandon their masculine cosmology. When power is approached, for example, in terms of force and struggle it is inclined to ignore the female social dimension. As documented here, such a perspective may bypass important phenomena. By expanding the conception of power it becomes easier to investigate the important role upper-class women play.

### 3. Prospects for Future Research

The present study opens a number of avenues for future

research. In particular, it would be desirable to duplicate this kind of inquiry using different classes of women, other historical periods or women from different countries.\* It is possible that other, less tightly organized social classes would reveal a different relationship between social class and sex caste. Similarly, research in another historical period might provide differing results. For example, the research population's preoccupation with sex-caste issues and women's organizations may have been largely produced by the Victorian Cult of True Womanhood. Or, upper-class women's social activism and power may have been peculiar to this period of serious threats to the upper class.\*\* Comparative historical and cross-cultural research would disclose any such historical and cultural relations and help uncover patterns of change and development.

Secondly, an in-depth investigation of upper-class women's role in one specific woman-related organization or movement - for example, the Birth Control League - could further refine formulations on class and sex caste. By tracing upper-class women's involvement in the etiology of a particular

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\*As noted above, such research would face very difficult methodological problems.

\*\*It may be found, for example, that during the Progressive Era upper-class women and men established the basic social mechanisms required to maintain their class' social position. Once set in motion these mechanisms - values, organizations, institutions and so forth - were in a sense self-perpetuating. The day-to-day direction could be left, for example to the state. Upper-class men and women would be freed to pursue other activities.

organization it would be possible to determine more clearly to what degree, in what manner and through what tactics these women influenced the organization's development. Such evidence could shed additional light, for example, on whether or not upper-class women tended to consistently reject or undermine politically radical analyses and tactics. Further, it might indicate the relative role upper-class women played with respect to women from other classes, for example, were middle-class or lower-class women equally (or even more) powerful agents in the organizational structure?

Finally, it would be of particular relevance to class and caste analysis if researchers examined the internal dynamics of the upper class. Specifically, it would be useful to know whether or not or in what way upper-class men and women tended to co-ordinate their public activities. There was some indication in the present research that men and women of the upper class not only occasionally worked together but also supported one another's enterprises.\* Possibly in some circumstances, sex caste lines were routinely subordinated to class interests and loyalties. Future research could clarify these and related issues.

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\*For example, upper-class men came out in support of upper-class women's suffrage activities.

Appendix A\*Upper-class Clubs

Apawamis Club	Metropolitan Club
Ardsley Club	Military Order of Foreign Wars
Army and Navy Club of America	Military Order Loyal Legion of the U.S.
Authors Club	Military Society of War of 1812
Automobile Club of America	Morris County Golf Club
Badminton Club	Morristown Club
Baltusrol Golf Club	Nassau Country Club
Barnard Club	National Arts Club
The Brook	National Golf Links of America
Calumet Club	New York Club
Century Association	New York Yacht Club
Church Club	Oakland Golf Club
Church League Club	The Pilgrims of the United States
City Club	Piping Rock Club
City Midday Club	The Players
Colonial Dames of America	Princeton Club
Colonial Dames of the State of New York	Racquet and Tennis Club
Colonial Lords of Manors in America	Richmond County Country Club
Colony Club	Rockaway Hunting Club
Columbia University Club	Rumson Country Club
Cosmopolitan Club	St. Andrew's Golf Club
Daughters of Holland Dames	St. Anthony Club
Down Town Association	St. Nicholas Club
Engineers' Club	St. Nicholas Society
Essex Club	Seawanahaka Corinthia Yacht Club
Essex Co. Country Club	Sleepy Hollow Country Club
Essex Fox Hounds	Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York
Fencers Club	Society of the Cincinnati of New York
Garden City Golf Club	Society of the Daughters of the Cincinnati
Grolier Club	Sons of the Revolution
Hamilton Club	South Side Sportsmen's Club
Harvard Club	Turf and Field Club
Holland Society of New York	Tuxedo Club
Hugenot Society of America	Union Club
India House	Union League Club
Jekyl Island Club	United States Golf Association
Junior League	University Club
Knickerbocker Club	Westminster Kennel Club
Knollwood Country Club	Whippany River Club
Larchmont Yacht Club	Whist Club
The Links	Williams Club
Links Golf Club	Women's Chess Club
Lotos Club	Yale Club
Manhattan Club	York Club
Meadow Brook Club	
Merchants' Club	

\*Original list from Social Register New York 1925  
 (New York City: Social Register Association, 1924), p. 2.  
Note: No distinction is made between men's clubs, mixed clubs  
 and women's clubs.

Appendix B

Women included in research population although they meet only two criteria for upper-class status:

- |                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Sophie Goodhart<br>(Jewish)      | Described by Stephen Birmingham as a very important Jewish family, husband President of New York Stock Exchange.  |
| Sarah Ollesheimer<br>(Jewish)    | Husband Vice President of the Chase National Bank and Director of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.  |
| Emma Schwab                      | Poor origins but husband acquired great wealth. Brother President of Carnegie Steel Company, Husband President of U.S. Steel and a Director of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.     |
| Beatrice Stein<br>(Jewish)       | Father and brothers distinguished bankers, husband prominent banker and philanthropist.   |
| Louise Waterman Wise<br>(Jewish) | Educated at private finishing school, father prominent rabbi and successful businessman, uncle one of first professors at Yale University, husband prominent rabbi and leading Zionist. |

Appendix C

Social Register listings of divorced or separated research population members:

Alva Belmont	SR 25 (personally listed) divorced 1895
Katherine Blake	SR 25 (personally listed) divorced after 1913
Eleanor Campbell	SR 25 (personally listed) divorced after 1918
Helen Campbell	not listed SR 25 divorced before 1918
Julie Chanler	SR 25 (personally listed) divorced 1921
Helen Jenkins	SR 25 (personally listed) separated after 1892
Florence Kelley	SR 25 (son listed) separated 1891
Amanda Lauterbach	SR 25 (personally listed) separated n.d.
Miriam Leslie	not listed SR 25 divorced 1873
Barbara Nichols	SR 25 (relative listed) divorced 1924
Blair Niles	SR 25 (relative listed) divorced
Gertrude Pinchot	SR 25 (personally listed) divorced 1918
Grace Rogers	SR 25 (personally listed) divorced 1918
Grace Seton	SR 25 (personally listed) divorced
Emmeline Spencer	SR 25 (personally listed) divorced
Rose Stokes	SR 25 (relative listed) divorced 1925

Blanche Tweed	SR 25 (relative listed) divorced 1918, 1928, 1942
Princess Troubetzkoy	SR 25 (personally listed) divorced or separated
Caroline Wittpenn	SR 25 (personally listed) divorced 1895

Appendix DBusiness Activities of  
Research Population

Activity	Individual(s) Involved	Position(s)
The American Hebrew	Minnie Louis	Editor of Personal Service 1901-03
American Woman's Realty Corp.	Anne Morgan	Vice President
The American Woman's Journal (anti- suffrage overtones)	Helen K. Johnson	Editor
Art Center Inc.	Helen Hitchcock	Founder, President
A. T. & T.	Pauline Goldmark	Employee 1921-39
Central Hanover Bank	Mina Bruere	Assistant Secretary
Chase National Bank Park Avenue Branch	Anne Morgan	Member of Advisory Board
John Lewis Childs Inc.	Caroline Childs	President
Dancing studios for fashionable classes	Elsie de Wolfe Marion Fish Blanche Delrichs Elisabeth Marbury Anne Cockran	Joint project of these individuals and several others
Eastern Livestock Co-op Marketing Association	Mary H. Rumsey	Helped to organize it
The First National Bank, Brooksville	Margaret Robins	Vice President
Harper's Bazaar Magazine	Elizabeth Jordan	Editor 1900-13 Literary Advisor 1913-18

Hartley Trust Corporation	Helen Jenkins	Established it in 1921
J. and R. Lamb Studios	Ella Lamb	Chairman of Board
Leslie's Weekly	Miriam (Frank) Leslie	Owner and Editor
Mayflower Publishing Company	Caroline Childs	
The Nation	Fanny Villard	Owner 1881-1917
The New Republic (political overtones)	Dorothy Elmhirst	Founder
New York Evening Post	Fanny Villard	Owner 1881-1917
New York Herald Tribune	Elisabeth Reid Helen Reid	Active Treasurer, 1922-47, President, 1947-53, Chairman of the Board, 1935-1955
Osborne, Lam and Garvin Inez Boissevain		Criminal and divorce lawyer
Romance Magazine	Kate Clark	Editor 1892-94
Rye Trust Magazine	Caroline O'Day	
Sheppard Company, NYC	Helen Plimpton	Founder and Owner
Unionville Lake Company	Florence Fitch	Founder
Val Kill Furniture Shop (social welfare overtones)	Caroline O'Day A. Eleanor Roosevelt	Vice President Founder 1924
Washington Post Newspaper	Agnes Meyer	Vice President 1933 Part owner 1935
Woman's Tea Company (social welfare overtones)	Ellen Demorest	Founder

Appendix EProfessional Associations of  
Research Population

Association	Individual(s)	Position
American Anthropological Association	Elsie Parsons	President 1940-41
American Association of Social Workers	Emily Dinwiddie Pauline Goldmark	
American Ethnological Association	Elsie Parsons	President 1923-25
American Folklore Society	Natalie Curtis Elsie Parsons	President 1918-20
American Forestry Association	Clara Smith	
American Institute of Architecture	Alva Belmont	
American Institute of Homopathy	Eleanor Campbell	
American Medical Association	Emily Barringer Rosalie Morton	
American Nurses Association	Julia Stimson	President
American School of Archaeological Research	Alice Jackson	
American Society of Miniature Painters	Lucia F. Fuller	Vice President
American Women's Medical Association	Emily Barringer	President 1941-42
Anthropological Association	Alice Jackson	
Archaeological Institute of America	Emily Putnam	

Associated Artists	Candace Wheeler	Founder
Association of Bank Women	Mina Bruere	President 1928-30
Association of Women Painters and Sculptors	Gertrude Whitney	
Association of Women Principals of New York City	Katherine Blake	Vice President
Authors League of America	Helen G. Adler Harriet I. Backus Helen G. Brown Martha Bruere Rachel Crothers Dorothy Elmhirst Elizabeth Jordan Adele Lehman Annie Meyer Maud Nathan Blair Niles Emily Putnam Grace Seton Florentine Sutro Princess Troubetzkoy Blanche Wagstaff Gertrude Whitney	
Classical Association of the Atlantic States	Virginia Gildersleeve Emily Putnam	
Dramatists' Guild	Annie Meyer Princess Troubetzkoy	
International Conclave of Women Writers	Grace Seton	
International Society of Women Geographers	Grace Seton	
League (National) of American Pen Women	Rosalie Morton Grace Seton Blanche Wagstaff	New York delegate President 1926-28
Medical Society of County of New York	Mary Jacobi Rosalie Morton	Member of Committee on Public Health Education 1909-13

Medical Women's National Rosalie Morton  
and International  
Association

National Association of Lydia Emmet  
Portrait Painters

National Association of Annie Meyer  
Professional Women

National Association of Constance Curtis Vice President  
Women Painters and  
Sculptors

National Society of Ella C. Lamb  
Mural Painters

National Association of Constance Curtis  
Women Artists

National Society of Katherine Larkin Vice President  
Women Artists

National Society of Grace Seton Member of  
Women Geographers Organizing  
Committee

New York Academy of Rosalie Morton Fellow  
Medicine

New York Bar Jessie Ashley Private quizzer  
Association for  
Association

New York County Lawyer Jessie Ashley

New York County Medical Emily Barringer  
Society Eleanor Campbell  
Rosalie Morton

New York State Medical Emily Barringer Member of House  
Society Elizabeth Jordan  
of Delegates

P.E.N. Martha Bruere  
Rachel Crothers  
Elizabeth Jordan  
Blair Niles

Poetry Society of Maud Hadden

Society of American Authors	Florence Sutro	
Society of American Dramatists (and Composers)	Rachel Crothers	
The Society of Women Geographers	Elizabeth Jordan	
	Agnes Meyer	
	Lucy Mitchell	
	Blair Niles	A Founder
State Medical Association	Mary Jacobi	First Delegate
Women's Medical Society of New York State	Emily Barringer	President 1918
	Rosalie Morton	President 1927-28

Number of Professional Associations Pertaining to:

Medicine	11
Art	16
Science	9
Miscellaneous	<u>9</u>
Total	45

Appendix FInnovative Actions of  
Research Population

Individual (N=32)	Activity
Emily Barringer	First woman to receive a diploma of internship at Bellevue Hospital
	First woman to serve on staff of a general municipal hospital
Eleanor Belmont	First woman to serve on Metropolitan Opera Association
Katherine Blake	First woman treasurer of the National Education Association
Lillie Blake	First woman to demand that women be allowed to attend Columbia University
Inez Boissevain	First American woman to parade the streets of London carrying the Votes for Women banner and headed first suffrage parades in New York City
Agnes Cromwell	First woman appointed to the New Jersey State Board of Education
	First woman to serve on the New Jersey State Hospital Board
Elsie de Wolfe	One of first women to fly in an airplane
Sophie Dey	One of first women to register in New York State as a voter in 1920
Sarah Doremus	1860 helped found Woman's Union Missionary Society, first organization of women to Christianize heathen women
	1854 helped establish Nursery and Child's Hospital, the first of its kind to provide day care

	Helped found the Woman's Hospital, the first founded to treat diseases peculiar to women
Helen Draper	Only woman delegate at the 1920 General Council of League of Red Cross Societies
Mary Glenn	Second woman elected President of National Conference of Charities and Correction 1915
Florence Harriman	Only woman member of the Walsh Committee
Mary Jacobi	First woman admitted to Ecole de Medecin
	Second woman member of Medical Society of County of New York
Florence Kelley	First woman in country to be appointed Chief Inspector of Factories (Illinois) 1893
Ella Kindred	Although she never practised law, she was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of U.S.
Agnes Meyer	First woman reporter for <u>New York</u> <u>Morning Sun</u>
Annie Meyer	Member of first graduating class at Barnard College
	First woman to play tennis in New York park
Lucy Mitchell	First woman faculty member at University of California at Berkeley
	First Dean of Women at University of California at Berkeley
Rosalie Morton	First woman appointed to the teaching staff of the medical school of Columbia University 1915
	First hospital in any country to be named after a woman was named after her

Amelie Troubetzkoy  
(Princess)

One of the first American authors  
to be influenced by the advances in  
psychiatry during the late nineteenth  
and early twentieth century

Blanche Wagstaff

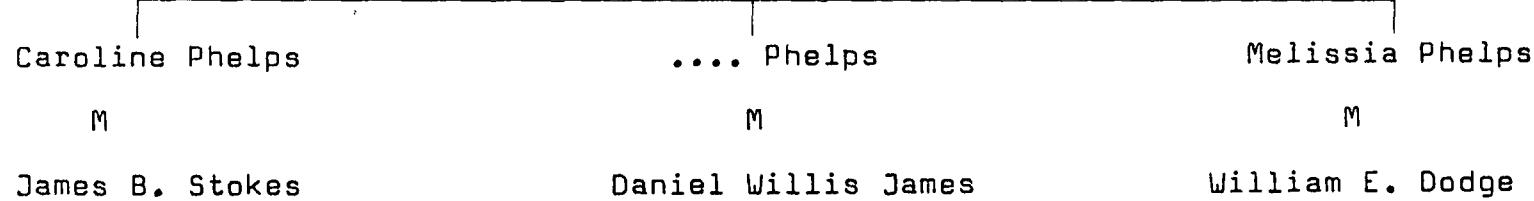
Edited first poetry magazine in  
America

Appendix G\*

Detailed Outline of Dodge-James-Phelps-Stokes  
Kinship Network

a) Founding Families

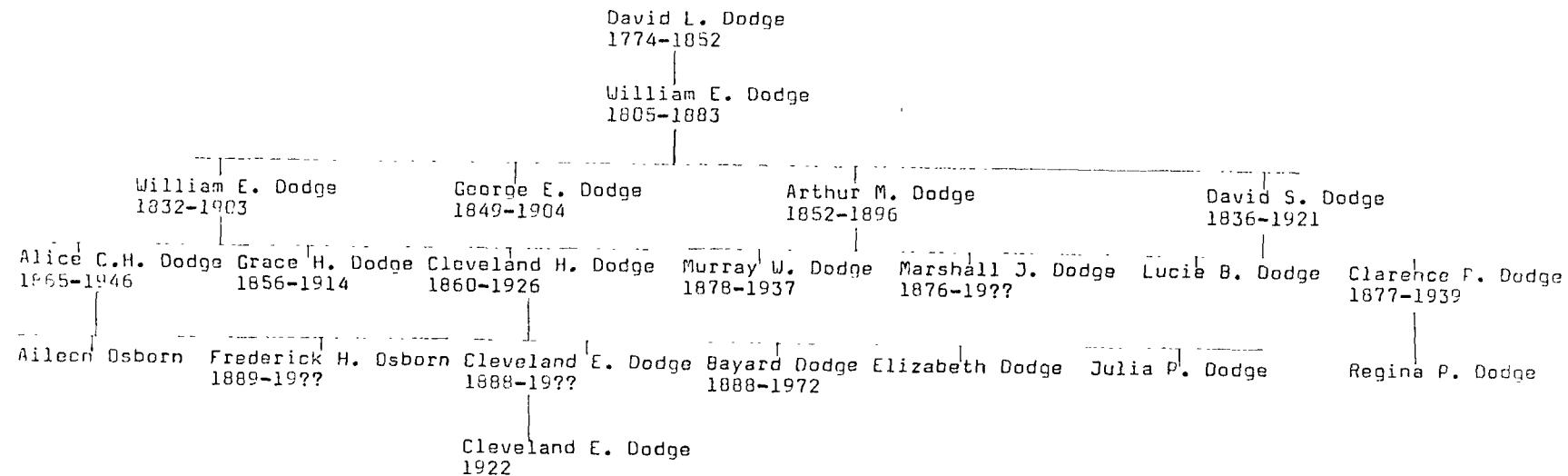
Anson Green Phelps 1871-1853



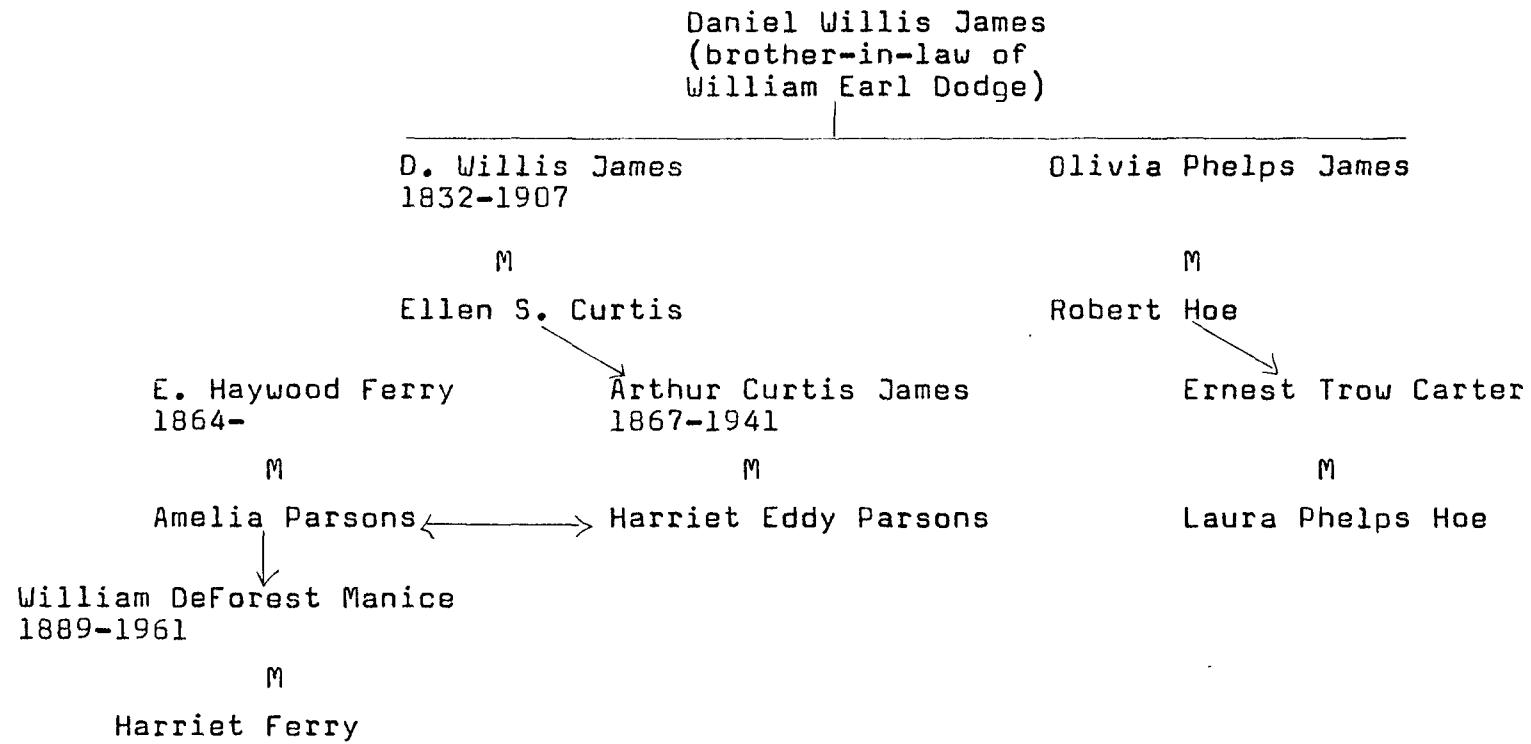
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\*Based on private communication from Dr. Dusky L. Smith, Department of Sociology, McMaster University.

b) 'Dodge' Branch



c) 'James' Branch



d) 'Stokes' Branch

James B. Stokes  
180?-

Anson P. Stokes Caroline P. Stokes James B. Stokes Olivia P. Stokes William Earl Dodge Stokes  
1838-1913 1854-1909 184?- 1847-1927 1852-1926

Anson P. Stokes Ethel P. Stokes Helen P. Stokes I.N.P. Stokes James G.P. Stokes Harold P. Stokes Caroline P. Stokes  
1874-1958 1876-1952 1867-1944 1872-1960 1887- 1896-

Anson P. Stokes I.N.P. Stokes Olivia P. Stokes Helen P. Stokes  
1905 1906- 1906-

N.P.S. Merrill  
1939-

Appendix H\*

Detailed Listing of Directorships\*\* Held by  
Dodge-James-Phelps-Stokes Family Members in  
Social Welfare and Cultural Organizations

↓  
Daniel Willis James

Daniel Willis James 1832-1907  
Amherst University  
Metropolitan Museum of Art

↓  
Arthur Curtis James  
Amherst University  
Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Union Theological Seminary  
New York Public Library

↓  
E. Haywood Ferry 1864-1940  
New York Eye and Ear Infirmary  
United Hospital Fund

↓  
William DeForest Manice 1889-1961  
St. Nicholas Society, secretary  
Metropolitan Opera Association  
New York Zoological Society  
Christodora House  
St. Thomas Protestant Episcopal Church  
Church of the Advent

Robert Hoe 1839-1909  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, co-founder  
Groller Club, co-founder  
Union League, member

---

David L. Dodge 1774-1852  
New York Peace Society  
American Peace Society  
New York Bible Society, co-founder

↓  
William E. Dodge 1805-1883  
American University of Beirut, co-founder  
YMCA  
National Temperance Society

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\*Based on private communication from Dr. Dusky L. Smith, Department of Sociology, McMaster University.

\*\*Unless otherwise specified.

William E. Dodge 1832-1903  
 YMCA, president  
 ↓  
 Cleveland H. Dodge 1860-1926  
 YMCA  
 National Institute of Social Science  
 Russell Sage Foundation  
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
 American Committee, Near East Relief  
 New York Public Library  
 Princeton  
 United War Work Fund  
 ↓  
 Cleveland E. Dodge 1888-  
 Columbia University  
 Princeton University  
 Columbia Teachers College  
 Laura S. Rockefeller Foundation  
 International House  
 Grant Foundation  
 American Museum of Natural History  
 Protestant Council of the City of New York  
 Cleveland H. Dodge Foundation  
 Woodrow Wilson Foundation  
 James Stokes Foundation  
 Grant Memorial Association  
 ↓  
 Cleveland E. Dodge 1922-  
 Cleveland H. Dodge Foundation

---

David L. Dodge 1774-1852  
 ↓  
 William E. Dodge 1805-1883  
 ↓  
 Reverend David S. Dodge 1836-1921  
 Home Missions of Presbyterian Church  
 1899-1921  
 American University of Beirut

M

Flora Bigelow (whose father was editor  
 of the New York Evening Post 1849-1861)  
 American Arts and Letters  
 New York Public Library  
 Astor Foundation  
 Lenox Foundation  
 Tilden Foundation

U.S. Ambassador to France 1864-67,  
 appointed by President Lincoln  
 Secretary of State of New York, 1875-77  
 Co-owner of New York Post with William  
 Cullen Bryant  
 His granddaughter married the U.S.  
 Ambassador to Portugal.  
 Another granddaughter married J.P. Morgan Jr.  
 ↓

Clarence Phelps Dodge 1877-1939  
 Colorado Springs Gazette, publisher  
 American University of Beirut  
 Brookings Institute  
 Institute of Criminal Science  
 National War Work Council  
 National Committee for Social Education  
 George Washington Parkway Fund  
 Community Chest of Washington D.C.

M

Regina Lunt  
 YMCA, chairperson of finance committee  
 Civic League  
 ↓  
 Regina Phelps Dodge

M

Charles William Eliot (grandson of Charles  
 William Eliot, president of Harvard  
 1869-1909)

---

David L. Dodge 1774-1852  
 ↓  
 William E. Dodge 1805-1883  
 ↓  
 Reverend S. Dodge 1836-1821  
 ↓  
 Lucie B. Dodge  
 Endowed a professorship in Music at Harvard  
 Established the Walter and Lucie Rosen  
 Foundation

---

David L. Dodge 1774-1852  
 ↓  
 William E. Dodge 1805-1883  
 ↓  
 William E. Dodge 1832-1903  
 ↓  
 Grace Hoadley Dodge 1860-1926  
 Columbia Teachers College, co-founder

New York City Board of Education  
YWCA, president  
Working Girls Society  
City College of New York, vice president

---

David L. Dodge 1774-1852  
↓  
William E. Dodge 1805-1883  
↓  
William E. Dodge 1832-1903  
↓  
Alice C. Hoadley Dodge 1865-1946

M

William C. Osborn 1862-1951  
Princeton University  
Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Children's Aid Society  
Hudson River Conservation Society  
↓  
Aileen Osborn

M

Vanderbilt Webb 1891-1956  
Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Williamsburg Restoration  
Groton  
American University of Beirut  
Frick Art Collection  
YMCA

---

David L. Dodge 1774-1852  
↓  
William E. Dodge 1805-1883  
↓  
William E. Dodge 1832-1903  
↓  
Alice C. Hoadley Dodge 1865-1946  
↓  
Frederick H. Osborn 1889-  
Carnegie Foundation  
American Museum of Natural History  
(his uncle was president)  
International House  
Research Corporation  
Princeton University  
Lingnan University of China, chairman  
National Health Council

Palisades Interstate Park Commission  
Population Association of America  
American Eugenic Society  
Eugenics Research Association  
Council on Population Policy  
Rockefeller University  
Milbank Foundation

---

David L. Dodge 1774-1852  
↓  
William E. Dodge 1805-1883  
↓  
William E. Dodge 1832-1903  
↓  
Cleveland H. Dodge 1860-1926  
↓  
Bayard Dodge 1888-1972  
(twin of Cleveland E.)  
American University of Cairo  
Near East Relief  
American University of Beirut, president  
1913-1948

M

May Bliss, daughter of Reverend Dr. Howard S. Bliss (former president of the American University of Beirut) granddaughter of Reverend Daniel Bliss (former president and co-founder with William E. Dodge 1805-1883 of the American University in Beirut)

---

David L. Dodge 1774-1852  
↓  
William E. Dodge 1805-1883  
↓  
William E. Dodge 1832-1903  
↓  
Cleveland H. Dodge 1860-1926  
↓  
Julia P. Dodge

M

James C. Rea 1882-  
Princeton University  
Oitcarian Crabbe Foundation  
Western Pennsylvania Hospital  
Carnegie Institute of Technology

Carnegie Foundation  
Shady Side Academy  
↓  
William H. Rea 1912-  
University of Pittsburgh  
Buhl Foundation  
Princeton University  
American University of Beirut

---

Thomas Stokes  
American Tract Society  
American Bible Society  
American Peace Society  
London Missionary Society, co-founder  
↓  
James B. Stokes  
Descendent of three colonial governors  
Association for Improving the Conditions  
of the Poor  
↓  
Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1913  
Reform Club, co-founder  
American Social Science Association  
American Bible Society  
YMCA  
Civil Service Reform Association  
National Association of Anti Imperialist  
Clubs  
Free Trade League  
↓  
Anson Phelps Stokes 1874-1958  
Protestant Episcopal Church, deacon  
Yale, secretary 1899-1921  
St. Pauls Protestant Episcopal Church,  
priest 1900-1918  
Phelps Stokes Foundation  
Yale-in-China, founder  
Rockefeller Foundation  
General Education Board  
Tuskegee Institute  
St. Pauls Church  
International Education Board  
Alley Dwelling Authority, Washington D.C.,  
appointed by President Roosevelt as organizer  
↓  
Anson Phelps Stokes 1905-  
Protestant Episcopal Church, deacon and  
priest 1933-  
Bishop of Massachusetts 1956-1970  
Phelps Stokes Foundation

Thomas Stokes  
 ↓  
 James B. Stokes  
 ↓  
 Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1913  
 ↓  
 Caroline M. Phelps Stokes

M

Robert Hunter 1874-1942  
 Chicago Bureau of Charities, organizing  
 secretary 1896-1902  
 City Home Association, chairman of  
 investigating committee, Chicago  
 Municipal Lodging House, Chicago  
 Small Parks Commission, Chicago  
 Hull House, president 1899-1902  
 Committee for Abolition of Child Labor,  
 New York 1902-1906  
 Toynbee Hall, London, England 1899 (summer)  
 University Settlement, New York headworker,  
 1902  
 Professor of Sociology, University of  
 California 1918-1922  
 Author: Poverty, 1904; Violence and the  
Labor Movement 1906; Socialists At Work  
1908; Revolution 1940;

Thomas Stokes  
 ↓  
 James B. Stokes  
 ↓  
 Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1913  
 ↓  
 Ethel Phelps Stokes 1876-1952

M

John Sherman Hoyt 1869-1954  
 (nephew of General William Tecumseh Sherman)  
 Boy Scouts of America, co-founder  
 YMCA, executive committee  
 Babies Hospital  
 Christodora House, president  
 United Hospitals Fund  
 Phelps Stokes Fund

Thomas Stokes  
 ↓  
 James B. Stokes  
 ↓  
 Anson Phelps Stokes 1938-1913  
 ↓  
 Helen Olivia Phelps Stokes 1869-  
 American Civil Liberties Union  
 Women's Trade Union League  
 Rivington Neighborhood Association (also,  
 donated two buildings on lower East side)

---

Thomas Stokes  
 ↓  
 James B. Stokes  
 ↓  
 Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1913  
 ↓  
 Anson Phelps Stokes 1874-1958  
 ↓  
 Helen Phelps Stokes

M

Edwin K. Merrill 1902-1963  
 Phelps Stokes Fund  
 Childrens Aid Society

---

Thomas Stokes  
 ↓  
 James B. Stokes 180?-19??  
 ↓  
 Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1913  
 ↓  
 Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes 1867-1944  
 New York Historical Society  
 Community Service & Society  
 Committee of New Buildings  
 New York State Housing Commission 1901  
 (appointed by Governor Teddy Roosevelt)  
 New York Arts Commission

---

Thomas Stokes  
 ↓  
 James B. Stokes  
 ↓  
 Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1913

Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes 1867-1944

M

Edith Minturn 1868-  
 Charity Organizing Society  
 Association for Improving Conditions of  
 the Poor  
 Madison Square Boys Club  
 Mission Society  
 National & Child Labor Society  
 New York Protestant Episcopal Mission Society

---

Thomas Stokes

↓  
 Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1913

↓  
 Anson Phelps Stokes 1874-1958

↓  
 Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes 1906-  
 Federal Trade Commission, clerk 1933-34  
 Securities and Exchange Commission 1934-36  
 Office of Price Administration 1941-2  
 War Productions Board 1942-45  
 Department of State, International  
 Organization of Affairs 1945-48  
 Department of Commerce 1948-49  
 U.S. Special Representative in Europe,  
 general council, 1949-50  
 U.S. Delegation to General Assembly of  
 United Nations, 1946

M

Barbara Hoyt (1913-1965)

great granddaughter of Chief Justice of  
 Supreme Court, Salmon P. Chase (who was a  
 former U.S. Senator from Ohio, 1849-1855  
 and Governor of Ohio, 1855-1859, and  
 Secretary of Treasury under President  
 Lincoln)

---

James B. Stokes

↓  
 James B. Stokes  
 YMCA, founding member of International YMCA  
 YMCA, first board of trustees

Thomas Stokes  
 ↓  
 James B. Stokes  
 ↓  
 Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1913  
 ↓  
 James G. Phelps Stokes 1872-1960  
 YMCA 1899-1960  
 Tuskegee  
 China Society  
 Academy of Political Society  
 Association for Improving Conditions of  
 the Poor  
 Nurseries of the City of New York  
 Commission of Charities and Correction  
 Intercollegiate Socialist Society, president  
 1907-18  
 Socialist Party, member 1906-1917  
 Alliance for Labor and Democracy, member  
 1917-19  
 Russian Information Bureau in U.S. 1917-22

## M

Rose Pastor 1879-1933  
 Intercollegiate Socialist Society  
 Active in workers strike, 1912  
 Wrote articles, poems, reviews for  
INDEPENDENT, EVERYBODY, ARENA and CENTURY  
 magazines. Sentenced to prison for ten  
 years for a letter to the editor appearing  
 in the Kansas City Star in 1918 in which  
 she wrote, "I am for the people, while the  
 government is for the profiteers." She  
 eventually joined the Communist Party and  
 wrote for Pravda and the Worker, and ran  
 for political office on the Communist Party  
 ticket. She died in 1933 at the age of 53.

Thomas Stokes  
 ↓  
 James B. Stokes  
 ↓  
 Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1913  
 ↓  
 Anson Phelps Stokes 1874-1958  
 ↓  
 Olivia Phelps Stokes

## M

John Davis Hatch 1907

Phelps Stokes Foundation  
Seattle Art Museum  
Western Association of Art Museums  
Albany Institute History of Art  
Lenox School for Boys (Episcopal)  
American Association of Museums

Appendix I\*

Examples of Dodge\*\* Family Tradition\*\*\*  
in Social Welfare, Cultural and Economic  
Organizations

Tuskegee Institute	YMCA-YWCA
Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1913	Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1913
James G. Phelps Stokes	James G. Phelps Stokes 1872-1960
Donations from Phelps Stokes Foundation	James B. Stokes Jr. founding member, member of first board of trustees
Donations from individual family members	Olivia E. Phelps Stokes 1847-1927
American University of Beirut	William Earl Dodge 1832-1903, president
Rev. David S. Dodge 1836-1921	Murray W. Dodge 1878-1937
Clarence Phelps Dodge 1877-1939	Grace H. Dodge 1856-1914, president
William H. Rea 1912	Clarence Phelps Dodge 1877-1939
Murray W. Dodge 1878-1937	James C. Rea 1882-
Bayard Dodge 1888-1972	Vanderbilt Webb 1871-1956
Vanderbilt Webb 1891-1956	George Huntington 1878-1953
Princeton University	Metropolitan Museum of Art
William H. Rea 1912	Robert Hoe 1839-1909, co-founder
James C. Rea	D. Willis James 1832-1907
Cleveland E. Dodge 1888	Arthur C. James 1867-1941
Cleveland H. Dodge 1860-1926	Vanderbilt Webb 1891-1956
Frederick Henry Osborn 1889	William C. Osborn 1857-1935
William C. Osborn 1865-1946	George E. Dodge 1849-1904
Phelps Stokes Fund	Charity Organization Society
Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1913	Arthur M. Dodge 1852-1896, co-founder
Anson Phelps Stokes 1874-1958	Murray W. Dodge 1878-1937
Anson Phelps Stokes 1905	Edith M. Stokes 1868-
Harold Phelps Stokes 1887	Childrens Aid Society
Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes 1906	William C. Osborn 1857-1935, president for thirty years
Edwin K. Merrill 1902-1963	Edwin K. Merrill 1867-1963
John Davis Hatch Jr. 1907	
John Sherman Hoyt 1869-1954	

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\*Based on private communication from Dr. Dusky L. Smith, Department of Sociology, McMaster University.

\*\*Dodge family includes, as indicates in preceding appendices, James-Phelps-Stokes branches.

\*\*\*Listings indicate directorships unless otherwise specified.

Phelps, Dodge Corporation  
Anson G. Phelps, co-founder  
William Earl Dodge 1805-1883, co-founder  
James B. Stokes  
Daniel Willis James  
General Charles C. Dodge 1841-1910  
Cleveland E. Dodge 1888  
Cleveland E. Dodge 1922  
Cleveland H. Dodge 1860-1926  
William E. Dodge 1805-1883  
William E. Dodge 1832-1903  
D. Willis James 1832-1907  
Arthur Curtis James 1867-1941  
E. Haywood Ferry 1864-1940  
William DeForest Manice 1889-1961 .  
Anson Phelps Stokes 1838-1923  
William C. Osborn  
William C. Osborn  
Vanderbilt Webb 1891-1956  
James C. Rea 1882  
William H. Rea 1912

Appendix J

Social Welfare Organizations, Associations and Institutions  
Founded\* by Members of Research Population

Miscellaneous Social Welfare Organizations

Grace House	Catherine Wolfe
Hartley Open Air Tenement	Helen Jenkins
Hospites (Home for refugee social workers)	Mary Glenn
Kate Macy Ladd Convalescent Home	Kate Ladd
Society for the Prevention of Useless Giving	Eleanor Belmont 1912
Slavonic Immigrant Home	Helen Jenkins 1909
Training School for Public Service later National Institute of Public Administration	Mary Harriman 1911
Val Kill Furniture Shop	Eleanor Roosevelt 1924
Waverley House (later under New York Probation Association)	Maude Hadden

Community Centres and Settlement Houses

Bayway (New Jersey) Community Cottage and Community Center	Abby Rockefeller 1920
Bronx House Music School Department	Josephine Morgenthau
Deering Community Center	Elizabeth Campbell
Greenwich House (Settlement House)	Mary Simkhovitch
Junior League	Mary Rumsey 1901
Little Cranberry Island Neighbourhood House	Mabel Tuttle

---

\*The individuals listed may not be solely responsible for founding the organization or institution.

Neighbourhood House of the Spanish and  
Portuguese Sisterhood                           Rachel Toledano

University Settlement (Settlement  
House)   Alice Pine

#### Religious Organizations

Church Mission of Help                           Mary Glenn 1911

Good Fellowship Council of 5th Avenue  
Baptist Church                                   Abby Rockefeller

Guild of the Infant Savior                      Clara McGinnis

Sephardic Community Centre                       Rachel Toledano

#### General Organizational Structures

Federation of Protestant Welfare  
Agencies                                       Lillie Parker

International and National Red Cross       Kate Davison  
Elisabeth Reid

International and National Y.W.C.A.         Vera Cushman  
Grace Dodge  
Mary French

New York State Charities Aid  
Association                                   Josephine Lowell  
Louisa Schuyler

New York Charity Organization Society      Josephine Lowell  
Gertrude Rice

#### Public Health Organizations

Bellevue Hospital Training School for  
Nurses                                       Elizabeth Hobson  
Louisa Schuyler

Charity Hall (Nursery and Childs  
Hospital) Committee of Public  
Kitchen's Home Hospital-Part of  
N.Y. AICP                                   Mary Sullivan 1880's  
Florence Tobin

Cumberland Hospital Training School  
for Nurses                                   Alice Pine

Cottage Hospital (Santa Barbara)           Alida Hazard

East Harlem Health Center	Helen Draper
Hahnemann Hospital	Helene Bell
Harriman Research Laboratory Roosevelt Hospital	Mary Harriman 1913
Ice Flotilla Committee	Gertrude Smith 1916
Judson Health Center	Eleanor Campbell 1921
La Fayette Preventorium Inc.	Beatrice Chanler
Lighthouse (for the blind)	Edith Bloodgood Winifred Mather 1913
Loomis Sanitarium (for tuberculosis)	Mrs. Richard Irwin
Mills Memorial Hospital, California	Elisabeth Reid
Minturn Hospital Modified Milk for Tenement Babies First laboratory department	Mrs. John Minturn Winifred Mather
New York Diet Kitchen Association	Abigail Gibbons 1873
New York Hospital	Helen Whitney
New York Skin and Cancer Hospital	Ellin Speyer 1886
Nursery and Child's Hospital	Sarah Doremus 1854
Sloane Maternity Hospital (later part of Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center)	Emily White
Somerset Hills Visiting Nurse Association	Maud Pyne
United Hospital Fund	Ellin Speyer 1881
Visiting Nurse Association of Somerest	Katherine Bliss
Women's Hospital	Sarah Doremus 1855

World War I Organizations

American Friends of France	Anne Morgan
----------------------------	-------------

Stage Women's War Relief Fund                   Rachel Crothers

Surgical Dressings Committee of  
America   Mary Willard

Financial Organizations

Commonwealth Fund                               Anna Harkness 1918

Daniel and Florence Guggenheim  
Foundation                                       Florence Guggenheim 1924

Mary Harriman Charitable Trust               Mary Harriman 1925

Adele and Arthur Lehman Foundation       Adele Lehman

Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation                   Kate Ladd 1930

Phelps Stokes Fund (Public Housing)       Caroline Stokes

Russell Sage Foundation                       Margaret Sage 1907

Woodrow Wilson Foundation                   Katrina Tiffany

Wolfe Fund for the Aged and Infirm       Catherine Wolfe

Organizations Relating to Women and Children

Association of Day Nurseries of New  
York City                                       Josephine Dodge

Big Sisters (Protestant)                      Lillie Parker

Brightside Day Nursery and  
Kindergarten                                   Irene Guggenheim 1894

Camp Emanu-El of Emanu-El Synagogue       Florence Guggenheim

Alice Chapin Nursery                           Alice Chapin 1911

Child Adoption Committee of the  
Free Synagogue                               Louise Wise 1910

Child Study Association of America       Helen Adler

Family Welfare Association of America       Mary Glenn 1911

German Governesses Home                       Julia Longfellow

Isaac T. Hopper Home (for discharged  
women convicts)                               Abigail Gibbons

Jewell Day Nursery	Josephine Dodge
National Birth Control League of America	Jessie Ashley Gertrude Pinchot 1916
New York Infant Asylum	Abigail Gibbons
Presbyterian Home for Aged Women	Sarah Doremus
Protestant Asylum for Infants	Abigail Gibbons
Elisabeth Whitelaw Reid Club and Home for Boys and Girls	Elisabeth Reid
Spence Chapin Adoption Service	Alice Chapin

Appendix KLabour-Related Organizations and Associations Founded by  
Research Population Members

American Craftsmen's Council	Aileen O. Webb
Working Girls Vacation Association (later Vacation Saving Fund of New York and later American Woman's Assosiation)	Grace Dodge Eleanor Belmont Julia Stimson Anne Morgan
Consumer's League	Mary Jacobi Amanda Lauterbach Mary Loines Josephine Lowell Maud Nathan
Handicraft League of Craftsmen	Aileen Webb
International Ladies Garment Workers Union	Helen Marot
Irene Working Girls Club	Helen Henderson
Kitchen Garden Association (later Industrial Education Association)	Grace Dodge
New York House and School of Industry	Sarah Doremus 1850
Women's Exchange	Candace Wheeler
Women's Trade Union League	Gertrude Barnam (National) Mary Dreier (New York City) Margaret Robins (New York City) Helen Marot

Appendix LN.A.W.S.A. Executive 1900-1920\*  
Upper-Class Ties

Addams, Jane Father was prosperous miller, banker and community leader and also served as state senator.

Anthony, Susan B. Maternal grandfather was member of Massachusetts State Legislature. Father built up successful insurance business. Home often visited by prominent reformers of the time, for example, William Lloyd Garrison.

Ashley, Jessie Treasurer 1910-12. Member of research population.

Avery, Rachel Educated at private school. Father was founder and editor of Pittsburgh Dispatch, member of the state legislature and owner of a 'considerable fortune'.

Blackwell, Alice Father was Cincinnati hardware merchant. Family very prominent in reform circles. No indication of great wealth.

Bowen, Louise No listing.

Breckinridge, Madeline Great grandfather was Henry Clay. Mother and father's families were amongst 'leading citizens of Kentucky'. Educated at private school. Husband (brother of Sophonisba Breckinridge) was editor of Lexington Herald.

Breckinridge, Sophonisba Father was Congressman, lawyer and Confederate colonel. Great grandfather was Kentucky Senator and Attorney General under Jefferson. Attended prestigious Wellesley College.

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\*The N.A.W.S.A. executive for each year is listed on the first page of the chapter for that year in the History of Woman Suffrage, Volume V. In each year there were nine or ten members of the executive. The information on upper-class affiliations is drawn from Notable American Women. Research population members are underlined.

Brown, Gertrude Foster      No listing.

Catt, Carrie Chapman      Husband was civil engineer who owned construction firm. Husband provided her with financial independence for life.

Clark, Nellie      No listing.

Clay, Laura      Mother was from wealthy family. Father was gentleman farmer. Educated at private school.

Coggeshall, Mary      No listing.

Denner, Mary Ware      No indication of upper-class ties.

Dudley, Anne Dallas      No listing.

Eaton, Cora Smith      No listing.

Fitzgerald, Susan W.      No listing.

Gardener, Helen H.      No indication of upper-class ties.

Gordon, Kate      Educated in private schools. She was a member of New Orleans' 'best society'.

Hay, Mary Garret      Member of locally prominent family.

Jacobs, Pattie Ruffner      Grandfather was wealthy salt merchant. Father was owner of prosperous mercantile house. Studied in Europe. Husband was well-to-do railroad man.

Kelley, Florence      Second Vice President, 1905-1910.  
Member of research population.

Laidlaw, Harriet      Auditor, 1911-1915.  
Member of research population.

Livermore, Mrs. Arthur      No listing.

McCormick, Katharine      No listing.

McCormick, Ruth Hanna      Father, Mark Hanna, was one of country's foremost industrial leaders. Father and husband were U.S. Senators. Educated at private school. Husband was scion of famous publishing family.

McCullough, Catherine	No indication of upper-class ties.
Miller, Helen Guthrie	No listing.
Morrison, Mary Foulke	No listing.
Myers, Annie Jeffreys	No listing.
Ogden, Esther G.	No listing.
Parks, Maud W.	No listing.
Patterson, Hannah J.	Father was prominent banker in West Newton, Pennsylvania.
Potter, Frances	No listing.
Roessing, Jennie B.	No listing.
Rogers, Emma Winner	No listing.
Shuler, Nettie Roger	No indication of upper-class ties.
Ruutz-Rees, Caroline	No listing.
Shaw, Anna Howard	No indication of upper-class ties.
Somerville, Nellie	No listing.
Sperry, Mary	No listing.
Stewart, Ella	No listing.
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady	Father was a member of state legislature and a member of Supreme Court of New York. Grandfather was member of New York legislature. Cousin, Gerrit Smith, was son of John Jacob Astor's partner.
Upton, Harriet	Father was influential member of U.S. Congress. Husband was member of influential Oregon family.
Whitney, Charlotte A.	No listing.
Wilson, Justina L.	No listing.
Young, Rose	No listing.

Appendix M

National Woman's Party Executive Committee 1917-1920\*  
Upper-Class Ties

Baker, Abby Scott	No information.
<u>Belmont, Alva</u>	President, 1920-1933. Member of research population.
<u>Brannan, Eunice</u>	Member of research population.
Burns, Lucy	Educated at Vassar, Yale and in Europe.
Crocker, Gertrude L.	Educated at Vassar.
Fendall, Mary Gertrude	Educated at Bryn Mawr College.
Gardner, Matilda Hall	Father was editor of <u>Chicago Tribune</u> . Educated in Europe.
Hepburn, Mrs. Thomas N.	No information.
Hilles, Florence	Father was American Ambassador to Great Britain and Secretary of State under Cleveland.
Hooker, Mrs. Donald R.	No information.
Hopkins, Mrs. J.A.H.	Husband was leader of Progressive Party.
Kent, Mrs. William	No information.
Leach, Mrs. Henry G.	No information.
Lewis, Mrs. Lawrence	Member of prestigious family. Ancestor was first U.S. Treasurer.
Martin, Anne	Educated in Europe.
Paul, Alice	Educated at Swarthmore College. President of N.W.P.

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\*Each year there were approximately sixteen members on the committee. The names of the committee members are listed in Stevens Jailed for Freedom, pp. 373-4. Notable American Women had listings for only three of these women. Consequently, recourse was made to the biographical sketches contained in Stevens, Jailed for Freedom, pp. 354-371.

Stevens, Doris                  No information.

Vernon, Mabel                  Educated at Swarthmore College.

Wainwright, Mrs. Richard    No information.

Younger, Maud                Member of research population.

Appendix NNational Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage Executive\*  
Founded 1911

President, 1911-1917      Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge (New York)  
                                Member of research population

President, 1917-1920      Mrs. James W. Wadsworth  
                                Member of research population

Vice President              Miss Mary A. Ames (Boston)

Vice President              Mrs. Horace Brock (Philadelphia)

Secretary                   Mrs. William B. Glover (Connecticut)  
(followed by Mrs. Robert Lansing,  
1917, wife of Secretary of State)

Treasurer                   Mrs. Robert Garrett (Baltimore)

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\*The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage Executive is listed on page 679 of the History of Woman Suffrage, Volume V.

Appendix 3

Research Population Involvement in  
Executive of New York State Woman Suffrage Party,  
1915 Campaign\*

Carrie C. Catt	Chairman
<u>Mrs. Norman de Whitehouse</u>	First Vice Chairman Member of research population.
<u>Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw</u>	Second Vice Chairman Member of research population.
Mrs. Henry W. Cannon	Third Vice Chairman
Mrs. Michael Van Beuren	Secretary
Miss Alice Morgan Wright	Secretary
<u>Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid</u>	Treasurer Member of research population.
Mrs. Raymond Brown	Director
Harriet May Mills	Director
Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey	Director
Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore	Director

This executive was re-elected in 1916 with the exception of  
 Mrs. Van Beuren who was replaced by Mrs. Charles Noel Edge.

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\*This executive is listed in the History of Woman Suffrage, VI,  
 p. 475. Apparently, the old N.A.W.S.A. structure for New  
 York State was incorporated into this new party in 1909.

Appendix PParticipation of Research Population in Executive of  
New York Branch of N.A.W.S.A., 1901-1913\*

1901	Mariana W. Chapman Ella Crossett	President since 1896 Vice President
1902-1909	Ella Crossett Harriet May Mills	President Vice President
1909	Harriet May Mills Nettie R. Shuler Mary T. Sanford Ada M. Hall Ida A. Craft Isabel Howland Alice Williams Anna E. Merritt Georgiana Potter Mrs. Nicholas S. Fraser Mrs. William M. Ivins Eliza W. Osborne Mariana W. Chapman <u>Mrs. Fanny Villard</u>	President Officer Officer Officer Officer Officer Officer Officer Officer Officer Officer Officer Officer Officer Officer, Member of research population
1910-1913	Harriet May Mills Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore (succeeded by Mrs. William L. Colt) (succeeded by <u>Mrs. Marie</u> <u>J. Howe</u> ) Mrs. Roxana Burrows Mrs. Nicholas S. Fraser Mrs. William M. Ivins (succeeded by <u>Maud</u> <u>Probasco</u> ) Eliza W. Osborne <u>Fanny Villard</u>	President Vice President Member of research population Corresponding Secretary Recording Secretary Treasurer Member of research population Auditor Auditor, Member of research population

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\*The names of the executive officers are derived from the History of Woman Suffrage, VI, Chapter XXXI. As evident, not all officials were recorded in the earlier phases of the organization's work.

Appendix C

Research Population Involvement in  
Executive of New York City Branch of Woman Suffrage Party  
(founded 1909)  
1915 Campaign\*

Carrie C. Catt	State Campaign Chairman
Mary G. Hay	City Chairman
<u>Margaret C. Aldrich</u>	Official, Member of research population
Anna R. Wells	Official
Martha W. Suffren	Official
Mrs. Robert McGregor	Official
Cornelia K. Hood	Official
<u>Marie Jenny Howe</u>	Official, Member of research population
Mrs. Joseph Fitch	Official
Mrs. A.J. Newbury	Official
<u>Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw</u>	Borough Chairman, Member of research population
Mrs. H. Edward Dreier	Borough Chairman Brooklyn
Henrietta S. Seeley	Borough Chairman Bronx
Mrs. Alfred J. Eno	Borough Chairman Queens
Mrs. William G. Willcox	Borough Chairman Richmond

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\*The names of the officials are derived from the History of Woman Suffrage, Volume VI, p. 462.

Appendix R

Research Population Involvement in  
Executive of New York City Branch of Woman Suffrage Party,  
1917 Campaign\*

Mary G. Hay	Chairman
<u>Caroline McCormick Slade</u>	Member of research population Member of Executive Board
<u>Margaret C. Aldrich</u>	Member of research population Member of Executive Board
Mrs. George Notman	Member of Executive Board
Annie Doughty	Member of Executive Board
Mrs. F. Robertson-Jones	Member of Executive Board
Mrs. Thomas B. Wells	Member of Executive Board
Adaline W. Sterling	Member of Executive Board
<u>Florence Gibb Pratt**</u>	Member of research population Member of Executive Board
Mrs. Charles E. Simonson	Member of Executive Board
Dr. Katherine B. Davis	Member of Executive Board
Eliza McDonald	Member of Executive Board
Alice P. Hutchins	Member of Executive Board
Mrs. Louise Welzmiller	Member of Executive Board

\*The names of the executives are derived from the History of Woman Suffrage, VI, p. 466.

\*\*The History of Woman Suffrage identifies this individual as Mrs. Herbert Lee Pratt. There is no way of determining if this is Florence Pratt cited above or her daughter-in-law, also Mrs. Herbert Lee Pratt.

Appendix SResearch Population Involvement in  
Executive of Women's Political Union 1906-1920\*

Harriet Stanton Blatch	President
Elizabeth Ellsworth Cook	Vice President
Marcia Townsend	Treasurer
<u>Eunice Dana Brannan</u>	Chairman of Finance Member of research population
Nora Stanton Blatch	Editor of Publication
Caroline Lexow	Field Secretary
Alberta Hill	Executive Secretary
Florence M. Cooley	Executive Secretary

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\*The executive is listed in the History of Woman Suffrage, VI, p. 487. The Union was formerly the Equality League for Self-Supporting Women and was founded in 1906. In 1915, it amalgamated with the Congressional Union.

Note: Of the seventy-six executive positions listed for New York State and New York City, fourteen, or eighteen percent were occupied by members of the research population. This does not signify that the remaining eighty-two percent were not members of the upper class. Rather, it is also possible that they were not residents of New York City, they did not turn up in the research process or there was insufficient information to determine their class status.

Appendix TThe Executive of Anti-Suffrage State OrganizationsNew York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage  
(Founded 1895)

Francis M. Scott                      President

Bertha Achelis                      Vice President, Member of  
    research population

No complete listing available.

New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 1915

Mrs. E. Yarde Breeze                      President

Mrs. T.J. Preston                      Vice President, Member of  
    research population  
    (Former wife of President  
    Grover Cleveland)

Mrs. Garret A. Hobart                      Vice President  
    (Widow of Vice President of  
    the United States)

Mrs. John R. Emery                        Vice President

Appendix IIRecorded Financial Contributions from Research  
Population Members

Alva Belmont	Contributed funds to N.A.W.S.A. for national headquarters. Contributed funds to National Woman's Party to purchase national headquarters: \$146,000. Contributed \$10,000 to Southern Woman Suffrage Conference.
Dorothy Straight (later Elmhirst)	Contributed \$10,000 to N.A.W.S.A. in 1916.
Alice and Irene Lewisohn	Contributed \$1,000 each for new headquarters for Congressional Union.
Mrs. Frank Leslie	Contributed, through a bequest, \$2,000,000 to N.A.W.S.A., 1914.
Katherine MacKay (later Blake)	Defrayed most of the expenses for mass meeting (\$2,000) at Harmanus-Bleecker Hall, 1910.
Margaret Sage	Contributed \$20,000 to N.A.W.S.A. in 1906.

Appendix VRecorded Suffrage-Related Publications Written by  
Research Population MembersPro-Suffrage

- Jessie Ashley                    In 1911 wrote an important series of articles in Woman's Journal regarding the class bias of the N.A.W.S.A. (See above page )
- Alva Belmont                    Collaborated with Elsa Maxwell on suffrage operetta, 1916.
- Lillie Blake                    In 1874, she wrote Fettered for Life, followed in 1893 by Woman's Place Today and in 1892 by A Daring Experiment.
- Mary Jacobi                    In 1894, she wrote "Common Sense Applied to Woman Suffrage".
- Harriet Laidlaw                In 1914, she compiled Organizing to Win, a handbook for suffragists.
- Alice D. Miller                In 1915, she wrote a book of verse entitled Woman Are People. From 1914 to 1917 she wrote a newspaper column for the New York Tribune entitled "Are Women People?"
- Elsie Parsons                    In 1906, she wrote The Family, followed in 1913 by The Old-Fashioned Woman, in 1914 by Fear and Conventionality and in 1915 by Social Freedom.
- Caroline Slade                 In the 1920's, she wrote a series of articles in behalf of jury duty for women. In New York State, the word 'male' was still in the statute books.

Anti-Suffrage

- Josephine Dodge                Editor of Woman's Protest. Author of anti-suffrage articles.

Helen Johnson                    Author of "Woman and the Republic". Editor of American Woman's Journal, which contained anti-suffrage articles.

Alice Stimson                    Author of anti-suffrage articles.

Maria Van Rensselaer            Author of "Shall We Ask for Suffrage?", 1894.

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