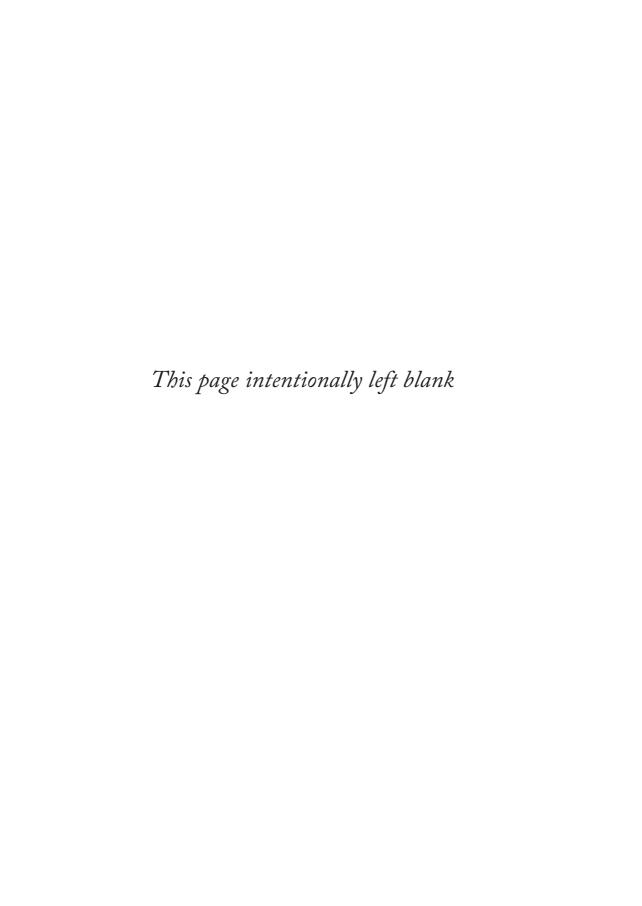


Feminism



Feminism

June Hannam



First published 2012 by Pearson Education Limited

Published 2014 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN 711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © 2012, Taylor & Francis.

The right of June Hannam to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notices

Knowledge and best practice in this field are constantly changing. As new research and experience broaden our understanding, changes in research methods, professional practices, or medical treatment may become necessary.

Practitioners and researchers must always rely on their own experience and knowledge in evaluating and using any information, methods, compounds, or experiments described herein. In using such information or methods they should be mindful of their own safety and the safety of others, including parties for whom they have a professional responsibility.

To the fullest extent of the law, neither the Publisher nor the authors, contributors, or editors, assume any liability for any injury and/or damage to persons or property as a matter of products liability, negligence or otherwise, or from any use or operation of any methods, products, instructions, or ideas contained in the material herein.

ISBN 13: 978-1-4082-5557-5 (pbk)

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A CIP catalogue record for this book can be obtained from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book can be obtained from the Library of Congress

Set in 10/13.5pt Berkeley Book by 35

Introduction to the series

History is narrative constructed by historians from traces left by the past. Historical enquiry is often driven by contemporary issues and, in consequence, historical narratives are constantly reconsidered, reconstructed and reshaped. The fact that different historians have different perspectives on issues means that there is also often controversy and no universally agreed version of past events. *Seminar Studies* was designed to bridge the gap between current research and debate, and the broad, popular general surveys that often date rapidly.

The volumes in the series are written by historians who are not only familiar with the latest research and current debates concerning their topic, but who have themselves contributed to our understanding of the subject. The books are intended to provide the reader with a clear introduction to a major topic in history. They provide both a narrative of events and a critical analysis of contemporary interpretations. They include the kinds of tools generally omitted from specialist monographs: a chronology of events, a glossary of terms and brief biographies of 'who's who'. They also include bibliographical essays in order to guide students to the literature on various aspects of the subject. Students and teachers alike will find that the selection of documents will stimulate discussion and offer insight into the raw materials used by historians in their attempt to understand the past.

Clive Emsley and Gordon Martel
Series Editors



Contents

	Acknowledgements	3
	Abbreviations	xi
	Chronology	xii
	Who's who	xv
	Glossary	xxi
PART ONE	ANALYSIS AND ASSESSMENT	- -
1	THE PROBLEM	3
	Turning the world upside down	3
	Histories of feminism	4
	Definitions of feminism	
	Themes	8
2	THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN FEMINISM	1
	The Enlightenment and the French Revolution	1.
	Early nineteenth-century social and political reform movements	15
	The organized women's movement in the mid-nineteenth century	18
	John Stuart Mill and August Bebel	25
3	WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, 1860s–1920s	29
	Origins of women's suffrage	29
	Widening the basis of support after 1900	3.5
	Socialism and suffrage	38
	International women's organizations	39
	Militancy	4(
	Achievement of the vote	44

viii FEMINISM

4	FEMINISM, INTERNATIONALISM AND NATIONALISM	
	IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY	47
	Women's suffrage beyond Europe and North America	47
	Nationalism and anti-colonialism	50
	Internationalism and 'universal sisterhood'	54
	Tensions within the IWSA	56
5	CITIZENSHIP IN NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE IN	
	THE INTER-WAR YEARS	62
	Political representation and impact	62
	Women's organizations	67
	Social welfare	69
	Feminism, peace and international activism	72
6	'THE PERSONAL IS POLITICAL': WOMEN'S LIBERATION	
	AND 'SECOND WAVE' FEMINISM	75
	Origins of 'second wave feminism'	75
	Protest in the 1960s and women's liberation	79
	Debating feminism	82
	Feminism on a global scale	85
	Divisions in 'second wave' feminism	87
	Setbacks and new initiatives	89
7	ASSESSMENT	93
PART TWO	DOCUMENTS	97
1	Mary Wollstonecraft on the rights of woman	98
2	The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Conference, 1848	99
3	Louise Otto Peters founds Frauen Zeitung (Women's Newspaper) 1849	100
4	Sojourner Truth's speech, 'Ain't I a Woman?'	100
5	Surplus women and employment	103
6	New Zealand suffrage petition	104
7	Women vote in South Australia	105
8	Socialist and bourgeois women clash	106
9	Finnish women inspired by Elizabeth Cady Stanton	107
10	Why women need the vote	107
11	Clara Zetkin discusses the relationship between socialism and	100
11	women's rights	109
12	Militant actions	110

Contents	IX

13	Letters from a suffragette prisoner	111
14	International suffrage activity	112
15	Suffrage and empire during and after the First World War	113
16	Feminism and peace	114
17	Egyptian women's activism in nationalist struggles	116
18	Nationalism and internationalism	117
19	Equal rights in America after the vote	118
20	Birth control campaign	119
21	Criticisms of Western feminism	120
22	Simone de Beauvoir and women as the Other	121
23	National Organization of Women statement of purpose	122
24	Press reactions to women's liberation	124
25	The voice of Black American feminists	125
26	Lesbian feminists	126
27	Third World feminism in the 1980s	126
28	Change for Russian women	127
29	United Nations calls for action	128
	GUIDE TO FURTHER READING	130
	REFERENCES	146
	INDEX	152

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Arthur for all the practical and emotional support that made this book possible.

PUBLISHER'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are grateful to the following for permission to reproduce copyright material:

Documents

Document 3 from Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents Volume One, 1750-1880, Stanford University Press (Bell, Susan Groag and Karen M. Offen (eds), 1983), Copyright © 1983 by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University. All rights reserved. Used with the permission of Stanford University Press, www.sup.org; Document 6 from National Archive of New Zealand, The Women's Suffrage Petition 1893 [Archives Reference: LE 1 1893/7a] Archives New Zealand The Department of Internal Affairs Te Tari Taiwhenua; Document 17 excerpts from The Harem years: The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist 1879–1924, Feminist Press (Sha'rawi, H. and (trans) Badran, M. 1987) 112–13, edited and translated by Margot Badran, Translation copyright © 1986 by Margot Badran. Reprinted with the permission of The Feminist Press, www.feminist.org; Document 19 from Conversations with Alice Paul: Woman suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment: oral history transcript, BANC MSS 76/177. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Document 22 from The Second Sex, Knopf (de Beauvoir, S. 1953), "Introduction" from THE SECOND SEX by Simone De Beauvoir, translated by H.M. Parshley, copyright 1952 and renewed 1980 by Alfred A. Knopf, a division of Random House, Inc. Used by permission of Alfred A. Knopft, a division of Random House, Inc.; Document 24 from Editorial, The Times, 21 November 1970, 13, with the permission of News International Syndication

Ltd.; Document 26 from Feminism in France, Routledge (Duchen, C. 1988) 23–4; Document 27 from Western feminism and women in the third world, The Guardian, 2 October 1984 (Yoon, S.-Y.), Copyright Guardian News & Media Ltd 1984; Document 29 from Implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women to the Year 2000, United Nations Publications (United National General Assembly)

Plates

The publisher would like to thank the following for their kind permission to reproduce their photographs:

Plate 1: Kansas State Historical Society; Plate 2: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand; Plate 3: Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Plate 4: Greater Manchester Police Museum and Archive; Plate 5: Bath in Time; Plate 6: Schwimmer-Lloyd collection, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lennox and Tilden Foundations; Plate 7: © Bettmann/Corbis; Plate 8: Carrie Chapman Catt Albums, Bryn Mawr College Library, Special Collections; Plate 9: © The British Library Board (*Votes for Women*, 24 May 2912); Plate 10: Bibliotheque Marguerite Durand, Paris, France/Archives Charmet/The Bridgeman Art Library Ltd; Plate 11: INTERFOTO/Sammlung Rauch/Mary Evans

In some instances we have been unable to trace the owners of copyright material, and we would appreciate any information that would enable us to do so.

Abbreviations

BDF Federation of German Women's Associations IAW International Alliance of Women

ICW International Council of Women

IWSA International Woman Suffrage AllianceNSWS National Society for Women's Suffrage

NUSEC National Union of Societies for Equal CitizenshipNUWSS National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies

PPSEAWA Pan-Pacific and South East Asian Women's Association

SPD Social Democratic Party

UN United Nations

WCTU Woman's Christian Temperance Union

WFL Women's Freedom League

WIDF Women's International Democratic Federation

WIL Women's International League

WILPF Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

WSPU Women's Social and Political Union

Chronology

1762	Jean Jacques Rousseau's <i>Emile</i> published
1789	French Revolution
1791	Olympe de Gouges, Les droits de la femme (The Rights of Woman), published
1792	Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, published
1804	(March) Napoleonic Code
1838	(May) People's Charter in Britain
1840	(June) World Anti-Slavery Convention, London
1848	Revolutions in Europe (July) Women's Rights Convention, Seneca Falls, US
1864	Contagious Diseases Act, Britain
1865	General German Women's Association formed
1869	John Stuart Mill, <i>On the Subjection of Women</i> , published National Woman Suffrage Association formed, US
1879	August Bebel, Woman and Socialism, published
1885	Female Suffrage Union formed, Norway
1888	International Council of Women formed in Washington
1890	National American Woman Suffrage Association formed
1891	Womanhood Suffrage League formed, Australia
1893	Women gain vote in New Zealand
1897	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies formed, Britain
1902	Women gain vote in Australia German Union for Women's Suffrage formed
1903	Women's Social and Political Union formed, Britain
1904	International Woman Suffrage Alliance formed, Berlin
1907	Women's Freedom League formed, Britain

xiv FEMINISM

1908	Women's Anti-Suffrage League formed, London
1909	First hunger strikes of suffrage prisoners in Britain
1911	First Proletarian Women's Day, Germany
1912	Men's International Alliance for Woman's Suffrage formed
1913	'Cat and Mouse' Act (Prisoner's temporary Discharge for Ill health) passed in Britain Suffrage Pilgrimage, Britain
1914	(March) Germany's Red Week
1915	Women's International League formed
1918	Women over 30 gain vote in Britain Women gain vote in Canada, Austria and Germany
1919	Women gain the vote in Czechoslovakia and the Netherlands Egyptian women take part in uprising against the British WIL renamed Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
1920	Nineteenth Amendment gives women the vote in the United States
1922	Pan-American Association for the Advancement of Women, formed
1923	Egyptian Feminist Union founded
1925	Sarojini Naidu president of Indian National Congress
1926	Civil Code revised in Argentina IWSA renamed International Alliance of Women
1928	Women in Britain gain vote on same terms as men Pan-Pacific and South East Asia Women's Association formed
1929	Women in Ecuador gain the vote
1931	Indian Women's delegation attends Round Table Conference, London
1932	Women gain vote in Brazil and Uruguay
1934	Women gain vote in Turkey
1944	Women gain vote in France and Bulgaria
1945	Women gain vote in Italy and Hungary Women's International Democratic Federation formed, Paris
1946	Women gain vote in Romania
1948	Women gain vote in Belgium
1949	Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, published
1956	Women gain vote in Egypt
1963	Betty Frieden, The Feminine Mystique, published
1966	National Organization of Women founded, US
1968	Demonstration against Miss America Beauty Contest, Atlantic City, US

Chronology xv

1969	Kate Millett, Sexual Politics, published
1970	First Women's Liberation Conference, Oxford Disruption of Miss World Competition, London
1971	'Whore's Manifesto' signed, France Germaine Greer, <i>The Female Eunuch</i> , published
1974	Juliet Mitchell, Woman's Estate, published
1975	United Nations International Women's Year UN World Conference on Women, Mexico City
1976	United Nations Decade of Women begins
1977-8	Reclaim the Night marches
1981	Susie Orbach, Fat is a Feminist Issue, published First Latin American encuentro (convention) held in Bogotá Women only peace camp established at Greenham Common, England
1988	Denise Riley, Am I That Name?, published
1991	Naomi Wolf, The Beauty Myth, published
1995	United Nations sponsors World Conference on Women, Beijing

Who's who

Anthony, **Susan B**. (1820–1906): Leading American suffrage campaigner, Quaker and abolitionist; worked closely with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, founding the American National Woman Suffrage Association in 1869, co-editing the influential journal, *The Revolution* and founding the International Council of Women, 1888; president of National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1892–1906.

Auclert, Hubertine (1848–1914): French militant suffrage campaigner; edited and founded the newspaper, *La Citoyenne* (the Citizeness); formed group Suffrage des Femmes (Women's Suffrage).

Augspurg, **Anita** (1857–1943): With Lida Heymann formed the German Union for Women's Suffrage, 1902; active in Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Bebel, August (1840–1913): Marxist politician and writer; leader of German Social Democratic Party; author of *Woman and Socialism*, 1879, a key text for socialists on the woman question.

Billington-Greig, Teresa (1877–1964): British socialist; one of the founders and leader of the militant suffrage group, Women's Freedom League; left the WFL in 1911 and attacked militancy in her book *The Militant Suffrage Movement*, 1911.

Bingen, Hildegard of (1098–1179): German mystic, visionary, writer and composer of music; abbess of an independent convent and outspoken critic of male secular and religious leaders.

Boyle, Nina (1865–1943): British journalist and campaigner for women's equal rights; secretary of Women's Freedom League, 1912; active in Save the Children Fund.

Butler, Josephine (1828–1906): Formed and led the Ladies National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts in Britain.

Carpenter, Mary (1807–77): Daughter of a Unitarian minister based in Bristol, England, who gained a national reputation for the establishment of ragged schools and reformatories for juvenile delinquents. Committed to the cause of anti-slavery and worked to expand women's education in India.

Catt, Carrie Chapman (1859–1947): Influential suffragist in the United States and internationally; president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1900–4 and 1915–20; founded League of Women Voters, 1920; first president of International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1904–23.

Campoamor, **Clara** (1888–1972): Leading Spanish feminist and member of the Radical Party; elected to the first Parliament of the Second Republic, 1931; fell out with her own party over her support for women's suffrage.

Cobbe, Frances Power (1822–1904): Irish writer and women's rights' activist; executive member of the London National Society for Women's Suffrage; used journalism to campaign against domestic violence and vivisection.

Craigen, **Jessie** (1835/5–99): British working-class suffrage campaigner and speaker.

De Beauvoir, Simone (1908–86): French novelist, political theorist, essayist and biographer; had a lifetime relationship with Jean Paul Sartre and contributed to the development of existentialist philosophy; wrote *The Second Sex*, 1949, a key text for 'second wave' feminism.

Deraismes, Maria (1828–94): French author and pioneer of women's rights who worked closely with Leon Richer; they founded *L'Association pour le droit des femmes* (Association for women's rights), 1869 and organized the first International Women's Rights Congress, Paris 1878.

Deroin, Jeanne (1805–94): French Utopian Socialist, prominent in the revolutions of 1848; campaigner for the rights of working women.

Despard, **Charlotte** (1844–1939): British socialist and one of founders of the militant suffrage group, Women's Freedom League; a pacifist, she formed the Women's Suffrage National Aid Corps in the First World War.

Fawcett, Millicent Garrett (1847–1929): Leader of the British constitutional suffrage movement; president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 1897–1919.

Ford, Isabella (1855–1924): British socialist, suffragist and peace campaigner; member of National Administrative Council of Independent Labour Party, 1903–07; a member of the executive committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 1907–15; member of executive of British branch of the Women's International League, 1915–24.

Fourier, Charles (1772–1837): French Utopian Socialist, philosopher and supporter of women's rights.

Friedan, Betty (1921–2006): American author of *The Feminine Mystique*, 1963, a key text for 'second wave' feminism; one of the founders of the National Organization of Women, 1966.

Gay, **Désirée** (1810–91): French seamstress, follower of Saint-Simon and a founder of *Tribune des femmes*, 1834; president of women's section of International Working Men's Association, 1866.

Goldstein, Vida (1869–1949): Australian socialist feminist; founded Women's Federal Political Association 1903 and launched journal, *The Woman Voter*, 1909; pacifist in the First World War.

Gouges, Olympe de (1748–93): French playwright and advocate of the abolition of slavery and of women's rights. Wrote Declaration of the rights of woman and the citizen, 1791; executed 1793.

Greer, Germaine (b. 1939): Australian academic, writer and journalist. Achieved notoriety with her book *The Female Eunuch*, 1970; her arguments, language and combative style ensure she continues to be a controversial figure.

Gripenberg, **Alexandra** (1859–1913): Leader Finnish Women's Association and a nationalist; treasurer of International Council of Women, 1893–99.

Heymann, Lida Gustava (1868–1943): With Anita Augspurg formed the German Union for Women's Suffrage, 1902 and active in Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

hooks, **bell** (b. 1952): Black American writer and social critic; born Gloria Watkins she took the name of her maternal great grandmother; most influential writings include *Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism*, 1981 and *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate About Politics*, 2000.

Jacobs, Aletta (1854–1929): Leading Dutch suffragist and peace activist; founding member of the Woman Suffrage Association, 1894 and national president 1903–19; active in IWSA; organized the International Congress of Women at the Hague, 1915; helped establish the Women's International League.

Kauffmann, Caroline (c.1840s–1926): French militant suffrage campaigner; leader of La solidarité des femmes (Women's Solidarity), 1898 and after 1906 staged a protest at the Chamber of Deputies.

Kenney, **Annie** (1879–1953): British working-class suffragette; organizer and charismatic speaker for the Women's Social and Political Union.

Knight, **Anne** (1786–1862): British Quaker, anti-slavery campaigner and supporter of Chartism; wrote a pamphlet on women's suffrage, 1847 and established the Sheffield Female Political Association, 1851.

Kollontai, Alexandra (1872–1952): Russian Communist; founded Zhenotdel (Women's Department), 1919, to improve women's position; 1923 appointed Soviet ambassador to Norway.

Kramers, Martina (1863–1934): Dutch suffragist and socialist; 1899–1909 member of the board of International Council of Women; secretary of International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1906–11; edited *Jus Suffragii*, newspaper of IWSA, 1904–13.

Krog, Gina (1847–1916): Leader of the Norwegian suffrage movement and editor of the feminist periodical *Nylaende* (New Frontiers); founded a Norwegian branch of the International Council of Women, 1904.

Leavitt, Mary (1830–1912): Founder member of Woman's Christian Temperance Union and honorary life president; travelled the world speaking for temperance and women's suffrage.

Luisi, Paulina (1875–1940): Leading women's rights advocate in Uruguay; first woman to gain a medical degree, 1909; attended international conferences and an honorary vice-president of the Pan American Conference of Women.

Lutz, **Bertha** (1894–1976): Founder and president of the Brazilian Federation for the Advancement of Women, 1922; elected to Chamber of Deputies, 1936 – served for a year until the new regime restricted women's political activities.

Macmillan, Chrystal (1892–1937): British suffragist, peace activist and lawyer; 1913–23 vice-president of International Woman Suffrage Alliance; delegate to the Paris Peace Conference 1919; co-founder 1929 and president of Open Door International.

Mill, John Stuart (1806–73): British MP and eminent liberal philosopher; presented 1866 suffrage petition to Parliament; wrote influential book, *On the Subjection of Women*, 1869; with his stepdaughter Harriet Taylor he played a controversial role in the London women's suffrage movement.

Millett, Kate (b. 1934): American feminist theorist and activist; wrote *Sexual Politics*, 1969; committee member of National Organization of Women.

Montefiore, Dora (1851–1933): British socialist, suffragette and internationalist; leading member of Women's Social and Political Union until 1907; joined Adult Suffrage Society and honorary secretary, 1909; active in International Bureau for Socialist Women; founder member of British Communist Party, 1921.