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Unpacking the Suitcase: The Real Last Chapter of Alice Paul and Peg Edwards's Activism, and
Why These Stories Matter

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Honor Scholar Thesis
DePauw University
2013-2104
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Abstract

I was fortunate enough to find a thesis topic within my own family. My paternal grandmother was guardian ad litem for Alice Paul in the later 1970s. Paul was instrumental in securing the passage of the 19th amendment, which gave women the right to vote, and author of the Equal Rights Amendment among other contributions for women's rights. Fortunately my grandmother saved court records, letters, her notes, and more for her period of activism with Paul and as part of the Ridgefield Connecticut National Women's Political Caucus. I knew nothing of my grandmother's work until last year. My thesis seeks to tell the stories of Alice Paul and my grandmother in their own words through the use of oral histories and to examine their paths into activism and the transfer of feminism across generations.

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Introduction and Methodology

There was a suitcase sitting in my grandparents' storage space for years that I had no idea existed. This suitcase and its contents survived multiple moves and downsizing. This suitcase held a part of my grandmother's history that was completely unfamiliar to me. Exploring this suitcase and the research and conversations its contents inspired introduced me to my grandmother's activism and allows me to share it now as my honor scholar thesis.

Introduction

In my first semester at DePauw University I ended up in a women's history class. I was unfamiliar with the topic, trying to balance playing college basketball with my first semester of college classes, and intimidated by the seniors who seemed to get so much more out of the reading than I did. I found the class interesting, but was just trying to survive with an acceptable grade rather than really appreciate the class. Intrigued, I took additional classes emphasizing women's history. In one class we watched the movie *Iron Jawed Angels*. I found the movie interesting and for the first time it put faces to the struggle for improving women's rights in the early 20th century. I had not realized how contentious this issue was. I called my mom shortly after class to tell her I finally watched the movie after her telling me to watch it for years. She then asked if I knew my grandmother, Peg Edwards, had been Alice Paul's court appointed guardian. I did not.

Iron Jawed Angels stars Hillary Swank and focuses on Alice Paul and her efforts to secure the passage of the 19th amendment granting women the right to vote.¹ The movie is dramatic, emphasizing Paul's time in jail and being force-fed, but I had been told it was fairly

¹ "Iron Jawed Angles (2004)," IMDb, accessed March 2014, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0338139/>.

accurate. I was not surprised I was being told to watch this movie since both my mom and my grandmother would label themselves as feminists. They constantly remind my sister and me to remember how hard women before us worked so we have access to opportunities and education today and to be grateful for those women. I knew my grandmother had been active in the push for the Equal Rights Amendment and remembered seeing her picture in a book about women's activism in a picture of a rally in North Carolina. Other than this picture I knew little about what my grandmother had done during her life.

Alice Paul penned the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); it was first introduced to Congress in 1923 and reached voters for ratification in 1972.² The amendment is incredibly simple: "1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article. 3. This Amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification."³ I did not even know how simple the text of this amendment was until later when I began to do more research into the little I knew about my grandmother's activism. I knew some of the stories that had been repeated through my family and knew she worked with computers, but the physical distance between us as I grew up in the Chicago suburbs, while she and my grandfather lived in North Carolina prevented me from knowing more about her life. I thought I was appreciative of women's efforts but did not initially feel a pressing need to watch the movie or see its relevance to my life.

This discovery of my family's connection to Alice Paul was something my professors and my own academic interests pushed me to explore. I initially began talking to my grandmother about her experiences with Alice Paul out of my own curiosity. I began my efforts

² Amelia Fry, "The Two Searches for Alice Paul," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 7 (1983), 21.

³ Jane J. Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 1.

with a short oral history project for a history class but quickly learned there was much more to this story than could be covered in a seven-page paper. This was the true beginning of my inquiry into my grandmother's story and how it overlapped with Alice Paul, a known figure in women's rights. That introduction led me to my honor scholar thesis.

When I looked through biographies and academic articles about Alice Paul little was written about the end of her life. Alice Paul lived to be 92 and most sources just indicate that she was still pursuing the ERA, but simply got older and eventually died. Some articles mention that she had a stroke in 1974 and was losing some of her mobility, but I was never able to construct a story of what happened in Paul's last years and how my grandmother fit into these stories. Interviewing my grandmother was helpful but lacked some detail including specific dates and names. When I was able to sit with her in her home in North Carolina, she was able to tell me the story in much more detail. Luckily, my grandmother is meticulously organized. As we discussed she had my grandfather bring down the "Alice Paul Suitcase." This suitcase had survived several moves and downsizing and contained court records, letters, notes, news clippings, etc. The suitcase was a wealth of information that sparked both questions and answers. Exploring its contents gave me insights into my grandmother's activism and what was not being reported about the end of Alice Paul's life. This suitcase also tells a story that is much larger than just my grandmother. Many other women were involved or interested in this case in different ways. These relationships help explain how my grandmother got involved with not only Alice Paul, but also efforts to pass the ERA. My father would have been in junior high and early high school when his mother was involved with Alice Paul, yet he remembers little about it. When I began asking questions my grandmother was very humble about her actions. I needed the contents of

the Alice Paul suitcase to begin to discover just how much work my grandmother had done on behalf of Alice Paul.

To complete this project I first read through the contents of the suitcase. These documents shed light onto not only what was happening within the courts, but also who was organizing for Paul's care and how. Through these documents I began to see a narrative emerging that emphasized women's networks and the centrality of their relationships to activism. In this suitcase was also transcripts of Amelia Fry's extensive oral history with Alice Paul conducted in 1972-3, just a few years before my grandma became involved in Paul's case. The information gleaned from the plethora of primary resources led me in two directions: creating a new primary source through oral history with my grandmother and scouring secondary sources to fill in all the gaps and give these events a larger context. I chose oral history not only to mirror the source I had on Paul, but also because it would allow me to gain access to information that would give me my grandmother's perspective on her own work and access to stories that are not preserved in any other sources that I know of.

Oral history is very commonly used today in a number of fields and is defined as, "an intensive method of interview with anthropological roots that is also frequently used by sociologists and historians and is often associated with feminists;" it also relies on, "deep communication and story telling."⁴ Oral history allowed me to create a context and garner reactions to the documents my grandmother gave me that I would have been unable to do on my own or through other existing sources. Creating this oral history also helped bring out some of the value in my grandmother's story as, "oral history can merge the public and private, individual and social, illustrating the falseness of these dichotomous constructs, and the

⁴ Patricia Lina Leavy, "The Practice of Feminist Oral History and Focus Group Interviews," in *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc, 2007), 153.

relationship between them in lived reality.”⁵ In other words, I was able to unpack some of the relationships between my grandmother’s personal experiences and her political activism as part as part of a group, as well as doing the same for Paul’s work. It was through the combination of a variety of sources and analysis that I was able to understand not only who Alice Paul was, but also my own grandmother.

My knowledge of Paul from *Iron Jawed Angels* and superficial Internet research was incredibly limited and created a two-dimensional character with no real personality or life. I knew Paul was bold and radical, working for women’s suffrage even when jailed and force fed, but I knew little about her as a person. I did not know how or why she got into activism and did not understand that she dedicated her entire life to the cause of women’s rights. The transcript of the oral history with Amelia Fry gave me a window into not only who Paul was, but also how she viewed herself. This transcript should not be viewed on its own as its creator Amelia Fry repeatedly makes clear in her short essays about her time with Paul, however there are many benefits to having it in addition to other scholarly works on Paul and the women’s suffrage movement, including giving her more depth as a person. This transcript uncovered some secrets that were previously unknown, including how Paul tricked the Republican Convention platform committee into including support for the ERA into the 1944 platform.⁶

Fry also notes problems Paul had recalling her prison stays, force feedings, and spending the night on the roof of a building in Glasgow to disrupt a speech the following day, as common. These gaps in Paul’ memory are indicative of people’s common inability to recall “threatening

⁵ Leavy, “The Practice of Feminist Oral History and Focus Group Interviews,” in *Feminist Research Practice*, 155.

⁶ Amelia Fry, “Suffragist Alice Paul’s Memoirs: Pros and Cons of Oral History,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 2 (1977), 85.

events or trauma,” in part because of our brains capacity to “suppress the unpleasant.”⁷ Paul also struggles with some dates and names, but these issues are not uncommon for anyone after decades have passed since an event. When these limitations are understood and facts are checked against other sources, this transcript remains important in seeing Paul’s introduction to activism and how she organized and operated. This source is made even more important as many of Paul’s letters have been burned over the years.⁸ Fry comments at length about the limitations of such a transcript, including the Paul’s health began to decline before she could make her own comments or corrections on the draft, but notes that, “without it, there could be a history of the NWP but not a biography of Paul. I suspected that was the case when I taped our conversations. Now I am sure of it.”⁹

Understanding who Paul was is important, as she is more than simply an icon in the fight for women’s rights. This is one of the benefits of oral history, as it creates a space for the inclusion of “attitudes and motivations of an individual,” that are not apparent in their written documents or the work of other scholars.¹⁰ This allows for a greater understanding of why things happened according to the research subject, than simply explaining what happened or allowing others to speculate. Creating a fuller understanding of her life allowed for comparisons to be drawn between her path and Edwards path to activism as well as highlighting similarities in how they worked and the transformation of women’s efforts over time.

In the same respect, a fuller understanding of Edwards’s life was also needed. I could not simply describe a few years of her life with no context of her history toward feminism and activism. While there are now books about Paul there are no similar resources about my

⁷ Fry, “Suffragist Alice Paul’s Memoirs,” *Frontiers*, 85.

⁸ Fry, “The Two Searches for Alice Paul,” *Frontiers*, 22.

⁹ Fry, “The Two Searches for Alice Paul,” *Frontiers*, 24.

¹⁰ Fry, “Suffragist Alice Paul’s Memoirs,” *Frontiers*, 83

grandmother. To provide a context for these events I could look to the research on the ERA and Paul's life, but Edwards's involvement was not included in these sources nor was there an explanation for why women's rights mattered to her. Oral history is not unlike other types of historical research in that it is still often based in extensive preparation based on sources available. Amelia Fry noted in a piece about her interviews with Paul that, "twenty hours of research for a ninety-minute tape is the average minimum estimated by the Regional Oral History Office at Berkley."¹¹ To form the foundation for interviews with Edwards I read about the push for ratification of the ERA and Alice Paul. I also was able to read through the document collection Edwards had saved. While the limitations of time, geography, and finances prevented me from reaching out to all involved in Paul's care and who may have had more documentation of the actions of the Ridgefield Women's Political Caucus, the documents Edwards saved were comprehensive. Organizing these documents was one of early steps of this project as I sought to organize and catalogue what Edwards had saved focusing on what was said, when, and by whom in the letters, news clippings, court records and other notes. Interviews with Edwards helped build an understanding of not only what she viewed as important, but also how she saw herself within the larger context of the world.

While distance and this years unusually harsh winter necessitated that most conversations were conducted by phone, our relationship made these conversations natural in ways other scholars seeking to conduct an oral history may not have benefited from. In fact I may have been in the rare position of Edwards knowing more about me than I knew about her prior to our conversations. The comfort level between Edwards and me and our shared experiences was beneficial, as other researchers in oral history must be acutely aware of managing differences. The difficulty of balancing the relationship between researcher and interview subject in some

¹¹ Fry, "Suffragist Alice Paul's Memoirs," *Frontiers*, 82

cases even begs the question should the researcher be the person talking to an individual or group because they do not have shared experiences or identities?¹² I was able to be very relaxed in the interviews, taking an “unstructured approach” as there were topics I wanted to cover, but also was happy to follow the flow of conversation, as there was so much I did not know about and could only learn about from Edwards.¹³ This comfort made it easy for Edwards to talk and share with me what she found important, but did make it harder when the time came to ask more probing questions as the relationship we had was more grandmother and granddaughter than interviewer and interviewee. Amelia Fry describes addressing sensitive areas as one of the biggest challenges for oral history, and I simply did not want to push anything that would make my grandmother uncomfortable because she is family.¹⁴

Paul’s activism throughout the 20th century and Edwards’s activism in the 1970s was far from the only movements concerning the status of women occurring during this time. There were similar efforts to organize women against the suffrage and the ERA; though these efforts are seen by many as reinforcing patriarchy or otherwise detrimental to women’s status they still are representative of women organizing and represent a form of activism. Some women were working to address completely different issues including: poverty, birth control, maternal health, abortion, immigration laws, protective legislation and women in the work place and through numerous other avenues that sometimes were aimed at changing specific legislation and other times were not.¹⁵ There was no singular time of women’s activism nor was there a singular type of women’s activist. A woman’s situation in life gave her an introduction to different issues

¹² Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber, “The Practice of Feminist In-Depth Interviewing,” in *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer*, (Thousand Oaks California: Sage Publications, Inc, 2007), 129-130.

¹³ Hesse-Biber, “The Practice of Feminist In-Depth Interviewing,” *Feminist Research Practice*, 114.

¹⁴ Fry, “Suffragist Alice Paul’s Memoirs,” *Frontiers*, 85

¹⁵ Nancy J. Rosenbloom, *Women in American History: Since 1800*, (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010)

facing women and as a result different ways to combat them. Paul had the ability to travel to England where she was introduced to suffrage and began her involvement there. Edwards's introduction to activism came through meeting women that were new to Ridgefield, Connecticut. The type of organizing women involved themselves in depended in part on the time and resources they could devote to a cause. Edwards was able to take the time to sit with Paul and help her with her letters, experiences that other women may not have had. While the experiences of Paul and Edwards are not representative of all women's experience with activism, the similarities and overlaps in their lives demonstrate some of the more basic tenets of how women organize, including their reliance on other women. Oral history allows us to see today the similarities in the social processes that drove women's organizing and encouraged involvement.¹⁶

The variety of sources gave both Paul and Edwards more fully formed lives and activities for comparison. A benefit of researching both women's lives, rather than their involvement in a movement for a specific time period, is the ability to see their development towards different ideas. Paul is depicted in *Iron Jawed Angels* as possessing a fearless devotion to the cause of suffrage, but she herself recounts her fears when becoming more involved in Britain's suffrage movement and first risking arrest. Neither Paul nor Edwards had a direct path into activism, as both emphasized education, and expressed fears when getting involved. While Paul is a well-known public figure who met with numerous Presidents, whose organizing was responsible for the passage of the 19th amendment, and who authored the ERA, her life is not completely unlike that of Edwards. Neither of these women was quick to claim credit for anything and both tended to be humble, deferring praise to others. Part of this tendency to not claim responsibility for

¹⁶ Leavy, "The Practice of Feminist Oral History and Focus Group Interviews," in *Feminist Research Practice*, 157.

success was the importance of networks of other women. While the efforts to ensure Paul's well being were on a much smaller scale than organizing the nation for ratification of an amendment, both women's lives focused on rallying support of other women to get things done. Both the ratification of the 19th amendment and Edwards's work as guardian of Paul took place in a world without email and the constant connections people see as indispensable today. As a result organizing often meant personally visiting with people or extensive correspondence via letters. These relationships were important beyond their significance to their respective causes. Relationships forged through these endeavors gave Paul and Edwards support systems and a community. These relationships also offered the shove both Paul and Edwards needed to get more involved in the movements they had growing interest in.

There are many different definitions of feminism and ways women interact with the term. Often feminism is seen as something along a spectrum, rather than as a binary or something that you believe in or not. Both Paul and Edwards challenged gender norms in different ways and at different times throughout their lives. Edwards went through phases of complying with gender norms, quietly struggling with limitations she did not agree with, and later actively campaigning to change these expectations. Edwards did not become an activist one-day and cease to fear potential repercussions for her actions. Edwards's activism and understanding of feminism evolved and was dynamic, responding to the situations she was placed in as she learned and was able at times to rely on groups of women who understood her and thought like she did.

Paul was similar. She did enter college saying she would later help ensure women were given the right to vote and later work for equality of rights under the law. Paul too was pushed into activism by other women, and recounted her own fear when risking arrest for the first time. Paul was exhausted after the suffrage campaign and says she would have liked to return home to

rest for a time and was not immediately sure of what the next steps should be. Paul also kept a limited focus on equality for women focusing on political activism, rather than addressing things like their place in the home, medical care, or access to other resources. Paul's role in activism evolved depending on where she was working and what she was working on. While Paul was later fearless this devotion to the cause took time to develop. But throughout all this, Paul was firmly reliant on other women to push her into activism, help her organize, and ultimately sustain her through not only activism but also old age.

This work was exhausting. The energy necessary to sustain these efforts explains the necessity of relying on networks of women, but also the dynamic nature of women's involvement. Some women get burned out and leave activism, while others take breaks and come in and out of activism. This happened to both Paul and Edwards. The women around them changed over time and altered the ways they participated in the movement. After Edwards stepped out of activism she stopped talking about feminism and politics as it took too much to change anyone's mind, especially in an area as conservative as North Carolina. Edwards believes there must be a few other women in her community who think the way she does but finding them through all the voices that disagree is too much. Edwards highlighted the importance for me to find like-minded women now, especially if I am unwilling to stay silent on issues I value, including feminism. Today Edwards has removed herself from activism completely believing it is time for a new group of activists, "It's time for the next generation to take over. So I'm not in the loop on things."¹⁷

Both Alice Paul and Edwards expressed fears for future generations not understanding the work of previous generations and feminists. Today many take voting for granted and do not understand the great struggle women endured to secure that right. I was completely oblivious to

¹⁷ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

my own grandmother's tireless work to protect a legend I initially knew little about, despite considering myself a feminist. Understanding the lives and activism of both these women helps build my understanding of what feminism means and what previous generations have done. This may mean learning from mistakes of the past, but there is also an expanded opportunity to continue these women's work in advancing women's equality.

Alice Paul



A portrait of Paul, likely taken by a photographer in conjunction with an interview or article. Peg Edwards believes this may be the last portrait of Paul ever taken.

Document 182

Alice Paul: A Women's Icon

Alice Paul was a well-educated and intelligent woman who left an indelible mark on women's lives and the United States Constitution through her relentless pursuit of equality. Paul was born and died in Moorestown New Jersey but the 92 years in between took her around the world, had her meeting with U.S. Presidents and countless legislators, and paving the way for women, like myself, to have a chance to participate in government. Paul is best remembered for her work to pass the nineteenth amendment granting women the right to vote in 1920, when Paul was only 35 years old. Most of what is written and taught about Paul focuses on her activism for suffrage in the United States, but this activism was influenced by earlier experiences. Paul's devotion to the cause of women's equality and specifically suffrage similarly is not limited to her activism for this one amendment in the United States and spans her lifetime including a great deal of time focusing on the Equal Rights Amendment.

Early Life

Paul was born on January 11, 1885 in Moorestown, New Jersey, a Quaker community nine miles from Philadelphia.¹⁸ Paul was one of four children, two girls and two boys, who were the image of Quaker respectability in their youth. Both Paul's mother and father's families were well established in the Quaker community and the families Quaker lineage could be traced on both sides to 17th century Quakers first settling in Pennsylvania looking for religious freedom.¹⁹ Paul's Quaker upbringing was instrumental in her understanding of the world around her. She admits that she never met anyone who was not a Quaker with the exception of the maids, who

¹⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History Interview, November 24-26, 2012 and May 10-12, 2013, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 18.

¹⁹ Mary Walton, *A Woman's Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 19.

were always Irish Catholic.²⁰ Paul believed her lifestyle was like that of all other Quaker families. The Quaker faith limited Paul and her family's behavior, as she did not have music or dancing until later in her life, first becoming introduced to hymns and musical instruments during college.²¹ Paul's own accounts of her life in an extensive oral history conducted by Amelia Fry when Paul was nearly 90 years old convey a sense of isolation, "you just knew these gay maids we had were going off to dances and had a different life than we did. We just felt that was sort of common people who did these things."²² Paul's upbringing separated her from the "common people," but granted her the freedom to pursue ambitious goals that would later serve all women, common and uncommon.

Paul's lifestyle was also enabled by the socioeconomic status her family enjoyed. Paul's father served as bank president, leaving the family ample funds to pursue education and their individual ambitions. Paul recalls a childhood playing tennis on an expansive front yard, playing checkers on the wraparound porch, and fervently reading everything she could get her hands on. Paul's life was not without tragedy as her father suddenly died when she was only sixteen.²³ Despite the loss of its patriarch, the Paul family's status within the community continued after her father's death and an uncle assisted her mother in managing the family's finances.²⁴ This economic privilege later gave Paul the ability to travel and participate in women's movements, often working for no pay and covering her own expenses. Paul's later activism was not completely unheard of in her family, as Paul's family was politically influential and focused in

²⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 26.

²¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 27.

²² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 27.

²³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 20.

²⁴ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 6-8.

its own right. Paul's mother, Tacie, had an "active social conscience, a quality no doubt she passed on to her daughter."²⁵

Paul's love of reading led to extensive work as an academic. The emphasis on education was well established within her family. Alice Paul's mother was one of the first women to attend Swarthmore College, a college Paul's grandfather helped found.²⁶ Swarthmore was founded as a Hicksite Quaker school that would give women equal access to education with men.²⁷ Education would play a major role in Paul's life as well and she too attended Swarthmore for her undergraduate career beginning in 1901 when she was just sixteen years old. The other students at Swarthmore had similar upbringings to Paul, and while the school was progressive in including women it was very conservative following traditional Quaker values and morality contributing to Paul's socioeconomic sheltering.²⁸ Paul recalls boys clearing the tables for meals and the formal ritual of many school events. Even the woman dean having "an enormous influence...on the whole sort of good breeding, of this college."²⁹ Swarthmore was full of good Quaker students who Paul never remembers breaking the rules.³⁰ Paul's endeavors during her undergraduate career are indicative of both her upbringing and the different path she desired to forge for women. At Swarthmore Paul recalls that most women were studying English or Latin. Paul already felt well educated in these subjects and ventured into the male dominated field of biology. Paul intentionally chose this major because, "this was the only way I will ever learn about biology."³¹ Despite the desire to learn with the boys, Paul did not believe she had the same

²⁵ Amy E. Butler, *Two Paths to Equality: Alice Paul and Ethel M. Smith in the ERA Debate, 1921-1929*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 33.

²⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 19.

²⁷ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 7-8.

²⁸ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 8.

²⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 37.

³⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 39.

³¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 28.

seriousness for her studies her male peers demonstrated in pursuit of becoming engineers. Paul's economic privilege is evident in statements about her career plans and how she, "never thought then of doing anything," when asked about her plans to use a degree in biology.³² Amelia Fry's conversations with Paul demonstrate that Paul, while a pioneer for women's rights, was not immune from common expectations of women when admitting that by the end of her undergraduate career if she had any career goals it was likely to become a teacher.³³ Paul recalled that all girls who planned to pursue a career planned to be teachers.³⁴ Paul, and later Edwards, both evolved in their understanding of themselves and feminism through the dynamic process of challenging some gender norms (what subjects to study) and complying with others (forming career goals.) Paul did extract herself entirely from the expectations of society, but began to challenge expectations as she sought a fulfilling career

Immediately following her undergraduate career Paul was given a fellowship to attend the New York School of Philanthropy to be trained as a social worker and learn to serve low-income communities.³⁵ Through this opportunity Paul was able to try her hand at social work, but it became abundantly clear to her that social work would not create the type of change she desired, "to spend all your life doing something that- you knew you couldn't change the situation by social work."³⁶ Paul had found herself a world away from the quiet of Moorestown she was accustomed to working in a Jewish neighborhood in New York where most things were written in Yiddish, the food was unrecognizable to her, and wrote to her mother about businesses frequently caught fire.³⁷ Most of the care these individuals needed was medical care and the most

³² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 29.

³³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 29.

³⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 40.

³⁵ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 9.

³⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 31.

³⁷ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 9.

Paul or other social workers like herself could do was call countless hospitals hoping to find somewhere where the person may receive some free services.³⁸ Paul believed that social work would not, “successfully (alter) the mores of the neighborhood people.”³⁹ Social work was the typical work a woman of Paul’s class was expected to do, but Paul “instead wanted to work for a moral cause,” which she would later find in women’s rights activism.⁴⁰ Political activism fits with Paul’s experiences in social work as she saw the true value of settlements as resulting from wealthy individuals working with those in need and giving them more empathy and “a knowledge of conditions which enables them to work more efficiently in the constructive movement for the betterment of this part of the city.”⁴¹ Later scholars in the *Journal of Social Work* would contend that while Paul left social work, it was not dissimilar from the suffrage activities Paul took on: “Paul was at the forefront of the fight for social justice and demonstrated a needed, if little understood, dimension of social work advocacy practice.”⁴² Paul may have stayed away from connecting her work to social work as many social workers backed protective legislation and opposed the ERA.⁴³ Paul was at the forefront of social workers expanding to take on advocacy work to work to improve the status of women, or any group, as a whole.

Paul soon returned to academia pursuing her masters in sociology, and later PhD, at the University of Pennsylvania.⁴⁴ Paul’s interest in women’s issues becomes apparent during this time period. Paul wrote her masters thesis titled “Toward Equality” on “equality for women in

³⁸ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 10.

³⁹ Butler, *Two Paths to Equity*, 35.

⁴⁰ Jean H. Baker, *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited* (New York: Oxford, 2002), 175.

⁴¹ Butler, *Two Paths to Equity*, 35.

⁴² Sylvia Hawranick, Joan M. Doris, and Robert Daugherty, “Alice Paul: Activist, Advocate, and One of Ours,” *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work*, 23 (2008), 195.

⁴³ Hawrankick et al, “Alice Paul: Activist, advocate, and One of Ours,” *Affilia*, 195.

⁴⁴ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 17.

Pennsylvania” in 1907.⁴⁵ Paul’s PhD dissertation was on a similar topic expanded to cover the entire nation. Prior to completing her doctoral degree Paul was invited to study at a Quaker school in Woodbrook, England.

Throughout her conversations with Amelia Fry, Alice Paul belittles many of her academic achievements. Paul frequently is uncertain if she fully completed the different degrees, “I’m not quite sure whether I took my masters degree. I could look it up in one of the old *Who’s Who*.”⁴⁶ Paul even recalls that the lack of women in her graduate level studies was not overly alarming as “you weren’t conscious of it there because the few girls that were there were in those classes and we got to know each other very well.”⁴⁷ Later when beginning work on the ERA Paul ended up with three law degrees because she kept feeling she needed to learn more.⁴⁸ Paul’s family wealth allowed her to easily attend any school of her choosing whenever her desire to learn emerged. Paul was not financially dependent on working, nor did she need to marry to have someone support her.

Early Activism

It was during her two and a half years in England that Paul’s focus shifted to political action. Paul was taking classes through University of Birmingham and was able to travel around to meet other women. Through these meetings Paul met Christabel Pankhurst and others involved in the women’s reform efforts. Paul says herself that she, “never heard of the idea or anybody being opposed to the idea of (suffrage or equality); I just knew women didn’t vote.”⁴⁹

One of Quakerism’s first principles was the equality of the sexes and Paul could not comprehend

⁴⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 32.

⁴⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 33.

⁴⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 34.

⁴⁸ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 246.

⁴⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 41.

arguments for women's subordinate status.⁵⁰ Paul recalls becoming "anxious to help this movement" after hearing Pankhurst speak and seeing the efforts of other young women.⁵¹ These early efforts were inline with expectations of women's respectability. When individuals shouted through Pankhurst's speech she calmly kept delivering her speech despite the fact that no one could hear her. Pankhurst was later invited back to give a second speech. Sir Oliver Lodge, principal of University of Birmingham and a noted physicist, apologized and required all students to attend and listen.⁵² Paul returned to hear the speech, and was a "heart and soul convert" to the cause.⁵³ Paul engaged in some social work and continued to travel, but also strengthened her devotion to the cause of women's issues throughout 1908. Paul emphasized to Amelia Fry her own personal development in struggling with gender norms and the excitement of finding other women working on a cause that resonated with her, but it would take more time for Paul to become a more radical activist.

Paul's first real suffrage work came through her involvement with the British suffrage organization, the Woman's Social and Political Union. This group was often in the news and extremely militant. The derogatory term suffragette was coined for this group to differentiate them from "better behaved suffragists."⁵⁴ Paul recalls her excitement upon signing the application and giving her 25 cents to become a member and the palpable enthusiasm at meetings.⁵⁵ Paul was able to continue her efforts in Europe while attending some classes at the London School of Economics.⁵⁶ Paul's first real effort for suffrage was selling Pankhurst's

⁵⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 43.

⁵¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 43.

⁵² Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 12.

⁵³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 43.

⁵⁴ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 13.

⁵⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 46.

⁵⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 47.

paper, *Votes for Women*.⁵⁷ Paul would later create her own suffrage magazine in the United States, but first learned more of the tactics of suffrage organizing in Britain.

Movies like *Iron Jawed Angels* and popular accounts of Alice Paul glorify her as a fearless icon in the movement for women's suffrage and women's rights, which does not always account for her depth of character. Paul's glorification as a mythical leader of this movement ignores the reality of her slow growth and development into an activist. In the spring of 1909 the Women's Social and Political Union wrote Paul and other women asking if they would participate in a protest of the prime minister where they would likely be arrested.⁵⁸ Paul was not the fearless organizer she is often portrayed to be. Women were supposed to reply by mail if they were willing to participate and Paul remembers "hesitating for the longest time and writing the letter and not being able to get enough courage to post it and going up and walking around the post office, wondering whether I dare put this in."⁵⁹ Eventually Paul did mail her response and participated in the protest where she was arrested.⁶⁰ While she was arrested this first time, she was not taken to jail. Paul's fears of being arrested were largely an unwillingness to tarnish her family name.⁶¹ Paul saw going to jail as a very big deal and something that was uncommon for the time, rather than something people were willing to do for causes they were passionate about. Despite an initial uncertainty about tarnishing the family name, Paul would not have been the first of her relatives to be jailed for standing up for their convictions. One of her early ancestors was jailed in England because he was a Quaker and his opposition to the government eventually led him to immigrate to the United States.⁶² Although Paul was now willing to challenge

⁵⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 51.

⁵⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 53.

⁵⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 53.

⁶⁰ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 31.

⁶¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 53-54.

⁶² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 18.

authority and defy laws in protest, she still saw it as important to comply with other laws, including court dates. This did mark the beginning of her shift into radicalism.

As a result of her willingness to participate in this first risky endeavor, any time the Women's Social and Political Union desired to engage in similar activities she was contacted to participate.⁶³ Her first true imprisonment occurred later in her stay in London.⁶⁴ Being arrested was seen at the time as the biggest risk in many of the women's rights campaigns. Paul was human and had other fears as well. One of these other fears, public speaking, is not mentioned elsewhere as it may seem trivial or distracts from her persona as a fearless leader, however it is part of the true depth of Paul. In discussing a later incident in which she may be arrested Paul recounted that her real fear was she may have to give a speech before she were arrested. Once Paul learned she, like the other women participating, would be immediately arrested not allowing her to say anything she felt calmer and her fears subsided.⁶⁵ Paul's activism is recalled with many references to her perseverance and tenacity, but she was human. Oral history provides a window into her understanding of her own experiences and her reactions to events that is not always available in secondary sources.

Paul continued her activism for the last year of her stay in London, beginning, to take on more responsibility and involve herself more fully in the movement. This involvement led to more arrests and her first experience of force-feeding following hunger strikes in November of 1909.⁶⁶ Amelia Fry, the historian conducting the oral history with Alice Paul, seemed to think Alice's recollection of this period of time was odd as these are some of the more well

⁶³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 54.

⁶⁴ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 31.

⁶⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 55.

⁶⁶ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 32-3.

documented portions of Paul's activism.⁶⁷ *Iron Jawed Angels* and modern opinions on force-feeding, including condemnation from many in the judicial and medical fields today, convey the seriousness and brutality of this process.⁶⁸ Paul recalls needing time to recuperate before returning home to the U.S. but gives little more than passing acknowledgment to the events occurrence, "I don't remember a thing. You know I still today don't know much about food or think much about it, to care much about it. So I don't remember a thing about the food."⁶⁹ The memories of her time in jail

Return to the United States

Paul soon returned to the United States in 1910. Paul returned to the University of Pennsylvania to complete her PhD and also began attending local suffrage meetings.⁷⁰ Paul began organizing with a small group of women recalling neither a great deal of resistance nor a great deal of assistance as they organized for speakers in Independence Square.⁷¹ Paul was awarded her PhD in 1912 and became more involved in the United States suffrage campaign. Paul is remembered for her national work for suffrage, but she briefly entertained other thoughts including going home to rest or joining Harriot Stanton Blatch's New York organization, while others hoped she would remain in academia.⁷² Paul quickly decided other endeavors were frivolous and sought to push a federal amendment. A women's suffrage amendment had existed since 1878, but had never gained much traction. The amendment was soundly defeated in 1887 and never again received debate, receiving little attention despite *National American Woman*

⁶⁷ Fry, "Suffragist Alice Paul's Memoirs," *Frontiers*, 85

⁶⁸ Butler, *Two Paths to Equality*, 44.

⁶⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 61.

⁷⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 62.

⁷¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 64.

⁷² Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 36-7 and 42-43.

Suffrage Association (NAWSA) appearing before house and senate committees every year to advocate for the amendment.⁷³

Paul took a break at home in Moorestown following the completion of her PhD. Paul then visited with Lucy Burns, a colleague in the British women's suffrage movement, who would also work with Paul extensively in the American suffrage movement. At the NAWSA convention in Philadelphia Paul and Burns found their way on to the congressional committee, and Paul was appointed Chairman with the support of Jane Addams.⁷⁴ This is often a sensationalized period of Paul's life as some find the exaggerated drama of the eventual schism between Paul and her followers and NAWSA interesting.

In December of 1912 Paul and Burns moved to Washington D.C. to begin their work. They were initially the only two real members of the Congressional Committee.⁷⁵ Beginning in a tiny room with no real resources, the women began contacting women in New York who were known to support suffrage asking if they would join in this effort to continue Susan B. Anthony's efforts to pass a Constitutional amendment. Paul continuously emphasizes throughout her conversations with Amelia Fry that the congressional committee was never allowed to send a bill to the NAWSA national headquarters.⁷⁶ Paul was able to gather support for her new endeavor quickly finding some financial backers willing to contribute small sums each month while others volunteered to contribute time and energy in positions such as press chairwoman.⁷⁷

One of the first major efforts of the Congressional Committee was the Inauguration Parade on March 3, 1913. This is one of the more celebrated events of the women's suffrage movement with celebrations marking the anniversaries, including the 75th, which my

⁷³ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 44.

⁷⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 66.

⁷⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 307.

⁷⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 69.

⁷⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 69.

grandmother, Peg Edwards, attended, and most recently the 100th anniversary. This parade was revolutionary at the time as women were not supposed to be marching down Pennsylvania Avenue. The parade was conducted under NAWSA's name and they are given credit, although Paul and her group were the sole funders and organizers of the event. While Paul is listed as the leader of the Congressional Committee in her own recollection of the parade, she is quick to cite numerous women, without whose assistance the parade would have been impossible. The parade was a major departure from the typical organizing that women had done in the United States. Some of the women involved with the parade utilized their personal connections to grant them access to Pennsylvania Avenue; a place women had never previously marched in mass.⁷⁸ This event was also unique in the amount of press it garnered and different groups that were assembled to participate.⁷⁹

Paul's memory of the parade stands in stark contrast to the images of hostility that fill other accounts of this procession. While recalling the parade Paul also makes a serious effort to mention the police efforts. Prior to the parade the women attempted to impress upon the police the scale of the event they were attempting to hold.⁸⁰ Paul recalls, "my impression is of the police doing the best they could, having their leaders not providing enough policemen, and that they could not possibly, in any possible way, manage it."⁸¹ Paul again minimizes her experiences not recalling the harassment other women recalled of the parade, while noting that others recalled being mobbed and others being "very antagonistic."⁸² Despite Paul's positivity about the event, many recount the event with tales of horror that, "men snatched banners, tugged at women's clothing and sometimes the women themselves, and tried to climb floats. They hurled

⁷⁸ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 54-55.

⁷⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 74-76.

⁸⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 74.

⁸¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 76.

⁸² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 76-77.

lighted cigarettes and matches,” and much more at the women marching by as, “the men in uniform (police) looked amused.”⁸³ Paul’s memory of this parade, like her memory of force feedings, is representative of her general focus on noting the progress the women were making and the contributions of certain women, rather than dwelling on the sacrifices and suffering their activism required.

Despite the unrest and disorder at the parade, it was largely seen as a success and brought increased attention to the effort, including from politicians. The news of this parade made national news, although accounts that varied greatly and estimated the number of parade participants as high as eight thousand with hundreds of thousands of spectators.⁸⁴ National headlines also were incredibly critical of the police efforts and Maj. Sylvester’s leadership, increasing pressure on the police to better protect the women in the future.⁸⁵ Women were able to lobby their legislators, sometimes their husbands, to increase the focus and attention given to women’s issues. Paul and her cohort kept up the pressure following the parade capitalizing on individual women’s talents to continue the pressure on Congress.

Other Women’s Involvement

Alice Paul will forever be the name associated with the passage of the 19th amendment, but it was truly a victory of women’s organizing and action around the country. Just as Paul needed to be pushed into activism and learn how to organize in Britain, other women in the United States benefited from Paul’s knowledge and added their own contributions to the effort. Paul spends a great deal of her conversations of Amelia Fry emphasizing the contributions of other women. Many of Fry’s questions concern how such a large movement was organized and

⁸³ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 75.

⁸⁴ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 77.

⁸⁵ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 78.

coordinated, a feat Paul did not do on her own. Paul recalls much of her own time was devoted to small details, rather strategizing or serving as a face of the movement. Paul says she spent, “all my time, ninety-nine percent of it, raising money. Then far too much on just doing this work of seeing that every little detail went all right way out in Wyoming or wherever it was. But I never thought we ever had anything but the utmost and the most wonderful cooperation from the organizers.”⁸⁶ There were numerous women involved in organizing and running such a large operation. Paul specifically gave credit to a number of different women who were incredibly important to the success of the push for women’s suffrage. Some of these women are mentioned in other scholarship, but Paul’s own memory of the organizing gives a look at the day-to-day operations of the suffrage movement that may not be recorded in documents still available today.

For example, Paul gives a great deal of credit to Maud Yonger, the “lobby chairman.”⁸⁷ Maud created a card system for legislators that allowed the women to be incredibly knowledgeable and prepared for lobbying a member of congress. This card system included twenty-two cards per legislator that detailed their personal information, including family, education, military, etc., as well as all the information about their voting history on suffrage. These cards were crucial for organizing women’s efforts, and Yonger and Paul committed much of this information to memory. Paul recalls that Congressmen knew about the card system, and even at times considered it a privilege to be included.⁸⁸ Yonger met with every legislator, which allowed the women to understand how Congress was feeling at any given time and thus when it would be safe to bring the amendment up for a vote.⁸⁹ Yonger was never paid for her

⁸⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 296.

⁸⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 258.

⁸⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 260.

⁸⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 261.

contributions, as all the lobbyists for women's suffrage were volunteers.⁹⁰ In addition to her efforts to organize and lobby, Yonger was able to cultivate personal relationships with legislators. Paul did not have the same relationship with the legislators causing her to rely on Yonger to understand Congress, "she (Yonger) knew them so well that she could go up and talk to most any man on a personal, friendly basis. I couldn't do any of those things. I practically never went up to Capitol Hill, so I didn't know them personally."⁹¹ Yonger's importance to the suffrage campaign is noted in accounts of Paul's activism in part because her contributions were so different than Paul's, "she [Yonger] has speaking ability, trade union connections, and, at forty-seven, a maturity lacking in some younger members. Her gritty determination, formidable wit, and boundless energy endeared her to Alice."⁹²

The push for a federal amendment was largely focused on field organizing to have women from each state lobby their own congressmen. Mabel Vernon in particular is highlighted for her ability to bring attention to the movement and gain supporters in every state, even when she was with unfamiliar crowds.⁹³ Paul highlights the ability of others to connect with women from different states and districts and bring them to DC and help them prepare to meet and lobby their representative. In April 1913 Paul's group had organized to have one woman from every congressional district available to personally deliver a petition to her congressman.⁹⁴ Paul recalls the effectiveness of these endeavors was in part a result of congressman speaking to women who were their constituents, particularly when these women were from voting states.⁹⁵ It is important to note that meeting with a Congressman was easier then than now. Congressman did not have

⁹⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 261.

⁹¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 324.

⁹² Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 164.

⁹³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 81.

⁹⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 100.

⁹⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 103.

as many administrative assistants as they do today, and anyone who was interested could talk directly to their legislator.⁹⁶ Paul was proud of the women's efforts and similarities to the work of Susan B. Anthony; "the photograph that we always use as a postcard with Susan B. Anthony going up all alone, that's what the lobbying had been as far as the women's movement was concerned."⁹⁷ Women were forging relationships with each other but also with their representatives out of necessity to make this movement a success and change the status of women.

Other women were important as well including Florence Brewer Boeckel who created and ran the press department diligently recording all mentions of the Congressional Committee. Paul makes an effort to mention the contributions of many, but some are invariably lost. Women's contributions to this cause were so varied including time, money, or a specific skill, that many were able to contribute and go about their normal lives or slip back into the private sphere with little notice. These everyday women, while not mentioned by name in history books, made such a movement possible. Paul also emphasizes that the women recognized after the success of suffrage were not always the ones responsible for the success of the campaign. Paul notes that some of the women invited to the final ceremony signing the amendment were not actually involved or had initially been critical of the efforts for a constitutional amendment.⁹⁸ TA more critical lens is needed to determine where credit should be given following movements that necessitate a cultural shift.

⁹⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 264.

⁹⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 266.

⁹⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 79.

Rallying Support

The women pushing for suffrage were very focused on getting their message out. One such effort to spread information was the creation of the newspaper, *The Suffragist* in November 1913.⁹⁹ Paul recalls that they generally did not have a great deal of support from the press. The *New York Times* was one paper recalled as being staunchly anti-suffrage.¹⁰⁰ Paul often discusses the support their efforts were gaining among women and seems to imply the negativity portrayed in the press was not entirely indicative of the true opinions of the nation. To help combat this problem the women created their own source of information. However this too can confuse true understanding of the support of the amendment. Amelia Fry was extremely well educated on the suffrage movement when she interviewed Alice Paul, but even she admitted that, “what I have been reading in *The Suffragist* are the quotes from newspapers that did support you, so I think that might give a kind of skewed impression of the support you got from the press.”¹⁰¹

Paul also led delegations to meet with President Wilson beginning in November 1913.¹⁰² Wilson was an ardent supporter of state’s rights. While in office in New Jersey Wilson had supported women’s suffrage, but was opposed to Paul’s efforts because they were for a federal amendment rather than for individual state reform. Paul and others continued to meet with Wilson throughout their campaign often attempting to demonstrate that public opinion was supporting their initiatives.¹⁰³ While Wilson had been respectful to the women coming to discuss suffrage with him, he did not support the women and would not pressure Congress. Later in 1917 he would refuse to meet with the women as they became more militant. Paul and others felt they needed to pressure Wilson more and the idea of picketing the White House was born.

⁹⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 85.

¹⁰⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 124.

¹⁰¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 125.

¹⁰² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 85.

¹⁰³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 105.

Despite their difference Paul also speaks incredibly positively of President Wilson and the respect he showed for the women allowing them to speak and listening to them.¹⁰⁴

Divisions in Women's Organizing

In 1914 the Congressional Committee split with NAWSA. Most scholars emphasize Paul's focus on a constitutional amendment and refusal to follow NAWSA's state-by-state approach as the divisive issue. Paul's singular focus on the constitutional amendment is clear in all accounts, "we want to make woman suffrage the dominant political issue from the moment Congress reconvenes, we want to have Congress open in the middle of a veritable suffrage cyclone."¹⁰⁵ This split is well documented as contentious on both sides, but Paul's own memory of the events paints it as a more complicated split that blindsided her. This differs from historical record, which often indicates that Paul actively sought her own independent national organization.¹⁰⁶ Tensions leading to the split had begun to mount earlier in 1913 as Shaw and others were unhappy with the amount of effort being given to the federal amendment. NAWSA was also frustrated by the failures of suffrage measures in several states including and as some state organizations pledged their support to the Congressional Union.¹⁰⁷ The split officially came after the committee went through the enormous cost and burden of organizing and hosting NAWSA's convention in Washington D.C.¹⁰⁸ Paul's account of the split refers to them as being pushed out, but also depicts it as a complete surprise.

Paul puts an emphasis on money and fundraising as the reason for the move, rather than a split in ideology. The Congressional Committee had long known that it was not to turn in any

¹⁰⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 86.

¹⁰⁵ Christine A. Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1910-1928*, (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 71.

¹⁰⁶ Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 34.

¹⁰⁷ Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 77.

¹⁰⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 90.

bills but must fundraise to cover all its own expenses, including the thousands spent on the convention. This policy later was twisted when Carrie Chapman Catt made a speech at the convention about how they could not tolerate a committee raising \$27,000 and not turning any of it over to the national organization.¹⁰⁹ This comment blindsided Paul, who was unaware a split had been coming. Paul reflects that their mistake may have been not staying in constant communication with the national leaders.¹¹⁰ Paul succinctly describes NAWSA's desires to reduce the Congressional Union, "we raised... so much that the national board wanted to have it."¹¹¹ When Paul took over the Congressional Union the national leadership of NAWSA were not prepared for the amount of money she would be able to raise and the support she would gain. The Congressional Union's growing presence threatened to divert resources and attention away from NAWSA's state efforts.¹¹² Her success became something they wanted for themselves, and were not comfortable when her success began to distract from the national's goals of achieving suffrage state by state.

While the splintering was now imminent, it was not immediate. There were different ways women's organizations could be associated with NAWSA. The congressional committee, now operating under the name Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, was told to apply for a different type of recognition. They were accepted and began to raise the funds necessary for this type of recognition. The new group wanted to remain associated with NAWSA, but have more control over their own funds. Paul was later individually sought out by NAWSA furthering the divide when she was told if she wished to continue as Chairman her loyalty must be to the

¹⁰⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 91.

¹¹⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 90.

¹¹¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 273.

¹¹² Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 77.

national, and could not be divided to her committee.¹¹³ This was an unacceptable bargain for Paul who intended to only be chairman for a year and had done so at what she defined as great personal cost: financially, emotionally, and physically.¹¹⁴ Lucy Burns was chairman for a time, but would also not agree to the stipulations about loyalty, leaving the Congressional Union without a chairman for a time.¹¹⁵ When this tactic did not work Paul was also asked to remain with NAWSA but to not continue with the Congressional Union and instead devote her efforts to state reform with the national.¹¹⁶

While Paul portrays this split as a bit of a shock to her initially and the result of tensions over finances, most other secondary sources portray this as a hostile split spurred by ideological differences and competition that lingered throughout the suffrage movement. Anna Shaw was head of NAWSA at the time of the split, but Paul never mentions her role. Shaw appointed a new Congressional Committee when Paul and Lucy Burns would not agree to make certain changes.¹¹⁷ NAWSA leaders were harsh in their words on Paul's tactics saying the Congressional Union was, "unscrupulous in its policies, deceitful, shrewd, and skilled at deception."¹¹⁸ Despite the animosity reported in so many books and on film, Paul did not portray any lingering bitterness in any of her conversations with Amelia Fry, instead speaking positively about all involved in the suffrage movement. Despite their differences both organizations supported improving the status of women and Paul remained hopeful that reconciliation was possible writing to Shaw, "I need hardly add that we all regret deeply your hostility toward us. We are utterly at a loss to understand what we have done of which you disapprove and hope that

¹¹³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 95.

¹¹⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 93.

¹¹⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 94.

¹¹⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 270.

¹¹⁷ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 90.

¹¹⁸ Butler, *Two Paths to Equity*, 50.

sometime you will be willing to give us an opportunity of clearing up whatever misunderstanding exists.”¹¹⁹

The Amendment

While bills are often known by the names of the sponsoring Senator or Congressman the amendment on women’s suffrage was introduced to Congress so many consecutive years it became known simply as the Susan B. Anthony amendment for the woman who originally wrote and lobbied for it. Paul emphasized the importance of sticking to this original amendment frequently. Paul remembers her frustration with the lack of support for a federal amendment as a testament to Anthony’s legacy, “after all those years of Miss Anthony going to these conventions and so on, and waking all by herself you see, it made me fee very sad to think that the women themselves would consent to work against themselves.”¹²⁰ In 1914 Alice Paul had decided she would go home at the beginning of the year to rest at home and recover from her constant work.¹²¹ During the time she was away Lucy Burns and other capable women were going to take charge and continue to lobby for their amendment. Paul was called back early when a second amendment threatened to divide supporters of women’s suffrage and derail all of the efforts of the Congressional Union.

Despite NAWSA’s earlier insistence on a state-by-state approach, now in 1914 they were in Washington D.C. supporting a different federal amendment on women’s suffrage. The

¹¹⁹ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 92. This split did have benefits as it solidified the support of Alva Belmont, previously Alva Vanderbilt, to the side of Alice Paul. Belmont was a major supporter and financial backer of the suffrage movement. She was also responsible for one of the stories Peg Edwards remembers Paul telling towards the end of her life. While married to Vanderbilt, Alva reportedly found him in bed with another woman leading her to divorce him. This netted her a massive divorce settlement, enabling her to donate a great deal of money to supporting the National Woman’s Party and allowing the NWP to buy its headquarters Belmont House. Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 93-4. And Transcript, Pauline Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

¹²⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 144.

¹²¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 94.

Shaforth-Palmer Bill was another potential suffrage measure introduced to Congress. This bill allowed for the possibility of state-by-state referendums on the issue of women's suffrage.¹²² This led to confusion within the Congressional Union about how to continue their efforts. The board of the Congressional Committee weighed in on the issue, and Mary Beard issued a report that the Congressional Union should continue to pursue its original Susan B. Anthony Amendment.¹²³ In accounts of the suffrage movement Paul is always touted as the singular leader of the National Woman's Party, but this does not come across in Paul's description of her own actions. Paul emphasizes the role of others demonstrating the importance of a community of women in achieving success, but also preventing any individual, including herself, for being blamed for negative or controversial aspects of their work, including the split with NAWSA. This tension over two amendments led to the Congressional Union's official split from NAWSA. In describing her surprise at the introduction of the Shaforth-Palmer amendment, Paul says that without it, "we never would have thought of having a separate organization."¹²⁴ A statement other historians would disagree with believing Paul quickly realized she wanted her own national organization devoted to a federal amendment. Paul also believes this was the time she became so deeply devoted to the cause. Paul acknowledges that she would have likely been involved, as she had already been involved in England, but told Fry, "you can do all those little things and still it's not your life."¹²⁵

While there was an obvious divergence in agendas, initially it was not intended to be a full split between the two groups. The Congressional Union sent in its resignation but asked for a

¹²² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 96.

¹²³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 96. Mary Beard is also a prominent DePauw alumni (1897). Along with her husband Charles. Both were American historians and Mary wrote extensively about women's role in American history and was active in the suffrage campaign and later women's rights efforts.

¹²⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 278.

¹²⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 278.

different type of classification or recognition from NAWSA where the cost would not be so great. However the resignation was accepted, while the request for reclassification was denied.¹²⁶ Paul recalls that this was troubling, as they wanted unity in the movement. Paul was not the sole decision maker for the Congressional Union, and the group voted to separate and continue their efforts, despite uncertainty over their lack of funding, resources, and access.¹²⁷ The women were able to secure some support, including crucial support from Mrs. Belmont, a wealthy suffrage supporter, who “decided that we were the ones who would be able to put the amendment through, and it was insanity to be starting on just getting a referendum to men of the states.”¹²⁸ The two amendments remained in battle with one another, although the Congressional Union believed they had an advantage in the simplicity of their amendment. They believed that women could better understand their straightforward amendment granting women the right to vote nationally better than they could understand the complicated jargon of referendums, which would require separate action in each state.¹²⁹ Paul sat silently through this astonished at the now large gap between her efforts and NAWSA’s. NAWSA’s new president Carrie Chapman Catt eventually quietly killed the Shaforth-Palmer amendment after she replaced Anna Howard Shaw; this move was intended to eliminate, “a source of conflict between the leadership and the rank and file.”¹³⁰ This move theoretically established NAWSA’s tacit approval of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, but Paul’s group was now separate.¹³¹

¹²⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 97.

¹²⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 97.

¹²⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 280.

¹²⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 287.

¹³⁰ Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 82.

¹³¹ At the annual conference in Mississippi in late spring 1914 someone called for Paul to speak and provide an explanation for the differing legislative agendas, but a NAWSA officer rose first saying Paul was ill and unable to clarify at the time. The gathering in Mississippi was disheartening for Paul who recalls being, “regarded as a sort of pariah, an outcast in every possible way” at the convention. The emergence of an obvious division gave others the opportunity to act in support of Paul and her group, as

Not all suffragists were happy with the split and one member of NAWSA, Zona Gale, brought Carrie Chapman Catt and Paul together hoping to “stop this constant friction between these two groups, which is so bad for the women’s movement and so bad for our ever getting the vote.”¹³² Catt had previously demonstrated some skepticism of Paul’s perceived naivety. This is demonstrated in an early interaction between Paul and Catt at the 1913 suffrage parade. Paul remembers Catt telling her, “I enlisted for life when I went into this movement... When you have more experience you’ll know this it’s a much longer fight than you have any idea of.”¹³³ This meeting occurred after NAWSA had assumed control of the *Woman’s Journal* allowing Catt and others to use it for their state-by-state reform efforts. Historians’ accounts often emphasize the importance of this division in ideologies from the beginning; “NAWSA failed in its attempt to prevent internal divisiveness by initially tolerating Paul’s methods.”¹³⁴

Paul’s recollection of her interactions with Catt does not include the animosity many historians focus on, but rather portrays them as two dedicated women who simply had different ideas on how to best improve the status of women. This meeting was incredibly contentious and Paul recalls vividly her exchange with Catt. Zona Gale, who arranged the meeting, explained that she had brought the women together to resolve their differences and Paul said, “we certainly, for our group I knew, would do every last one of these things, be glad to.”¹³⁵ Paul’s civility was not reciprocated as Catt said “I want to say that I will fight you to the last bit,” and immediately

several organizations recommended their members transfer or otherwise pledged their support to the efforts to secure the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. While this was a time of growth for the Congressional Union on its own there were repeated attempts to bring the groups back together.

Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 98-9.

¹³² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 180.

¹³³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 285.

¹³⁴ Butler, *Two Paths to Equality*, 48.

¹³⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 180.

left, with these being the last words she ever said to Paul.¹³⁶ Catt would continue her campaign against Paul's group forcing the International Suffrage Alliance to rescind its invitation to the Congressional Union.¹³⁷ Despite this apparent hostility Paul was calm recounting this later in life and told Fry to omit this portion as, "I don't like to have attacks on anybody going down in history."¹³⁸ Paul was similarly kind giving credit to police for "attempting" to protect her suffrage parade when women were attacked and harassed or recalling Wilson positively while minimizing the numerous times he refused to meet with women's delegations. This creates an interesting juxtaposition, as Paul had no problem recounting the picketing of the White House where banners were often viewed as attacks on Wilson. This contrast may be the result of when Paul thought action was required as her efforts outside the White House were part of holding the party in power responsible, while diminishing the character or efforts of someone else did not serve a purpose toward the ultimate goal of suffrage. This civility fits well with Paul's status as a wealthy woman and a Quaker, but her efforts for women's rights can hardly be seen as passive.

The confusion over the competing suffrage bills was temporary, as NAWSA ended its efforts when war broke out.¹³⁹ Paul's newly formed Congressional Union continued to pursue its agenda, despite fewer people supporting it. Following the split some said the Congressional Union had about 5% of suffragists, while NAWSA had the remaining 95%.¹⁴⁰ During 1914 Paul and others continued using older tactics, including processions. One such procession in Washington DC in May was made possible by Crystal Eastman's constant travel and organizing across the nation. This procession had just one woman from every district, and was exceptionally

¹³⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 180.

¹³⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 183.

¹³⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 183.

¹³⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 101.

¹⁴⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 285.

well protected by the police who were motivated to create a positive reputation for themselves.¹⁴¹ 1914 also saw the beginning of “holding the party in power responsible” which included campaigning against Wilson and all other Democrats. This included running against Democrats who had been supportive of suffrage.¹⁴² Paul recalls this, like all their actions, faced opposition, but that her own members were very supportive.¹⁴³ In discussion of how they sought to alter votes Paul emphasized that, “we didn’t care ... whether they voted Prohibition, Socialist, or Republican, whatever they wanted, (as long as it wasn’t democratic).”¹⁴⁴ While most campaigns are run to support specific candidates, Paul and the other women were doing everything in their power to hold the party in power responsible preventing Democrats from continuing to serve in government while women were disenfranchised. This initiative was made successful by the ability of women to mobilize and organize in each state. This enabled them to reach more of the voting base that had the potential to cost democrats the election.¹⁴⁵

Amelia Fry asked Paul if it was hard to campaign against members of Congress who had worked for women’s suffrage, but Paul countered that, “I don’t know anybody who ever worked *hard*.”¹⁴⁶ Paul’s critique of other’s efforts fits well with her characterization of her own efforts. Paul’s devotion to the cause of women’s rights was unwavering and consuming, and as a result others who were less zealous in their efforts or diverted time to other efforts were seen as not giving their all. Paul frequently recalls that she and her peers were exhausted by their constant work, and these congressmen were not as fully devoted to the cause.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 108.

¹⁴² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 290.

¹⁴³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 110.

¹⁴⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 149.

¹⁴⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 149.

¹⁴⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 114.

¹⁴⁷ The women’s constant devotion and incessant effort is exemplified in the death of Inez Milholland who Paul held in the highest esteem. Milholland had led several processions and toured the country

While these tactics were unusual, they seem to work. As the women worked to campaign against democrats holding the “party in power responsible” they were able to demonstrate to many congressmen the popular support they had for their initiatives. In 1914 the amendment was suddenly voted out of committee, after previously being stuck in the House rules committee.¹⁴⁸ Paul said the group “knew” this move was a direct result of their actions.¹⁴⁹ Getting the amendment out of committee represented the increased support and attention it was getting from not only legislators, but also their constituents.

Paul and Fry’s conversations describe 1915 as “a year of fieldwork.”¹⁵⁰ During this period efforts were made to organize women in their home states, with particular emphasis on the states that had already granted women the right to vote. Nevada and Montana granted women the right to vote in 1914 through state referendums.¹⁵¹ Although Paul and her colleagues were entirely devoted to a federal amendment, they benefited from the successes of those pursuing a state-by-state approach. Organizing women in their home states was part of the strategy to not only gather support nationally but also enable the women to pressure their individual congressman with greater success. Working outside of Washington allowed the message to reach other women. Some of these women were able to become involved from a distance, whether it was through financial donations, letter writing, or other activities. Creating this structure of organization throughout the country would prove useful in the push for ratification, and a lack of a similar structure inhibited similar efforts for the Equal Rights Amendment. Throughout 1915

speaking in support of women’s suffrage. Millholland collapsed while speaking and was said to have died of pernicious anemia, and in the words of Paul, “she had worked so extremely hard and just worn herself out” leading to her death. Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 155.

¹⁴⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 116.

¹⁴⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 116.

¹⁵⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 133.

¹⁵¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 133-4.

the women were also working to again capitalize on their strategy of holding the party in power responsible.¹⁵²

This emphasis on political action in part helped spark the creation of the National Woman's Party in 1916.¹⁵³ At the meeting of the Congressional Union in Washington D.C. in April of 1916 there was a large parade of women, but there were also calls for an even larger election campaign and Paul proposed for the creation of a distinct political party. Chicago hosted a convention for the women from suffrage states who were the voters that would compose this new National Woman's Party.¹⁵⁴ This new party increased its efforts to hold the party in power responsible. Paul recalls that their efforts had not just grown in numbers, but they were now a stronger organization. Men were even coming to some of their meeting and pledging to contribute to the cause.¹⁵⁵ In addition to their own efforts the new National Woman's Party (NWP) was intent on trying to gain politicians endorsement for women's suffrage.¹⁵⁶

The NWP's aim was not simply for individual candidates to endorse the amendment, but also for support to be included in the part of the party platforms. Previously, general support for expanding suffrage was in the party platforms, but they did not explicitly advocate for the constitutional amendment. Initially both Democrats and Republicans advocated for a state-by-state expansion of suffrage, with the Democrats explicitly advocating for, "the extension of the

¹⁵² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 137.

¹⁵³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 137.

¹⁵⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 138.

¹⁵⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 139.

¹⁵⁶ Paul regards him as she does many politicians saying, "he wasn't deeply interested but we regarded him as a friend. Paul recalls a discussion with Roosevelt about the importance of proper timing in politics in which he said, "you not only have to be right, but you have to be right in time." These women were constantly pressuring candidates to come out in support of women's suffrage, but these men also had to contend with when was best for them to announce their support in a way that would increase their chance of winning. Roosevelt's words proved accurate in understanding the poor performance and timing of some candidates, including Republican nominee Charles Evans Hughes. Hughes did not discuss his support of suffrage in suffrage states where he would have gained a great deal of support, but rather waited to mention it in one of his last speeches in New York where it was a much more contentious and negatively viewed issue. Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 140-1.

franchise to the women of the country by the states upon the same terms as men.”¹⁵⁷ Some women, including NAWSA, saw this step as an improvement, while Paul whole-heartedly disagreed with the state-by-state approach and saw it as conflicting with the efforts of earlier activists. Paul saw the movement for a federal amendment for women’s suffrage as something that began before the current activists were even born, the legacy of Susan B. Anthony.¹⁵⁸ Paul’s discussions of this period are sprinkled with frustration that women would advocate against themselves by opposing a federal amendment or suffrage in general.

The National Woman’s Party, Picketing, and War

In March of 1917 the Congressional Union and National Woman’s Party met together to decide to officially unify. The unification coincided with Wilson’s inauguration for his second term and the women planned to meet with Wilson, however Wilson refused to see the women as they had also begun picketing the White House.¹⁵⁹ While Paul had touted the success of the lobbying campaign, the reality was little progress was made through lobbying alone with one historian referring to it as, “a spirited but unsuccessful campaign of aggressive congressional lobbying.”¹⁶⁰ President Wilson responded to the picketing in ways he had not to repeated visits and traditional lobbying, “in the months since the picketing had commenced, Wilson had become not only an active suffrage supporter, but a supporter of the federal amendment. In the months to come, he would extend himself time and again, with only moderate backsliding, on behalf of the amendment.”¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 144.

¹⁵⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 145.

¹⁵⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 185.

¹⁶⁰ Baker, *Votes for Women*, 174.

¹⁶¹ Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 139.

Iron Jawed Angels focuses heavily on the tactic of picketing and depicts the abuse the women faced for daring to be so bold, however this was not the case for the initial picketing. Picketing was led early on by Harriot Stanton Blatch, daughter of women's rights activist Elizabeth Cady Stanton.¹⁶² Paul did not see herself as a leader of this picketing and organizing and saw her role "doing whatever had to be done."¹⁶³ Paul acknowledged that she could not ask women to picket if she were unwilling to do so herself, "I never thought of myself as a coordinator (laughter)...But of course you can't lead people to do something that you won't do yourself. I never had any particular problem with that."¹⁶⁴ Picketing began in January 1917 and continued with little controversy until the United States entered World War I in April 1917.¹⁶⁵

The beginning of war caused serious divisions and many flipped on the issue, including the former leader of picketing Harriot Stanton Blatch. Many women nationally and within NAWSA devoted their attention to the war effort and some took positions within the Defense Department. Picketing was not a source of controversy as a tactic, but was seen as problematic because the United States was at war and the patriotism that accompanied the war effort. Paul recalls that there were hundreds of resignation letters received after deciding to continue picketing despite the war.¹⁶⁶ Continuing the picketing efforts during the war was not a decision that was made lightly, nor was it a decision Paul recalls making on her own, but was partially ensured by conversations before picketing began. The decision to picket was the subject of great discussion and debate. Paul knew any such efforts would have to be sustained as "you have to be prepared to come through for a long time or it is ineffective."¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 88.

¹⁶³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 344.

¹⁶⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 344.

¹⁶⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 187.

¹⁶⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 304.

¹⁶⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 156.

In the weeks immediately following the declaration of war the picketers continued relatively undisturbed.¹⁶⁸ The women began to use more and more of Wilson's own words against him often quoting his speeches to highlight his emphasis on democracy and equality abroad but not at home. Soon the picketers were deemed too embarrassing especially after a Russian delegation entering the White House read a banner reading, "President Wilson and the Envoy root are deceiving Russia...."¹⁶⁹ Paul recalls being warned by the Washington police that they would no longer be allowed to picket as a result of the war, but Paul responded that it was their "duty to continue to go out."¹⁷⁰ Women who continued to picket went knowing and accepting they would be arrested, and many women openly volunteered for this fate.¹⁷¹ Many women were against this action and circulated petitions telling the picketers to stop, but they persisted. Paul refers to this period as the beginning of their militancy.¹⁷²

Paul frequently noted that it was not her sole discretion to continue the activism and that she personally "couldn't arbitrarily change the whole policy of the Woman's Party, Everybody there talked and communicated with people like Miss Morey, who was one of our leading women in another state...who had always said that if they ever did start in to stop us picketing, we could always call on her."¹⁷³ Some of the banners were more inflammatory than others referring to "Kaiser Wilson," while others were considerably less aggressive quoting Wilson's own words back to him.¹⁷⁴ Soon Paul was called and informed banners of any kind would not be allowed. Women were arrested on charges of obstructing the sidewalk and fined, but the women

¹⁶⁸ Lunardini, *From Equal Rights to Equal Suffrage*, 114

¹⁶⁹ Lunardini, *From Equal Rights to Equal Suffrage*, 115.

¹⁷⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 189.

¹⁷¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 190.

¹⁷² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 191.

¹⁷³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 196.

¹⁷⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 192 and 202.

always refused to pay the fine believing they had done no wrong, and instead were sent to jail.¹⁷⁵ Often sentences were short, but as the picketing continued other were sentenced to serve sixty days or more in work camps.¹⁷⁶ These women also faced backlash from their families and took a great social risk being arrested for picketing.¹⁷⁷ Many of the women involved had the same fears of being arrested that Paul did when she began her activism in England. Paul did not seem to think women today understand what this meant as, “today it’s sort of commonplace to be arrested, but it was certainly extremely unusual at the time.”¹⁷⁸ These arrests were bad publicity for the government and President Wilson pardoned sixteen women in July in a move we today would call a “cop out.”¹⁷⁹

Paul minimizes her own time in jail throughout her conversations with Amelia Fry and tells little of the torture and abuse others recall her having survived. Paul does not recall smuggling out notes, but they were often printed in *The Suffragist* giving others information on what was happening.¹⁸⁰ Many of these notes were about keeping the party running while she was gone, rather than her personal experiences demonstrating her devotion to the cause above her own health and safety.¹⁸¹ Paul and other women held hunger strikes to protest being held as political prisoners. Other women however did detail their experiences and torture of force feedings, reporting how they, and Paul, suffered and feared the feedings all day.¹⁸² Paul also gives a tremendous amount of credit to the psychologist who did not declare her insane, saving

¹⁷⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 194.

¹⁷⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 194-195.

¹⁷⁷ Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 138-9.

¹⁷⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 199.

¹⁷⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 195 and 200.

¹⁸⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 207.

¹⁸¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 208.

¹⁸² Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 134.

her from a lifetime in mental institutions.¹⁸³ Paul could have been institutionalized for life for any signs of “paranoia or persecution complex,” and Paul was questioned at length about if she regarded President Wilson as a personal enemy.¹⁸⁴

When questioned about her support civil disobedience given her Quaker background Paul was confused. Paul responded that, “we didn’t do civil disobedience, of course, in our movement.”¹⁸⁵ Paul later agrees that many would characterize the picketing, and subsequent time in jail, as civil disobedience. Civil disobedience was a new type of activism for women in the United States that Linda Ford characterizes as both “militant” and “nonviolent.”¹⁸⁶ Paul and her fellow protestors were militant in their strong resistance to authority in picketing, but the women never turned violent accepting the abuse police allowed to occur on the streets and not resisting arrest.¹⁸⁷ Paul believes this is the reason she did not remain close with her alma mater, Swarthmore, as they did not see her tactics as respectable, especially when the vote still seemed so far away.¹⁸⁸ Paul was not concerned with these negative repercussions and continued to wholeheartedly pursue suffrage and utilize picketing and political pressure to achieve it. Paul may not have initially seen these actions as militant or civil disobedience because they were much more peaceful than the suffrage movement in England, “British suffragists had brought their struggle to the point of violence, or as they called it guerilla warfare.”¹⁸⁹

Despite the distractions of members going to jail and the sensationalization of attacks on picketers, prison sentences, and force feedings the campaign went on. Pressure was mounting on Wilson at this time as well. Members of the NWP created special trains that went around the

¹⁸³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 208.

¹⁸⁴ Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 133.

¹⁸⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 257.

¹⁸⁶ Baker, *Votes for Women*, 175.

¹⁸⁷ Baker, *Votes for Women*, 175.

¹⁸⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 257.

¹⁸⁹ Baker, *Votes for Women*, 176.

country to bring attention and support to their cause.¹⁹⁰ This included a special prison train, featuring women who had gone to prison; this helped bring negative attention to the Democratic Party as part of holding the party in power responsible.¹⁹¹ Wilson was considering making women's suffrage a war measure until the House Judiciary Committee prevented him from doing so ruling that only "war emergency measures should be considered."¹⁹² In September of 1917 the Senate finally established a Suffrage Committee, a committee the house had established previously. This signaled increasing support within Congress for suffrage and success appeared to be closer. While Paul remains the face of the success for suffrage this was truly a collaborative movement demanding strong women's networking, but also cooperation with male politicians. Actions including picketing and holding the party in power responsible would seem to separate the women from the politicians, but ultimately to achieve success they needed the support of men in Congress to pass the amendment.

Nearing Success & Ratification

In September 1917 another main change came when Carrie Chapman Catt for the first time backed the federal amendment. Spurred by the failure to pass a suffrage measure in Maine and the success of Britain's national suffrage campaign Catt came out in her suffrage magazine saying that women's suffrage organizations would "unite in the near future" for the federal amendment.¹⁹³ While Paul never recalls the groups actually uniting, this did signal a positive shift forward. An even bigger endorsement came the following month when President Wilson

¹⁹⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 138.

¹⁹¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 211.

¹⁹² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 211.

¹⁹³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 213.

publicly endorsed suffrage.¹⁹⁴ Despite the new endorsement the battle was not yet over, and attention, including picketing, shifted to the Senate.¹⁹⁵

The women came very close to passing the amendment in 1918 believing they had the exact votes needed. However the women were surprised when Senator Borah from Idaho delayed this step though after switching his vote, despite representing a suffrage state and indicating to all the women he would support the amendment.¹⁹⁶ Borah had publicly supported women's suffrage, and continued to support it following his choice to change his vote.¹⁹⁷ His justification for this switch was that, "he wasn't voting against us, he was only voting for state referendum, to get it the same way Idaho had gotten it."¹⁹⁸ In this instance voting was delayed so as not to be defeated, but it was not the only time the suffragists were blocked so close to the end. In January 1918, exactly forty years to the day since suffrage was introduced to Congress, the House first passed the amendment, however the Senate failed to do so by two votes.¹⁹⁹ This was not the first or last time women would think they were close to securing passage of the amendment and was part of why they had to have women working constantly with all Congressmen and know all of their stances on suffrage. The women could take no breaks if for fear of supporters changing their minds or of missing the opportunity to push for a vote when they had support.

Paul and her colleagues worked tirelessly for suffrage throughout the first decades of the 20th century. Paul and the NWP maintained their strategy of working constantly with congressmen to ensure their support. This strategy was incredibly close to success in 1919, until one small but significant change to the amendment caused the women to urge the representatives

¹⁹⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 215.

¹⁹⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 218.

¹⁹⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 115.

¹⁹⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 115.

¹⁹⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 117.

¹⁹⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 220.

to not support the measure in its current form. This change was the inclusion of a clause that would require ratification within seven years.²⁰⁰ This clause would give hope to the anti-suffragists who would simply have to delay ratification to succeed in their endeavor. The Congressional Union was able to successfully defeat this measure at which point many anti-suffragists ended their campaign realizing, “it’s useless, essentially useless. They have won by defeating that seven-year (clause).”²⁰¹ The women’s persistent tactics eventually paid off and the amendment was passed through the House of Representatives on May 20, 1919 and passed through the Senate on June 4th.²⁰² The Senate was the more contentious of the two chambers and President Wilson was important in ensuring the amendment had sufficient votes.²⁰³ The passage of the amendment highlights that the women’s success was a group effort as Paul was out fundraising and not in DC at the time of the vote and the New York Times, a previously anti-suffrage newspaper, had a long article about the importance of Maud Younger’s card index system.²⁰⁴

Paul remembers the battle for ratification beginning the day after the suffrage amendment was passed. By the end of June nine states had already ratified the amendment, although some opposition remained.²⁰⁵ To ensure ratification the women simply transformed the organizational structures already in operation for the new state efforts. Paul had supporters in some states that carried great authority, including Senator Cummins in Iowa, who promised to bring her the support of his state so Paul and other’s efforts could be focused on other states.²⁰⁶ Paul emphasizes their disappointment when the amendment failed to pass in Delaware, as many

²⁰⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 123.

²⁰¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 123.

²⁰² Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 234.

²⁰³ Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 147.

²⁰⁴ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 235-6.

²⁰⁵ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 237.

²⁰⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 226.

hoped that would be the final state.²⁰⁷ The inclusion of the time limit would have allowed antis to focus on stalling ratification, rather than needing to defeat it.²⁰⁸ President Wilson aided the women in their efforts by personally reaching out to the Governor of Tennessee, which was the last state needed to pass the amendment.²⁰⁹ The women were warned to have extra states just in case court battles in other states did not rule in their favor, and passed the amendment in Connecticut right after Tennessee, but a court case in Ohio had already ruled in their favor leaving Tennessee as the decisive state.²¹⁰

Following Ratification

In many history classes this is where the discussion of Alice Paul ends. The passage of the 19th amendment was a triumph for her and women across the United States, but Paul did not end her activism here. Paul was just thirty-six years old in 1921 and had nearly sixty more years of life ahead of her to fill with devotion to the cause of improving the status of women. While this was not the end of her activism, it was a period of transition and there was a great deal of uncertainty. Paul clearly was driven throughout her life to pursue women's issues, but was exhausted after the grueling campaign.²¹¹ The question remained what to do with the organization that had been created to pursue suffrage but now lacked an agenda.

The discussions on what to do next were covered in *The Suffragist* and mainly involved whether the group should disband or move to another issue.²¹² Paul says she herself initially would have been willing to disband and simply rest. The issue was discussed at the group's final

²⁰⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 226.

²⁰⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 227.

²⁰⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 231. And Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 247-8.

²¹⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 231.

²¹¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 232.

²¹² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 232.

convention in February 1921. Many women wanted the group to join the peace movement, while others, like Lucy Burns, left the movement to focus on their families or other priorities.²¹³ There was talk of joining the International Suffrage Alliance, but this group had previously not allowed them to join. There was also a large ideological difference emerging with Paul and others standing for complete equality of the sexes, while the international group advocated for special protective legislation for women.²¹⁴ The question dividing the National Woman's Party was whether to pursue peace or equality. The splintering of activists following the success of suffrage can be seen as the division between radical feminists and social feminists.²¹⁵ These feminists had all seen women's voting rights as, "a cure-all for society's ills," but had differing views on the fundamental role of women and the next steps.²¹⁶ Eventually some women decided to continue to pursue equality, with others joined the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom or other endeavors.²¹⁷ How equality would be pursued was not immediately clear.

While Paul was a strong advocate for equality, she did see a difference between men and women. This sets her apart from later feminists, some of whom preach equality on the basis that there is no fundamental difference between men and women. Paul's emphasis on difference and the role of women as mother and nurturer aligns her with social feminists. Radical feminists on the other hand sought equality, including changing the structure of society to equalize gender roles for men and women.²¹⁸ Paul believed, "men contribute one thing and women another thing, that we're made that way."²¹⁹ While some use arguments of difference to provide reasoning for women's subordinate status, Paul believes these differences were unique but equally important

²¹³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 232.

²¹⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 233.

²¹⁵ Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 150.

²¹⁶ Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 150-1.

²¹⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 234.

²¹⁸ Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 150-1.

²¹⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 346.

contributions. Ironically, Paul believed that picketing the White House and the nonviolent militancy she organized during the fight for suffrage was a natural part of women's "peaceable nature."²²⁰ Paul believed the contributions of women made them an important part of the electorate and decision-making processes because "women were the peace-loving, constructive part and men were the aggressive, fighting part."²²¹ Such differences explains the desire of some to pursue special protective legislation for women or for the National Woman's Party to shift its attention to pacifism and peace following the success of the 19th amendment.²²² Despite Paul's belief in essential differences between men and women, Paul did follow a more radical route in working towards complete equality of the sexes. The labels of social and radical feminists are useful for distinguishing types of feminism at the time, but as Paul demonstrates such binary labels cannot accurately account for the complexity of women's beliefs and activism.

Paul explains that the shift to equality was natural as suffrage was just one part of the what the women before her were working for, "we had taken up just one plank only, which was suffrage...there are two pages of (Seneca falls) resolutions of things they would work for in 1848."²²³ Within these two pages of resolutions was an emphasis on equality. The Equal Rights Amendment was born at the Seneca Falls in 1923 when Paul presented an early version of the potential amendment, "men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."²²⁴ This new foray into policy drove Paul to further expand her education, and she enrolled in the Law Department at American University.²²⁵ Paul explained she never felt she knew enough about the law and as such kept furthering her

²²⁰ Baker, *Votes for Women*, 186.

²²¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 347.

²²² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 349.

²²³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 238.

²²⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 238.

²²⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 239. And Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 246.

education taking a bachelors, masters, and doctoral degree. Through her connections at American University and the husbands of other women she knew, Paul was able to get help with this amendment. Paul never grew to be comfortable with her knowledge of the law, but eventually, “felt really I could talk to people on this subject, because I knew that they didn’t know very much either.”²²⁶

A complicated legacy

Paul’s legacy on improving the status of women is not untarnished. Many historians note the elitism and racism of Paul’s work that prevented many women from participating. While women of color and from difference class backgrounds supported suffrage they often organized separately with distinct, largely homogenous, groups. African American women often supported women’s suffrage but faced discrimination in attempting to participate. The National Association of Colored Women was one group that supported suffrage.²²⁷ Fry asked Paul about an editorial in the *Suffragist* that asserted women’s suffrage would not challenge white supremacy in the South, but Paul did not recall a need for this conversation of race.²²⁸ Paul did not recall race as a reason for opposition in the South, but rather believed that it was more likely to have been the “general conservatism of the South,” that encouraged opposition from Southern states.²²⁹ Paul’s depiction of the conversations of how to include different groups of women in the suffrage parade indicates it may not have been her personal racism that created the division. Paul said the issue was not a lack of support from African American women, but rather a “lack of support by the white women.”²³⁰ Despite Paul’s insistence that race did not influence her actions, others

²²⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 239.

²²⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 119.

²²⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 118.

²²⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 118.

²³⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 120.

disagreed noting that, “she had a reputation for particularly noticeable prejudicial tendencies.”²³¹ Paul recalled that the newspapers played up the turmoil in the women’s organizing noting that some states and others were reporting they would not send representatives to the parade if women of color were included. Paul was able to reconcile this discomfort as a group of Quaker men who were marching in the parade saw no issue marching next to the African American women.²³² Paul portrays this as a perfect fix, but Ida B. Wells, a founder of the NAACP, fought this joining her state’s delegation after the beginning of the parade.²³³

Despite Paul’s memory of attempting to include women of color in the parade and not believing her movement to be racist, most historians disagree and depict early women’s rights activists as a largely elite white women’s movement. This division was not unintentional, “African-American women, who fully participated in maintaining their households and communities, found themselves excluded by racism from political participation in campaigns for women’s rights.”²³⁴ White women were concerned with political rights, ignoring the reality that many black women would never benefit because of their race and also ignoring the more pressing issues that many of these women faced. Paul spoke of Susan B. Anthony’s early efforts for women’s suffrage, but neglected to discuss the efforts of many others. Following the Civil War and Reconstruction Sojourner Truth and other women had worked for the inclusion of women’s suffrage with the rights of Black men. The National Woman Suffrage Association led by Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton had early competition from the American Woman Suffrage Association, which supported voting rights for Blacks.²³⁵ Both of these groups wanted

²³¹ Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 27.

²³² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 120.

²³³ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 64 and 77.

²³⁴ Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th Century America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 9.

²³⁵ Baker, *Votes for Women*, 45.

the endorsement of Truth, as she was a well-known speaker and leader in seeking “humanitarian aid for freed people.”²³⁶ While this paper does not have space to adequately address the ways African American women organized for suffrage and other women’s issues, there is a significant history of women of color organizing for suffrage and other women’s rights of which Paul may have been completely unaware.

Paul seems almost oblivious to the issue of race and the conversations that surrounded it at points in her talks with Amelia Fry, fitting with her sheltered upbringing as she had little interaction with anyone who was not also a well to do, white, and Quaker. This upbringing, however, allowed her to pursue her agenda of change, without understanding how others may be against it. Paul’s discussions of race also indicate that she would accept any support she could get for the amendment but would also sacrifice some groups for the passage of the amendment. Paul readily accepted the support of African American groups but also reassured southern conservatives that the property and literacy tests would enable them to retain the “white supremacy” that was so important to them.²³⁷ Paul was willing to sacrifice the rights of some individuals and groups if it would strengthen support for the amendment. Some involved in this cause saw race as at the key issue, but a larger and less obvious division in participation was socioeconomic status.

Amelia Fry was aware of some of the divisions in women’s activism that Paul seemed to ignore. During conversations about the leadership Fry was curious to know if most were college educated.²³⁸ Paul did not believe this to be the case, comparing it to her experiences with the ERA where she saw a larger number of college-educated activists. Paul believed that the shift was “college women today are so different from the college women in the early pioneer days

²³⁶ Baker, *Votes for Women*, 44-45.

²³⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 121.

²³⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 160.

when every woman was a personality. Now they all do what the popular thing is.”²³⁹ Paul seems critical of some ERA activists believing all women now attend college and that it “doesn’t mean much.”²⁴⁰ Paul was focusing on demographic and personality shifts she’d seen during her activism but may not have been able to see the women who were never included. Fry told Paul that she had heard the critique that the ERA was an “elitist movement” through her own participation in the cause.²⁴¹ Paul focuses more on the ERA in these discussion but believes there is no specific type or person who was likely to be pro-suffrage nor a stereotype to generalize their members.²⁴² Paul does admit that “you naturally tend...to attract to yourself...people who are somewhat akin to you in beliefs and experiences,” but does not believe she attracted fellow college graduates since she gave little emphasis to her education.²⁴³ Paul does not however mention how this may have attracted similarly religious or wealthy women. Paul urges Fry to share with her audience that this was a “classless movement,” an idea many would take issue with today.²⁴⁴ The suffrage amendment may have gained support from a diverse group of women, but the women Paul was organizing were a more homogenous group that had to have skills, but more importantly time, to devote to women’s activism. Even the African American women who participated in the suffrage parade fit into the higher-class category of wealthy and college women. Lower class women, who had to constantly work to survive, likely did not have the extra time and energy to devote to such a major effort. These class differences also created tensions over the status of women could best be improved.

²³⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 161.

²⁴⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 168.

²⁴¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 161.

²⁴² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 162-3.

²⁴³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 168.

²⁴⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 168.

Early feminist organizing in the 1920s did not emphasize women's economic independence. Few of these early activists "challenged traditional gendered understandings or eagerly advocated the route of absolute economic independence."²⁴⁵ Financial obligations and gendered expectations of labor trapped many women in marriages or poverty that would have been ignored for political crusaders like Paul. This focus on political rights also led to later opposition as Eleanor Roosevelt and Women's Bureau chief Mary Anderson, self labeled "practical feminists" opposed the ERA, "for fear that they would eliminate the special labor laws that protected the personal and family well being of the wage earners among them."²⁴⁶ This division was symbolic of diversity of ideas of how best to improve the status of women, but many of these efforts still excluded women of color who often felt that, "the force of racial injustice often dimmed the glare of gender injustice."²⁴⁷ This is not to say that black women or other women of color did not organize as women, they simply were not typically organizing with Paul or the National Woman's Party.

Paul's understanding may also have been served by her youth separating what lower class women, like her families servants, did from what women like herself did and preventing her from relating to their experiences. In her conversations with Amelia Fry, Paul does not mention the Great Depression and mentions World War I only to make clear why some activists turned to peace efforts and opposed picketing. These events, and World War II as well, shaped most women's experiences, but because Paul was on her own and came from a wealthy family she was able to remain focused on her causes and absorbed in activism separated from the realities of life around her.

²⁴⁵ Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity*, 9.

²⁴⁶ Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity*, 9.

²⁴⁷ Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity*, 9.

One criticism Paul admitted she and Lucy Burns often received was that they were too young to be taking leadership roles. Paul contended that they were not in fact lacking in experience, citing their time in prison, but there was no denying they were young as the suffrage movement began to take off in the United States.²⁴⁸ Despite the youth of its leaders, Paul does not believe that the movement as a whole was a young women's movement. One of the first women arrested in the picketing was 65 years old, and many other key contributors were older.²⁴⁹ Many women were important to the movement because their age had allowed them to build connections and experiences that were useful and their children were grown. Some important women were married to legislators and other influential individuals had become extensively educated.²⁵⁰ Fry contrasts this with the typical youth of the ERA movement in the 1970s, although Paul believes most of the people she has met in both campaigns have been similar ages.²⁵¹ Paul was much older during the main push for the ERA in the 1970s and is unlikely to have been interacting with the activists at the grass roots level. Paul was used to working with lobbyists and organizers in DC, but could not see the full force of the movement to change women's minds to get popular support for the ERA.

Paul's depictions of those involved commonly emphasized a total devotion to the cause. Paul often described the other women who were similarly devoted as having been "born as feminists."²⁵² Paul cites one woman as a "kindred soul" whose devotion to the cause may be in part explained by her Quaker roots.²⁵³ Paul to be unable to entirely explain her complete devotion to the cause other than saying she simply saw no way others could disagree. While

²⁴⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 169.

²⁴⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 172.

²⁵⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 171.

²⁵¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 173.

²⁵² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 176.

²⁵³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 168.

politicians and others were later convinced to believe in women's rights, they would never reach the level of commitment these other women did. These "born feminists" felt an insatiable need to continue advancing the positions of women and are the ones who are constantly consumed by their work.²⁵⁴ Paul believes these are the women who have the drive and potential to create huge change. Paul says these are the women she always tries to stay in contact with, and also are the women who will continue to work for women long after Paul is gone. While they are rare it takes women like these to rally, organize, and encourage women who are less dedicated to sustain these movements.

Paul was not entirely blind to the differences among women who supported suffrage. Paul said that, "when any group in our organization didn't seem to have many members, much representation, then we tried to put one woman from that group on our board, so that everybody would, in the direction of the movement, would have, people would feel they had a part of it."²⁵⁵ Paul specifically notes that African Americans were one such group where they had their support, but few specific members, so they appointed someone to the board. Each state also had a chairman and often these women came from diverse backgrounds. Paul noted that, "we only judged them by whether they wanted to help and were eager to help and were really helping."²⁵⁶ Passing a federal amendment is a huge task, and Paul was not in a position to turn down support. Enthusiastic workers were necessary for a variety of tasks and organizing women within states was a major endeavor made easier by having women from each state.

²⁵⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 176.

²⁵⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 164.

²⁵⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 164-5.

Others Efforts for Women's Rights

Paul's efforts for the Equal Rights Amendment did not consume her life in the way suffrage did. The battle for the ERA had more leaders and spanned decades, allowing Paul to participate in other initiatives to improve the status of women. This is one area of conversations Amelia Fry wishes Paul would have been willing to expound upon more.²⁵⁷ Some of these other efforts are well recorded, particularly successes, but Paul also lobbied less successfully at times, like for the League of Nations to promote women's equality, which are not well documented. Amelia Fry did not know about Paul's involvement with the League of Nations and only learned of it later in a few of Paul's letters and Paul never brought it up in conversation.²⁵⁸

Paul was invited to represent the NWP when the UN was being created in San Francisco following WWII. Paul was able to work to have the premise of equal rights woven throughout the charter setting it up as a key priority for all UN work. Just as Paul had refused to take credit for successes in the suffrage movement, Paul credited South African Field Marshall Jan Christian Smuts with getting the language on complete equality in all elements of the charter.²⁵⁹ Paul was unconcerned with Smuts's support of apartheid and racism as long as he supported her efforts to include language improving the status of women. The preamble of the UN charter references humankind, never mankind, "to reaffirm the faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations great and small.... do here establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations."²⁶⁰ This language initially faced some opposition from the American delegation, including the sole woman in the delegation, but supporters of equality were able to meet with the delegation and

²⁵⁷ Fry, "The Two Searches for Alice Paul," *Frontiers*, 23.

²⁵⁸ Fry, "The Two Searches for Alice Paul," *Frontiers*, 23.

²⁵⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 258.

²⁶⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 254. And Fry, "The Two Searches for Alice Paul," *Frontiers*, 23.

persuade them to support this language. Paul recalls that this was “one of the very biggest achievements that (the Woman’s Party) helped to bring to pass.”²⁶¹

Paul’s efforts following suffrage all focused on women but covered a diverse array of international and domestic issues that changed to deal with the time. Paul noted this was a policy of the National Woman’s Party and that, “always we took up any crisis that was affecting women.”²⁶² The Economy Act was passed in the Great Depression preventing two spouses from being employed by the federal government, effectively forcing women out of the work force.²⁶³ The Depression also saw special minimum wage laws that applied only to women.²⁶⁴ These laws strengthened Paul’s reasoning that women needed a comprehensive equal rights amendment.

Progress was made toward equality throughout the time of Paul’s activism for the ERA. At the 1933 Montevideo Conference the Inter-American Commission of Women, led by an associate of Paul, Doris Stevens, was able to pass a treaty on women’s nationalities.²⁶⁵ Previously women took the nationality of their husbands, which at times proved problematic for women marrying across borders who wished to travel home, especially in times of war. This was also an important issue for women wanting to pass their nationality along to their children officially and enable both to receive passports of that country, even if the mother was married to a foreigner.²⁶⁶ This question of nationality was part of a desire to establish women as full citizens. The conference also hoped to lead to eventual equality of women in all countries. Conversations between Paul and Fry also reveal another reason for pursuing international work, beyond simply advancing the status of women elsewhere. Some legal scholars have said that, “if

²⁶¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 254.

²⁶² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 416.

²⁶³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 416.

²⁶⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 423.

²⁶⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 358.

²⁶⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 358.

the United States ratifies an international accord or treaty, this becomes part of the highest law of the land here.”²⁶⁷ Thus, if Paul succeeded in getting an international treaty on gender equality she would have by default achieved equality in the United States. Although Paul says they never thought about achieving equality in that manner, she recalled that the women simply felt they needed to take action whenever the United States was involved in relevant international conferences or treaty discussions.²⁶⁸

The Equal Rights Amendment

Despite this being a natural progression for the NWP, they are surprisingly less remembered for their efforts for the ERA. Paul told Fry that they lost almost their entire national board as a result of the exhaustion following the successful suffrage campaign. More importantly they acknowledged there was a different pace to this fight that would not allow for the same relentless tactics that had been successful before. Paul says the suffrage campaign was something they “needed” immediately at the time, but the later campaign for equality was going to be much longer. Paul described a conscious choice to economize their efforts and that the prospect of a campaign for decades was the reason “we had so little in it.”²⁶⁹ These choices help explain how the Woman’s Party name is not frequently connected to the ERA.

The National Woman’s Party did enjoy some elevated status following the success of the suffrage amendment. Paul remembered that this was the first time they began seeing female secretaries and that different individuals, men and women, came to them looking to have their personal causes advanced.²⁷⁰ The power of the NWP allowed Paul to quickly get this new amendment in front of an audience by lobbying at the Republican and Democratic national

²⁶⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 378.

²⁶⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 378.

²⁶⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 308.

²⁷⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 380.

conventions and was able to get a hearing in the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1923.²⁷¹ Despite the immediate push for another new amendment Paul did not yet have the support of women nationally with one woman stating, “99 percent of the women in the United States didn’t even know the ERA had been introduced to Congress.”²⁷² Not only did women not yet know about the amendment, many adamantly opposed it.

Paul was not aware of the new opposition to the amendment from other women. Opposition came largely from labor groups who did not want to see the removal of hard-earned protective legislation and others who feared what this would mean for families in cases of divorce and alimony, that women would be drafted, or that the structure of society would be fundamentally altered in some other undesirable way.²⁷³ Previously when Paul came to lobby in Congress it mattered that women were from voting states or had some other claim to power, but now women in opposition to the amendment could come in huge numbers and the groups they claimed to represent mattered because it was no longer one million women, but rather one million voters.²⁷⁴ Paul believed the newly enfranchised women would support the new measure wholeheartedly, but was immediately taken aback when all the women’s groups who spoke, spoke against the amendment with any supporters remaining silent.²⁷⁵ Paul and her other supporters faced a new challenge, “to change the thought of the American woman.”²⁷⁶ The necessity of changing the mindset of American women to want equality in this way was in part a

²⁷¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 239.

²⁷² Butler, *Two Paths to Equality*, 71.

²⁷³ Jane J. Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 3 and 5-6.

²⁷⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 381.

²⁷⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 240.

²⁷⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 240.

result of, “sex discrimination as “attitude conditioned” and explained that it functioned in a “self-fulfilling and self perpetuating” circle.”²⁷⁷

While the amendment was first introduced in the 1920s, it was not yet in its final form and more work had to be done on the wording before it could be taken to Congress or mobilizing public support could begin. Early variations of the amendment were scrapped because the wording could be construed as spreading the influence of Congress well beyond its bounds or in another case implied the rights could not be limited by government, but did not apply to the private sector.²⁷⁸ Paul originally wrote the amendment in 1923, and later revised it in 1943.²⁷⁹ The wording of the amendment and organization of support for equal rights took time, and much of the activism Paul recalls surrounding the Equal Rights Amendment began in the 1940s. Equal rights made it into the Republican platform in 1940 and the Democratic platform in 1944.²⁸⁰ Paul initially tricked the Republican Party into including the ERA in its party platform, an event she was later embarrassed about in conversations with Fry, but once included in the party platform support for the amendment stuck.²⁸¹

The push for the ERA had many new leaders, not just Paul. The NWP held elections to appoint a new chairman every four years. Paul served as Chairman for just two years during World War II when the previous chairman was forced to return home early.²⁸² Paul recalled that this period was similar to the First World War in that many women focused all of their attention on the war effort and left the campaigns for women’s rights.²⁸³ Paul did, however, remain

²⁷⁷ Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity*, 294.

²⁷⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 390.

²⁷⁹ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 247.

²⁸⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 240.

²⁸¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 435-436. And Fry, “Suffragist Alice Paul’s Memoirs,” *Frontiers*, 85.

²⁸² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 245.

²⁸³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 253.

involved and devoted to the cause, working with senators to craft the wording of the legislation. Much of the opposition was premised on the idea that “they didn’t think Congress had the right to interfere so much in the lives of individual people.”²⁸⁴ The National Woman’s Party and others campaigning for the ERA also viewed this as a different campaign. Equal rights was a new and unique campaign, while Suffrage was something that was already being pursued in a number of states and gaining support prior to the Paul’s entry into American activism. Rather than concentrating pressure on President Wilson these women had to gain support from both legislators and women as “practically all women of the country who were supposed to benefit from it [the ERA] were opposed to.”²⁸⁵ There was a great deal of fear surrounding the ERA as many were uncertain what it meant for the future of families and women. Anti-ERA groups capitalized on this fear touting this as the death of the American family. Fears included that women would soon be drafted to the front lines or forced to work, and children may be taken by the state.²⁸⁶ While the women of the country were still uncertain in the 40s, more legislators began to get behind the bill. In July 1945 the amendment was reported out of the House Judiciary Committee with a recommendation to pass it, nearly ten years after it was first reported out of the subcommittee.²⁸⁷ In 1946 the Senate voted on the bill for the first time 38-35 passing a majority, but not the required two thirds.²⁸⁸ By 1948 the bill had 102 co-sponsors and a positive report from the Senate Judiciary Committee as well.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 241.

²⁸⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 242.

²⁸⁶ Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA*.

²⁸⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 427.

²⁸⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 433.

²⁸⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 432.

1950 marked the first time the women had the two-thirds majority in the Senate, but also brought the Hayden Rider, which set back their work.²⁹⁰ The Rider stated that, “any rights, benefits, or exemption, now or hereafter conferred by law upon persons of the female sex.”²⁹¹ This in essence allowed for protective and other legislation to establish a different status for women. Hayden had been well known as a supporter and exceptionally kind to the cause of women.²⁹² Paul and the other women immediately responded “this is not what women want,” and urging them to vote against it, despite having the numbers to pass the ERA by two-thirds vote.²⁹³

ERA efforts

Paul and other’s early efforts to pass the Equal Rights Amendment were a continuation of their previous work for women’s suffrage focusing primarily on lobbying Congress. However, in the 20 years since the passage of the 19th amendment congress had changed. One law that particularly impacted the women was the need to register as lobbyists. This was intended more for professional lobbyists that were attempting to influence, including block, legislation related to the industries they represent.²⁹⁴ The women were pursuing a very different agenda, attempting to get legislation introduced and passed. These professional lobbyists also often attempted to be very secretive, while the women wanted their efforts to draw attention and publicity.²⁹⁵ Despite the differences in their efforts as “lobbyists” the Chairman of the NWP registered them in 1947/8 and thus subjected them to a number of restrictions and reporting requirements. Later the chairman realized the legislation was not meant to target them and they no longer registered as

²⁹⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 438.

²⁹¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 439.

²⁹² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 439.

²⁹³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 440.

²⁹⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 268.

²⁹⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 268.

lobbyists. This incident though is representative of the hurdles women faced in promoting the ERA, especially when they were uncertain of rules, and had to divert precious time, energy, and resources.

One of the tactics the Woman's Party continued to use from suffrage was meeting with the President. This was an opportunity to get crucial support for their cause, but not all presidents were receptive. Franklin Roosevelt refused to receive the women, while all others did, and Eisenhower was the first to put equality in a presidential address.²⁹⁶ President Calvin Coolidge noted the power the women had in 1923 saying that, "if the womanhood of the nation want a change, having demonstrated their ability even before they got the vote, I haven't the slightest doubt that Congress will respond favorably."²⁹⁷ This emphasis on meeting with the President and lobbying kept attention on the ERA in government, but did not contribute to the more pressing issue of gaining women's support.

Paul and the NWP worked to keep Richard Nixon's support of the ERA vocal. Paul recalls getting two of the most important women in the Republican Party to meet with him soon after he was elected to Congress, and her frustration when Nixon was not in his office when they were supposed to meet.²⁹⁸ Paul did not believe these women were treated appropriately considering their important position within the party. Nixon was a supporter of the ERA and had been open about his support since the beginning of his time in Congress.²⁹⁹ Paul said the women, "were trying to get him to push harder the whole time."³⁰⁰ Few people seemed to be against women's rights, but the major problem was ensuring they had vocal support that would not give way when the opposition to the specific amendment was particularly loud. When Nixon was

²⁹⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 411.

²⁹⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 413.

²⁹⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 337.

²⁹⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 337.

³⁰⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 341.

elected president the women were able to again receive his support. Paul recalled a news article that demonstrated Nixon “completely and wholeheartedly and absolutely back [ed] the ratification” but noted that the women had to continue to push, “now, if we could only keep him there and hold him to it not the tide is running the other way, now is when we really need that Republican support.”³⁰¹

Opposition

Supporters of protective legislation proved to be one of the biggest opponents to the equal rights initiative. In the early days of the ERA there was talk of bringing both sides together during three years of discussion between social feminists and the NWP. These discussions included talk of creating a constitutional amendment affirming women’s citizenship, but also allowing for special protective legislation for women. However, the NWP never drafted such an amendment.³⁰² When the ERA was proposed it contained no clauses allowing for protective legislation bringing resistance from the Women’s Bureau, which believed years of work would be undone and also brought organized labor and its powerful unions into the conversation.³⁰³ While some came out completely against the amendment, others were willing to engage in more conversation and debate. Maud Yonger, who had been vital to the fight for suffrage, was one example of someone who had to be convinced of the need for equal rights rather than special protections for women. Yonger had been working for protective labor laws before her involvement in suffrage and had held a leadership position in the Women’s Trade Union League.³⁰⁴ She was eventually convinced, largely on the premise that equal rights did not have to remove protections of women, “she thought a long time about it and she finally decided this was

³⁰¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 342.

³⁰² Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity*, 44.

³⁰³ Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity*, 44-45.

³⁰⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 367.

the right principle, and that all the efforts she'd been making for women in industry had been right, in her opinion, and they ought to be extended to everybody, not make it for one sex."³⁰⁵

In addition to pursuing the amendment and convincing women of the need for equality, a push began to get women more involved in government. There was discussion of turning the National Woman's Party into a full political party, although they decided to focus solely on equality rather than the wide array of issues that candidates would discuss.³⁰⁶ There was a new focus on getting women elected, something other women's groups would also commit themselves to during the push for the ERA.³⁰⁷ The main problem the women ran into was the number of potential candidates far outpaced the funding and resources they had to help get women elected.³⁰⁸ All potential candidates had to be strong supporters of the ERA to be considered, although support from the National Woman's Party did not guarantee election.³⁰⁹

Women's Organizations

By the 1960s the National Woman's Party was a relatively small organization limiting its capacity to work nationally. Other women's organizations were gaining momentum during this time and helped bring national attention back to the ERA in the 60s and 70s.³¹⁰ One of the major developments of the 1960s was the creation of the National Organization for Women (NOW) to the women's movement. The group formed in 1966 and Paul immediately joined.³¹¹ The group initially intended to push for enforcement of the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

³⁰⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 367.

³⁰⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 382.

³⁰⁷ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 384.

³⁰⁸ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 384.

³⁰⁹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 386.

³¹⁰ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 247.

³¹¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 446. And Alice Echols, "Nothing Distant About It: Women's Liberation and Sixties Radicalism," in *Reading Women's Lives*, (1994) 33.

outlawing sex discrimination.³¹² Paul differed from the group in many ways. At an early NOW meeting Mary Eastwood from the Women’s Bureau spoke about creating a new amendment and the Women’s Bureau’s strong opposition to the ERA.³¹³ The Women’s Bureau is a government agency founded in 1920 to “formulate standards and policies to promote the welfare of wage – earning women, improve their working conditions, increase efficient and advance their opportunities for profitable employment.”³¹⁴ Paul was confused by this need for a new amendment or to change the ERA, as they had succeeded in the fight for suffrage with the original Susan B. Anthony amendment. Paul was able to convince some, including Eastwood, that changing the amendment would be a major step backwards as they would have to start from scratch.³¹⁵ NOW lost more of Paul’s support as they focused on things like abortion, which Paul deemed to be distractions from the true cause of equality. She believed these side issues would confuse men whose support they needed.³¹⁶ While Paul’s single-minded focus on the issues she deemed important drove her away from other women’s organizations, these organizations were the future of women’s activism and furthered Paul’s ERA agenda. NOW was led by Betty Friedan, whose book *The Feminine Mystique* would later impact Peg Edwards, and NOW, “quickly gathered support from Washington insiders and women all over the country and rapidly became effective at lobbying both Congress and the EEOC.”³¹⁷ NOW’s power was evident when it quickly succeeded in ending gender segregated help wanted ads and the group continued to be active as Paul stepped back from activism and the size of the NWP dwindled.³¹⁸ Despite Paul’s

³¹² Echols, “Nothing Distant About It,” in *Reading Women’s Lives*, 33.

³¹³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 446.

³¹⁴ “About Us: Women’s Bureau,” Department of Labor, accessed March 2014, http://www.dol.gov/wb/info_about_wb/about_wb.htm

³¹⁵ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 448.

³¹⁶ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 449.

³¹⁷ Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity*, 258.

³¹⁸ Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity*, 259.

split from the group NOW is often given credit for reviving the ERA and almost securing its passage in the late 60s and 70s.³¹⁹

By the 1970s Paul was in her 80s and decreasing her work. Paul did remain informed on the progress of the amendment and was able to discuss it at length with Amelia Fry. In 1970 the Bayh amendment proposed to change the ERA by reformatting it to be an addition to the Fourteenth Amendment.³²⁰ The changes also added the seven-year limit for ratification to occur. This was a stipulation Paul has successfully fought off during the suffrage campaign, and Paul again opposed the inclusion of any time limit. It was at this point in 1971 that Paul first came into contact with Amelia Fry when Fry came to help lobby for the amendment and against the changes.³²¹ These earlier interactions between the two set the groundwork for the oral history project several years later.

Taking a Step Back

Paul eventually left the National Woman's Party as a result of disagreements over the amendment. The split occurred as some within the party pushed for an immediate vote on the amendment, while Paul and others lobbied against it because of the Bayh amendment.³²² Paul was adamantly against this, since the Party's council had voted against having anything to do with the Bayh amendment.³²³ When women continued to emphasize the need for an immediate vote, even with the time limit, Paul simply dropped out.

Following taking a step back from activism Paul retired to Ridgefield Connecticut.

From here Paul stayed in contact with many people to keep up to date on the push for ratification

³¹⁹ Echols, "Nothing Distant About It," in *Reading Women's Lives*, 39.

³²⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 450.

³²¹ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 453.

³²² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 457.

³²³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 457.

of the ERA. Amelia Fry of the Bancroft Library at University of California, Berkeley conducted oral histories with Alice Paul. Fry was working with Paul as a part of a larger series of oral histories with a number of individuals involved in suffrage. Fry previously knew Paul from volunteering to help lobby the ERA. The interviews were completed in two marathon sessions on November 24-26, 1972 and May 10-12, 1973.³²⁴

In 1974, shortly after the oral histories were recorded, Paul suffered a stroke and her health began to decline. Less has been written about this end of Paul's life in traditional scholarship thus far. Paul had sacrificed many things, including having a family and children, to focus on improving the status of women in the United States and globally. Paul's letters home from her early work in Britain mentioned suitors and Paul received letters from a number of male admirers following the success of the suffrage amendment.³²⁵ Paul seemed to not even notice these suitors instead focusing on her activist work improving the status of women. As Paul's health declined her only living relative, a nephew, Donald, came to care for her. Paul was not close with Donald and he ended up living off her money until concerned women stepped in to organize around an icon for them. This begins the portion of Paul's life that overlapped with Peg Edwards's activism and is documented in the suitcase in the attic.

³²⁴ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter and papers from Joan and Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards," 2 June 1976, document 107.

³²⁵ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 235-6.

Peg Edwards



Peg Edwards, second from right, holding an ERA banner at a rally in North Carolina. Larry Edwards is partially obscured in white polo shirt behind her. Maureen Ash, *Cornerstones of Freedom: The Story of The Women's Movement*, (Chicago: Children's Press, 1989), 24.

Peg Edwards: The Common Activist

Early Life

Like Alice Paul, Pauline (Peg/Peggy) Steinbeck, later Edwards, was an educated and intelligent woman. Edwards left a different legacy in women's activism than Alice Paul. While she is not the subject of numerous dissertations and books like Paul, Edwards's involvement in women's equality work and with Alice Paul is important. Edwards advocated for women's rights and political candidates in Connecticut, helped care for Alice Paul, supported the Equal Rights Amendment in North Carolina, and helped pass feminism through my family. These achievements are the more common story of how women advocated for their own rights while pursuing other things as well. Passing feminism and the notion of women's equality across generations is also an important part of maintaining long-term progress in these initiatives.

Edwards was born January 20th, 1936.³²⁶ Edwards was the only girl with three brothers. Throughout high school Edwards was incredibly involved and ventured into subjects stereotypically off limits to girls. Edwards recalls not feeling limited by her gender in school, "I did everything I wanted to in high school (and college). I was in plays. I was in honor society. I was president of this and that... I was president of the math club [in college]."³²⁷ Edwards felt incredibly comfortable around the other boys in the math club where they could sit in the office with them doing homework and she was, "just one of the boys."³²⁸ Edwards's interest in math was "unusual" for the time, and she was one of only two women taking calculus. More interestingly Edwards believes her interest in math may be because "my intuitive side, the so-

³²⁶ Transcript, Peg Edwards, interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³²⁷ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³²⁸ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

called female side, the literary side is underdeveloped in me.”³²⁹ This allowed her to connect more with men than with women. Edwards sees this as an inherent trait, “maybe it’s just sort of in the genes somewhere.”³³⁰ Despite potential differences in how men and women function, Edwards was unhappy with the lack of women’s options and lack there of.

Many years later Edwards could still recall her frustration with the lack of discussion of women in school. A particular incident from history class stuck out to her. The class was learning about the movement west and a book said something about how the “pioneer took his wife and children and his cattle and went west.”³³¹ In this case the woman had the same autonomy as an armoire or a cow. Edwards was frustrated with the lack of conversation of how “essential” women were to the efforts working along side men in fields and carrying the burden of housework.³³² It is common knowledge that life on the frontier was not easy but constantly required backbreaking labor, but the role of women is brushed over in most courses.³³³ I have made a point of studying women’s history during my time in college and realized during this conversation that the role of women at the frontier is something I never considered, even while I studied western expansion in history every year in elementary school and junior high.

Edwards was able to continue her education following high school. She graduated from Central College, a formerly Methodist school now known as Central University, in Fayette Missouri in 1957. Edwards was awarded scholarships and worked to afford a college education. However, she did not pursue further upper level education. This is something Edwards regrets today saying neither she nor her parents knew the options of how to fund continuing

³²⁹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³³⁰ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³³¹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³³² Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³³³ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

schooling.³³⁴ She did not know serving as a TA or research assistant could have funded her furthered her studies. The Dean told Edwards he was “sorry” that she was not continuing her education, but by this time she had already accepted a job working at Los Alamos Lab in the Theoretical Division.³³⁵

Education was important to Edwards, but also had been previously valued within the family. Edwards’s mother Pauline Steinbeck and all but her eldest sister were educated and became teachers.³³⁶ It was from these women that Edwards believes she was introduced to feminism not in name, but in practice. These women had experiences outside the home. Edwards remembers one aunt who never had children and worked as a teacher being a role model. Even Edwards own mother served as a bit of a challenge to gender norms, “mother taught school, and was pretty sassy and independent until she married and morphed into a housewife.”³³⁷ So often in history women are painted as lacking personalities as they cater to the needs of men, children, and the home, yet the role models Edwards had possessed flair and personality even when conforming to the norms of marriage. The pattern of breaking away from the norms and later returning to them would appear later at a number of points in Edwards’s own life. These role models were important in helping Edwards to see the value and potential of women.

Edwards had not yet been introduced to the term feminist but perceived inequalities that led her to later identify as a feminist and advocate for women’s equality. Edwards recalled numerous examples of how women’s limited options were shared with young girls including schoolbooks describing women as passive observers of men’s activities.³³⁸ Edwards also remembered ads of women looking glamorous in high heels and pearls while vacuuming the

³³⁴ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³³⁵ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³³⁶ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³³⁷ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³³⁸ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

floor.³³⁹ Edwards recalls being bombarded with images showing her that she could be a homemaker, and potentially a nurse or teacher but nothing more. Edwards said that she'd always been "sensitive to the limitations on what I perceived was acceptable for me to do."³⁴⁰ When asked about her introduction to feminism Edwards discussed many of these memories, but ultimately decided it must have come from her mom and her influence.³⁴¹ While her mom did not use the term feminist, and Edwards did not encounter this idea until later in life in Ridgefield, Connecticut; the foundation was being laid well in advance.

Following graduation she moved to New Mexico to work in Los Alamos laboratories and worked in the theoretical division doing programming for some of IBM's earliest computers.³⁴² However, in compliance with traditional norms of the time she quit this job and returned home to Missouri to marry Larry Edwards on February 15th, 1958.³⁴³ While both were young at the time, Larry was still in school in when Edwards returned to Missouri marry him after being off on her own working.³⁴⁴ Upon marrying and changing her name Edwards again was confronted by a realization of a sense of loss of identity. Edwards's mother wrote to her every week, and the first letter after getting married was addressed to Mrs. Larry Edwards, "I can't tell you what a sinking awful feeling I had. Where did I go? Who am I?"³⁴⁵ This conundrum of reconciling her identity as educated but also a wife who was subject to traditional gender expectations would continue to plague Edwards.

The couple has three children. Eldest daughter Sherry was born July 12th, 1959. Scott, my father, was born on February 1st, 1961 and was quickly followed by Jill on January 25th, 1962.

³³⁹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁴⁰ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁴¹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁴² Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁴³ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁴⁴ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁴⁵ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

Gender norms and divisions of labor kept Edwards at home for much of the children's early lives. Edwards had worked for about two years before taking a hiatus of roughly seventeen years to raise the children. Edwards would later return to the work force and take several computer science classes to prepare her for a second career. Edwards's return to the work force brought a new division of labor as Larry took over laundry responsibilities. Both Peg and Larry spent the majority of their careers with IBM and moved frequently to seven states. Edwards's early career and return to the home are indicative of a larger trend moving dynamically between traditional gender norms and challenging expectations. Edwards is a woman who grew up with traditional gender norms and complied with them early in her life but was spurred to change and political action following the consciousness raising of the 1960s and 70s. This new action brought her face to face with the beginning of the push for women's equality that had a profound impact on her life.³⁴⁶

Move to Ridgefield and Introduction to Feminism

Around Christmas 1972 the couple moved to Ridgefield, Connecticut. The move to Connecticut was a major change, and the beginning of one of the happiest periods of Edwards's life. This time was also transformative for both Edwards and her husband Larry. Edwards recalls this as "a very special time...Ridgefield was the happiest I've ever been...in terms of personal development."³⁴⁷ This change was not without cost as Edwards recalls this period almost destroying her marriage, but it was saw her first real move into women's activism. This was also the time when she would meet Alice Paul.

³⁴⁶ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁴⁷ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

While Edwards had been aware of the limited expectations and options for women, she had kept these frustrations to herself. In Ridgefield Edwards was introduced to the term feminism for the first time. IBM kept the family on the move often, but Edwards soon found new friends in Ridgefield. At a “newcomers dinner” welcoming them to the community Edwards met Marcia Hunt.³⁴⁸ Edwards recalls that Hunt was a fun person to be around but also incredibly smart. A teacher by training Edwards said Hunt was the type “that could have run a corporation” had the glass ceiling been broken.³⁴⁹ Edwards was eager to spend time around Marcia and attended Ridgefield Women’s Political Caucus meetings. She was introduced to other women who were influential in getting Edwards active in the movement for women’s rights.

Edwards’s connections to Marcia Hunt introduced her to Barbara Wardenburg, and other politically active women. She had never before had this level of closeness and connection with other women.³⁵⁰ Through this group Edwards was introduced to *The Feminine Mystique*, by Betty Friedan. Edwards remembers this book as being incredibly influential in understanding her own situation. Edwards recalled being surprised how much she agreed with what the book said and recalled *The Feminine Mystique* allowed her to understand why she had been angry for so long.³⁵¹ Her experience with *The Feminine Mystique* was not unique. The book, which first appeared in 1962, spoke to many women about their situations and the limitations they felt as a result of their prescribed gender norms.³⁵² Edwards did not understand why she had long felt the way that she did. This book helped her to see that her situation was not only legitimate, but had a

³⁴⁸ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁴⁹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁵⁰ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁵¹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards. And Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁵² Stephanie Coontz, *A Strange Stirring: the Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 1 and 19.

name and was shared by many other women.³⁵³ This realization and the new important friendships allowed Edwards to open up to new opportunities.

The women Edwards befriended in Ridgefield were all a part of the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC). Peg had been attending the meetings informally before Marcia gave her an ultimatum, officially join the group or stop attending the meetings.³⁵⁴ Edwards said this was based upon a simple idea that, "this is either important to you or it's not."³⁵⁵ Edwards said that both the causes of the group and being around the women were very important to her so she joined. This was not an uncommon time for women to take on more activist roles, especially following the increase in women's liberation activism in the 1960s, "by the mid-1960s at least some American women felt that the contradiction between the realities of paid work and higher education on the one hand and the still pervasive ideology of domesticity on the other had become irreconcilable."³⁵⁶ These are the two sets of expectations Edwards had been struggling to reconcile.

Edwards described the NWPC as a splinter group off of NOW, the National Organization for Women.³⁵⁷ The NWPC had split from NOW in part because of a frustration with lobbying men to support women's issues. Instead of "receiving pats on the head" and little progress, the NWPC was "seeking out and training and financially supporting women who were already feminists and aware."³⁵⁸ The consciousness raising associated with *The Feminine Mystique* led many women to the realization, "it doesn't have to be this way."³⁵⁹ The NWPC was working to change the landscape of politics to better include and represent women. The NWPC is still

³⁵³ Coontz, *A Strange Stirring*, 21.

³⁵⁴ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁵⁵ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁵⁶ Echols, "Nothing Distant About It," in *Reading Women's Lives*, 29.

³⁵⁷ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁵⁸ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁵⁹ Coontz, *A Strange Stirring*, 96.

around today, although like the NWP it is has diminished in size as support for the ERA has decreased. The group's website talks about their founding and mission as "the only national organization dedicated exclusively to increasing women's participation in all areas of political and public life."³⁶⁰

The connection with these other women brought Edwards into activism and outside her comfort zone. This was not an easy move for Edwards, "one woman's favorite thing to say was that she was pissed off. I could not say that! I had to practice. I decided that I had to fit in, and one of the things I practiced was saying I was pissed off."³⁶¹

Some of Edwards's earliest activism addressed issues within Ridgefield. One of their biggest fights came over a local boys club.³⁶² The club had a building on prime city-owned real estate in the heart of downtown Ridgefield and, the city planned to symbolically sell the land under the building to the organization for one dollar. Ridgefield's government used participatory democracy where all residents could vote in town hall meetings. This sparked a massive debate. Residents voted to sell this land symbolically, but Edwards and other politically active women believed this unfair because the club excluded girls. Peg went to the Town Hall and looked up the deed that was at stake here and found out the city would actually be giving the club the entire block, a much larger swath of valuable land, rather than just the land under the building. Edwards does not remember being asked to do this, but decided herself it was something she ought to do, as she didn't trust them, and it proved important.³⁶³ This was brought to the attention of many at the town hall meeting as a reason the sale should not move forward. Some men including, Edwards's husband Larry, spoke out in favor of allowing girls into the club as a

³⁶⁰ "History: About the Caucus," National Women's Political Caucus, <http://www.nwpc.org/history>

³⁶¹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁶² Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁶³ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

condition of giving them the land. This was not well received by other men in the audience, and the husbands of some of the more vocal women were targeted. At one point someone yelled at Marcia Hunt's husband, "can't you control that bitch?"³⁶⁴ Edwards did acknowledge that this was a tough point and put a strain on her marriage. When asked about his memories of the town hall meetings and controversy with the boys club, Larry had little to say other than acknowledging that this happened.³⁶⁵

Peg and Larry's time in Connecticut was trying on both. Edwards knows this event did have an impact on him and said he became a changed man from then to now. Edwards was discovering herself and fighting some of the expectations she had been wary of for so long. These changes for her impacted Larry, "it almost destroyed our marriage because this was a paradigm shift in terms of the roles that Larry and I had settled into."³⁶⁶

The fight over the boys club did not end with the original vote to sell the land in the town hall meeting. Barbara Wardenburg took her daughter to the boys club to apply to be a member and began a lawsuit when she was rejected.³⁶⁷ Edwards did not join the lawsuit that led to the land being sold to the club at fair market value, and the Boys Club later admitting girls. Edwards said she did not have the "guts" to do so at the time and did not want to involve her daughters.³⁶⁸ Edwards was also involved with these women in the fight over a local ice rink. The rink was not giving ice time to girls, claiming the boys needed soft ice for hockey, while figure skating required hard ice. While she may not have considered her own actions particularly gutsy, they were not the norm. She may not have had the guts to join the lawsuit, but Peg routinely demonstrated her courage and perseverance against the expectations she encountered solely

³⁶⁴ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁶⁵ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁶⁶ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁶⁷ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁶⁸ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

because of her gender. Edwards's actions during this period were a direct challenge to the stereotypical role of the woman as someone who should just work in the home. Peg was not only raising three children, but was also politically active, and in a controversial way. Direct challenges to traditional roles have long made people uncomfortable. Many women had difficulty balancing their roles in the home with any ambitions outside the home as a result of the many contradictions in expectations of women.³⁶⁹ Peg did not cave to the pressures and norms in her pursuit to “do it all” serving as a women's rights activist and mother simultaneously.

Once involved in the caucus Edwards began to take on many responsibilities within the organization, including attending the NWPC convention as a delegate at large, and serving as a co-chair of Connecticut.³⁷⁰ Edwards was elected to this position and primarily focused her attention on bylaws and financial matters. She urged the group to be fiscally conservative and expressed disappointment at never serving as treasurer.³⁷¹ This group was very active in local politics serving as observers during elections and working to elect a woman to city council.

It was through these women that Edwards was introduced to the term feminism for the first time.³⁷² Edwards recalls feeling “out of place her whole life,” but her interactions in Ridgefield gave her a greater understanding of her feelings and allowed her to take action.³⁷³ While the word feminism itself was not particularly important to Edwards's development, it can be useful to describe Edwards's views on the role and potential of women as feminists, especially when making connections to subsequent generations.

³⁶⁹ Coontz, *A Strange Stirring*, 74.

³⁷⁰ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁷¹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁷² Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁷³ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

Alice Paul

In 1975 Edwards's growth in feminism and move into activism overlapped with an icon for women's rights, Alice Paul. Paul was now 90 years old and in declining health. Paul had fallen getting into her bed breaking her hip and also suffered a stroke in 1974 limiting her ability to function on her own.³⁷⁴ Paul's nephew, Donald Paul, or as Edwards and Barbara Wardenburg refer to him "Dopey Donald," took guardianship of Paul. Amelia (Chita) Fry had recently completed her extensive oral history with Paul and was concerned to learn Paul was being denied visitors, TV, radio, newspapers, essentially all contact with the outside world. Fry contacted the Ridgefield NWPC. Wardenburg recalls that when Paul's situation was first brought up in the meeting the reaction was essentially, "who is Alice Paul?"³⁷⁵ Edwards and Wardenburg volunteered to look into the matter, eventually heading to court to seek protection for Paul. Fry was in part aware of the situation because of letters written to her by Paul's tenant and friend Scotty Reynolds during the beginning of Donald's conservatorship.³⁷⁶ In a letter dated September 4th, 1975, Fry outlines the foundation of her fears for Paul emphasizing Donald Paul's odd character and that "I saw that it was true that he would not let her see TV, that no one could call in, that Alice was not allowed to call out to anyone, that she could have no visitors, no letters, no newspapers and any innocuous get-well cards had to be given to Donald first to approve or disapprove. This he told me himself."³⁷⁷ Fry emphasized that Paul was clearly unhappy, but no one could tell her that Donald was not allowing contact or visitors under threat of never seeing her again. Fry expressed her joy that the Ridgefield Women's Political Caucus (RWPC) now knew about the case and urged them to collect all information taking any action so

³⁷⁴ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 250.

³⁷⁵ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "Barbara Wardenburg and Peg Edwards e-mails," 27 June 2013, document 219.

³⁷⁶ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "page two of Amelia Fry letter," document 41.

³⁷⁷ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Amelia Fry to Ethel Eckhaus," document 123.

that Donald cannot preemptively tighten his control.³⁷⁸ In addition to limiting her visitors Donald had spent nearly all of Paul's money.³⁷⁹ Donald Paul claimed he needed to organize his aunt's papers for publication and must live off her money while doing this. Donald Paul did not attempt to hide his efforts much and wrote to the National Woman's Party dramatically soliciting assistance for Paul in a four-page letter sent to the leadership of National Woman's Party, "alas her funds are gone and unless substantial monetary funds can be raised for her support, she will be bereft!! It's chilling to think of. I can't sleep nights!"³⁸⁰ Donald Paul emphasized Paul's role as an icon in soliciting support, "please rally to her, now, with all the wonderful vigor you have so faithfully given in the past, to her Cause. She is worthy of the very best."³⁸¹ Edwards, Wardenburg, and others were also worried about this, as Donald was in no way qualified to determine what documents were of value. The matter was further complicated as the NWP claimed ownership of the papers Donald was holding and wanted the papers returned to NWP headquarters.³⁸²

This is a period of Paul's life that few have looked into. Mary Walton's *A Woman's Crusade* is a relatively recent addition to biography about Paul, yet discussion of the end of her life is extremely limited. The book mentions her move to Ridgefield, but little about her time there. The book acknowledges Paul's financial troubles later in life: "Donald Paul, her closest living relative, plundered her estate. He was removed as conservator and replaced by a court-

³⁷⁸ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Amelia Fry to Ethel Eckhaus," document 123.

³⁷⁹ Mary Walton, *A Woman's Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). 250.

³⁸⁰ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "Donald Paul letter to Elizabeth Chittick," 25 September 1975, Document 1.

³⁸¹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "Donald Paul letter to Elizabeth Chittick," 25 September 1975, Document 1.

³⁸² Peg Edwards Document Collection, "Barbara Wardenburg and Peg Edwards e-mails," 27 June 2013, document 219.

appointed guardian, but it was too late. The money was gone.”³⁸³ There was mention of Paul in a 1975 *New York Times* article titled “Mother of U.S. Equal- Rights Measure Nearly Penniless in Nursing Home at 90.”³⁸⁴ This article described Paul as destitute, but there is no mention of the effort and organizing that was going into protecting Paul. Paul was a public face of a political movement and an icon of organizing, but less consideration was given to her personal life.

The ensuing court battle would involve many in the effort to ensure Paul’s well being, and Edwards was one of the most involved. After learning of Paul’s condition through the RWPC Wardenburg and Edwards volunteered to look into the matter and eventually they took the issue to court and Edwards was appointed guardian ad litem, or conservator of the person in October 1975.³⁸⁵ Court records often refer to the “estate of, Alice Paul, an incapable person.”³⁸⁶ Wardenburg was inspired to go to law school after they were unable to get any women lawyers to take the case pro bono.³⁸⁷ This period is well documented as Edwards saved numerous letters, court records, news clippings, and notes as record of a happy time in her life.³⁸⁸ Several of these letters document the effort to get assistance for this case. Unfortunately the lawyers Wardenburg and Edwards were directed to did not have the extra time or resources to take on Paul’s case.

As guardian ad litem Edwards was tasked with ensuring Paul was receiving the proper care. Alice Paul was in her 90s at this point and not the activist she once was. Edwards, on the other hand, was in her mid thirties when she was assisting Paul and just beginning her own period of activism. Paul’s declining health required her to be moved to a nursing home, and

³⁸³ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 250.

³⁸⁴ Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 250.

³⁸⁵ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “Court Record: Peg Edwards appointed guardian ad litem for Alice Paul,” 30 October 1975, document 105.

³⁸⁶ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “Probate Court Records,” 22 August 1977, document 185.

³⁸⁷ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “Barbara Wardenburg and Peg Edwards e-mails,” 27 June 2013, document 219.

³⁸⁸ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

Edwards believes being alone in the nursing home furthered her mental decline. Edwards would check on Paul several times a week at the nursing home where she was staying to make sure she was being properly cared for, “occasionally, she wouldn’t be clean. You’ve got the staff that has how many people, and can’t do everything...you have to pop in unexpectedly and keep an eye on things.”³⁸⁹ Edwards did not know the complete history of Paul’s activism prior to being appointed to this position but considered it an honor “to be allowed to be kind” to Alice Paul.³⁹⁰ Edwards believes she was appointed to this role because it was something she personally really needed at the time. Wardenburg reminds Edwards that Edwards volunteered for this role and had the time and largely took on the bulk of the responsibilities on her own.³⁹¹ This role was full of responsibilities, “when we’d taken Donald away it was incumbent upon us to provide with companionship and the oversight and all the things that a family member would do.”³⁹²

Edwards knew little about Paul prior to her appointment as guardian. She said she may have known of the existence of the suffragists and the abuse they faced while in jail, but nothing beyond that.³⁹³ In discussing what she had known about previous activists and hopes for future generations, Edwards echoed the sentiments of Paul that women need to know and respect the women who secured the rights we today take for granted.³⁹⁴ Edwards believed strongly in the need for Paul in particular to be remembered for having “the courage and the foresight and the vision to tackle what the societal mores the way they did.”³⁹⁵ Edwards recalls seeing Paul as an inspiration for their efforts for equal rights in the 70s, “she was in the matriarch generation. I

³⁸⁹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁹⁰ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁹¹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “Barbara Wardenburg and Peg Edwards e-mails,” 27 June 2013, document 219.

³⁹² Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁹³ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁹⁴ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁹⁵ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

don't know how much organizing or what she did in Washington, but she was a name that we did everything in."³⁹⁶ Little attention is given in traditional history classes to the improved status of women over time or the incredible effort required to bring change to their status. Edwards believes this deserves further attention, "to me this ranks right up there with slavery ... women a had a less degrading (status than slaves), white women, but they were servants also. They were subjugated."³⁹⁷ Edwards's time with Paul made her aware of the contributions of Paul and others, but also made her more aware of just how hard the fight for suffrage had been. Both Paul and Edwards saw this lack of knowledge about previous generations efforts as problematic. Paul discussed a need for women to have more "respect" for the work of women before them while, Edwards refers to it as "reinventing the wheel" when women have to rediscover what women before them already knew.³⁹⁸ Edwards had to reinvent the wheel some in her slow path towards feminism and knowledge of Paul's work, and I too had to do the same not learning of my own grandmother's work until I was in college.

However Alice Paul's spirit and previous zest had not been lost. Edwards fondly recalls much of her time with Paul. She was still adamant about being referred to as a suffragist, not a suffragette, a derogatory term the newspapers used for the women working for the 19th amendment.³⁹⁹ One memory that sticks out to Peg is the large amethyst necklace Paul wore day and night. Paul said Admiral Rickover gave her the necklace during World War II but would not elaborate further.⁴⁰⁰ Paul frequently talked about the staff at the nursing home stealing her jewelry, and her desire to return home. Many working for Paul held on to the hope of her

³⁹⁶ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁹⁷ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

³⁹⁸ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

³⁹⁹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁰⁰ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

returning to her home, but as time went on and her financial situation became clear it was apparent that would be impossible.

Edwards's work for Paul was more than simply ensuring her physical health. Throughout the documentation of her efforts there is a clear emphasis on Paul's mental well-being. In drafts of several letters Edwards mentions that Paul's vision is now severely inhibited by cataracts and that she is no longer mobile, but emphasizes how well she speaks of the recipient and the important diversion letters bring for Paul.⁴⁰¹ Edwards again and again asks for letters for Paul updating her on the ERA or simply providing some connection to the outside world. Edwards was not the only one worried about Paul's mental state. Hazel Hunkin-Hallinan described an interaction in which Paul expressed her shock in learning others who she wanted to continue working with had died.⁴⁰² Hunkin-Hallinan had worked with Paul on the suffrage campaign, and been jailed with her, moving to England following the passage of suffrage.⁴⁰³ Paul asked Hunkin-Hallinan to come live and work with her, despite her living in England.⁴⁰⁴ Her fear for Paul seems well founded, "she is living in her mind as if it is possible for her to get up and get going. Naturally our talk was about people we both cherished in the past and she said it was time for her to commit suicide, but that is immoral and she could not do it."⁴⁰⁵ Paul was still devoted to the cause of women's suffrage, but had physical deterioration cause her to lose touch with the context of reality.

⁴⁰¹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter draft Peg Edwards to Marjorie Longwell," 8 March 1976, document 63.

⁴⁰² Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan to Peg Edwards," 28 April 1976, document 174.

⁴⁰³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 160. And "Hazel H. Hallinan, 91, Journalist and Activist," *New York Times*, May 19, 1982, <http://www.nytimes.com/1982/05/19/obituaries/hazel-h-hallinan-91-journalist-and-activist.html>

⁴⁰⁴ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan to Peg Edwards," 28 April 1976, document 174.

⁴⁰⁵ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan to Peg Edwards," 28 April 1976, document 174.

Edwards made an effort to thank all who helped Paul, including reaching out to a floral company to obtain the address for a woman who had sent flowers that Paul did not remember.⁴⁰⁶ Thanking individuals for their letters and other kindness was part of the effort to continue their support and communication with Paul. Elizabeth Chittick, President of the National Woman's Party sent \$50 for Edwards to buy Paul items that she may need and expressed an interest in sending flowers to make Paul's "days more comfortable."⁴⁰⁷ Chittick also addressed the brunt of the responsibility for Paul's care falling on Edwards noting "you have shown the utmost kindness to Miss Paul and myself. I am indeed grateful for all your help."⁴⁰⁸ Edwards also reached out asking for an aide for Paul to be employed.⁴⁰⁹ Edwards notes in a draft of the letter that, "I [Edwards] (and Barbara) serve the need of Miss Paul to be occupied with the real world outside her bedroom, but I am unable to provide her with individualized personal care which is the domain of the home/aide."⁴¹⁰ Edwards was cognizant of her limitations as a caregiver for Paul and sought to ensure that all of her needs were met.

While Amelia Fry had originally contacted the NWPC, the burden of protecting Paul soon shifted to Wardenburg and Edwards. Barbara Wardenburg recalls that the two volunteered to look into Paul's situation.⁴¹¹ The Ridgefield NWPC was initially supportive of the women's efforts but things changed. In December of 1975 Edwards received a letter stating that at the November 20th meeting the RWPC, "voted as follows: to stand behind Peggy Edwards and

⁴⁰⁶ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter to Quinlan Flowers," 15 March 1976, document 160.

⁴⁰⁷ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Elizabeth Chittick to Peg Edwards," 24 March 1976, document 80.

⁴⁰⁸ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Elizabeth Chittick to Peg Edwards," 24 March 1976, document 80.

⁴⁰⁹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter draft from Peg Edwards," 19 July 1976, document 103.

⁴¹⁰ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter draft from Peg Edwards," 19 July 1976, document 103.

⁴¹¹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "Barbara Wardenburg and Peg Edwards e-mails," 27 June 2013, document 219.

endorse her action in serving as guardian ad litem for Alice Paul.”⁴¹² However that did not last, as Edwards reminisced with Barbara Wardenburg, “I found- but now I cannot find- a sheet of yellow tablet paper from the RWPC warning us not to mention or associate the RWPC with our involvement with Paul, as it would taint ‘their’ political support for Ridgefield candidates.”⁴¹³ This was primarily because caring for Paul was not in line with the goals of the NWPC, and this other project was a distraction from their true goal of getting women elected. Divisions within women’s groups and shifting priorities were not uncommon as was previously seen in Paul and the National Woman’s Party’s split from NAWSA. Edwards also saw this similarity, “the caucus made a point of saying you can’t use the caucus name in conjunction with this feminist because our focus has to be on elections and convincing men to vote for our candidates and so that was akin to Alice Paul’s not wanting to be diverted...they wanted a clear cut thing that there were convinced threat they could pull the men into.”⁴¹⁴ This focus on a singular cause also rang true to Paul devoting her life to the cause of women, with anything else being distracting. Beyond Paul’s reputation of elitism and racism and a potential distraction from the RWPC’s goals it would be difficult to make an argument that to find controversy in Edwards’s work with Paul. Edwards’s suitcase of documents was full of thank you notes and the entire matter seemed to be conducted with a level of civility that stands in stark contrast to the civil disobedience of the suffrage movement.

Research into this area of Paul’s life is made possible by the meticulous note taking and record keeping of Edwards. While Edwards said she kept these records simply “as memories of very very good years,” this work is reminiscent of Maud Yonger’s organization strategies

⁴¹² Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Lynn Nyberg to Peg Edwards, 1 December 1975, document 166.

⁴¹³ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “Barbara Wardenburg and Peg Edwards e-mails,” 27 June 2013, document 219.

⁴¹⁴ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2012, Clark Edwards.

organizing women for suffrage.⁴¹⁵ While Yonger kept a card system noting biographical and voting histories of Congressman, Edwards kept index cards noting court dates and information such as key legal terminology.⁴¹⁶ Edwards also kept detailed information of Paul's expenses to expose Donald Paul's poor money management and assist in ensuring her needs were met. Edwards's organization was critical to ensuring not only the physical but also the mental and emotional care of Paul. Edwards was able to utilize the variety of support others offered to Paul and keep her entertained and informed of the status of the ERA.

Alice Paul had heavily relied on her networks with other women in lobbying and supporting suffrage and Edwards similarly relied on an expansive network of supporters to ensure Paul's wellbeing. Different individuals were able to contribute financial and legal support, while others visited or wrote letters to give Paul a connection with the world outside Ridgefield. The constant work for Paul's health is chronicled in more than 150 letters saved by Edwards.⁴¹⁷ As these letters continue over time there is an obvious connection between many of these women as the content often covers Paul, the ERA, and how each is doing individually. Many also express gratitude to Edwards for the extensive work she was doing.⁴¹⁸

One woman strongly involved from a distance to helping Alice Paul was historian Amelia Fry, who had conducted the extensive oral history with Paul roughly five years earlier. Fry was instrumental in attempting to help locate a lawyer who would help with Paul's case pro bono. As Fry and Edwards began contacting women lawyers the lawyers reached out to other

⁴¹⁵ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2012, Clark Edwards and Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library.

⁴¹⁶ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "index cards," 1976, document 218.

⁴¹⁷ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "table of contents."

⁴¹⁸ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "Letter Mary Brennan to Peg Edwards," document 146.

lawyers and professors in attempts to leverage support from their personal network of women.⁴¹⁹ The letters between lawyers, law professors, and others involved in the matter that Edwards was copied on demonstrate the vast networks being tapped to find Paul legal support.⁴²⁰ These letters Edwards had from various lawyers also frequently include updates on the push for ratification of the ERA demonstrating their inclusion in the overall push for women's rights.⁴²¹ These women lawyers were progressive in their own right working in the male dominated field and maintained their own social networks, but they shared an interest in ERA with Edwards's and other RWPC women's. Unfortunately none of these women had the spare resources and time to assist with Paul's case for free, especially if it would require traveling to Ridgefield keeping these lawyers from their families and other responsibilities. Edwards and others also contacted the Connecticut Women's Educational and Legal Fund (CWEALF) seeking assistance for Paul's legal battles, but were again unable to gain assistance as the matter was outside CWEALF's expertise.⁴²² While Edwards herself was not a part of any of these networks, the emphasis on helping Paul brought together a number of women linking their networks reinforcing pattern of reliance on other women to achieve their objectives.

Fry was more involved than simply attempting to find legal support. Conversations between her and Edwards compose one of the largest sections of Edwards's document collection.

These letters demonstrate a shared devotion to the protection of Paul, but also the development

⁴¹⁹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "Letter Marguerite Rawalt to Shirley B. Bysiewicz," 2 February 1976, document 26. Peg Edwards Document Collection, "Letter Shelia Taub to Amelia Fry," 10 August 1976, document 32. And Peg Edwards Document Collection, "Letter Shelia Taub to Amelia Fry," 17 August 1976, document 30. Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Amelia Fry to Shelia Taub," 20 August 1976, document 43.

⁴²⁰ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Shirley Bysiewicz to Marguerite Rawalt," 6 February 1976, document 44.

⁴²¹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Marguerite Rawalt to Shirley B. Bysiewicz," 10 February 1976, document 24.

⁴²² Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Susan Meredith to Peg Edwards," 17 September 1976, document 34.

of relationships between these women. Fry notes the stress has all fallen on Edwards.... “My dream IS your dream, and I agonize for you and the strain of the detailed demands in your superhuman efforts to inch closer to the misty objective.”⁴²³ The gratitude for Edwards’s work is a theme throughout their correspondence as Fry refers to her as “dear Superpeg” and expresses hopes that the workload will lessen.⁴²⁴ Fry acknowledges that Edwards is doing a great deal of work that will go unacknowledged, “how wonderfully reassuring it is, and what a great, and, unfortunately, unsung heroine you (and your helpers) are.”⁴²⁵ This was not simply unacknowledged work, but work that was consuming and exhausting, just as the suffrage work had been for Paul, Fry wrote Edwards, “I hope you are full enough of vitamins these days to keep you going on that bionic woman schedule of yours.”⁴²⁶ Fry was working to write articles and gain publicity for Paul, with the ultimate goal of being able to fundraise so she could return to her cottage with the care she needed.⁴²⁷ One of Fry’s specific goals was to correct and expand on the *New York Times* article that decried “mother of U.S. equal-rights measure nearly penniless in nursing home at 90.”⁴²⁸ Others were also aware of Edwards’s efforts and sang her praises for the work she did to protect Paul. These praises were shared with others as well as Edwards. In a letter from Elizabeth Chittick to Dr. Karnoutsos about Paul’s honorary degree from Jersey City

⁴²³ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards,” 25 August 1976, document 117.

⁴²⁴ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter to Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards,” 22 October 1976, document 108.

⁴²⁵ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards,” 3 November 1976, document 109.

⁴²⁶ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards,” 3 November 1976, document 109.

⁴²⁷ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards,” 25 August 1976, document 117. And Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards,” 3 November 1976, document 109. And Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter to Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards,” 22 October 1976, document 108. Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards,” 20 December 1976, document 106.

⁴²⁸ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards,” 25 August 1976, document 117. And Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter to Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards,” 22 October 1976, document 108 and Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade*, 250.

State College Chittick directs questions about visiting Paul to Edwards and says, “Peg Edwards.... is looking out for the welfare of Dr. Paul in (sic) a most conscientious and dedicate [d] matter. She is just marvelous.”⁴²⁹

Elizabeth Chittick, president of the National Woman’s Party, was originally contacted by Donald Paul for financial support for Paul and contacted Sidney Burger conservator of Paul’s estate further information on Paul’s situation but largely left Edwards to care for Paul.⁴³⁰

Numerous letters remain with Chittick as she works to resolve how to ensure the well being of the founder of the NWP, but also not distract from the organization’s current goals. This conundrum of how to help Paul while continuing to focus on improving the status of women appears throughout the documents available, and serves to demonstrate the enduring impact activism had on women’s lives. While more than thirty years have passed since these letters were

⁴²⁹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Elizabeth Chittick to Peg Edwards,” 19 May 1976, document 83.

⁴³⁰ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “Donald Paul letter to Elizabeth Chittick,” 25 September 1975, Document 1. and Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Elizabeth Chittick to Sidney Burger,” 18 December 1975, document 91. And Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Sidney Burger to Elizabeth Chittick,” 15 January 1976, document 92. And Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Elizabeth Chittick to Peg Edwards,” 12 February 1976, document 101.

While Chittick and the NWP were important to ensuring Paul’s welfare this was not an entirely harmonious relationship. Paul had been skeptical of Chittick for years, and discussed with Amelia Fry her fears of important documents being lost during their sessions creating an oral history. Paul repeatedly expressed fears that Chittick would dispose of important documents and that concluded, “I don’t know what to make of Mrs. Chittick, I really don’t know what to make of her.” While Paul had feared that Chittick was not qualified to organize the important documents at the NWP headquarters, Belmont House, Chittick letters to Edwards include an emphasis on the work she was doing to preserve Paul’s legacy. Chittick repeatedly notes that the house was made a landmark as a result of her efforts and emphasizes at the end of a letter (incorrectly addressed to Pat instead of Peg) “my actions are only intended to publicize the activities and history of Alice Paul and the Party.”⁴³⁰ Part of Paul’s fears over Chittick may have resulted from misunderstanding her position, as Paul was no longer substantially involved in the group she had helped found. In a letter updating Chittick on potential sales of Paul’s land Edwards requests a copy of the constitution and/or by-laws as Paul ‘is having difficulty understanding that you are the President and not the Chairman.” Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 135.

Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Elizabeth Chittick to Peg Edwards,” 24 March 1976, document 102. Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Peg Edwards to Elizabeth Chittick,” 23 April 1976, document 100.

written having both drafts of outgoing letters and the incoming mail to both Paul and Edwards provides insights into the relationships this was fostering.

Edwards was not the only one involved in ensuring Paul's well-being. Local lawyer Sidney Burger was in charge of the finances, while Edwards handled the day-to-day well being. Burger had been involved for a great deal of time as evidenced by letters from national Woman's Party President Elizabeth Chittick to Burger beginning in December 1975 questioning where Paul's money was going.⁴³¹ While both were working to protect Paul, Burger and Edwards were not always on the same page. In a letter to Edwards in September of 1976 Burger explains that the utilities to the house will be shut off as rent payments do not cover these bills and carefully chooses his language to be critical of Donald but not as accusatory as Edwards and the other women, "I disagree with you that he has wasted the money. In my opinion, some of the assets were not used wisely, however, they were used for the benefit of Alice Paul."⁴³² Burger also notes that Paul had failed to pay taxes since 1968 and as a result owed the government \$1,200 for each missed year. In a letter from the same date from Edwards to Burger, Edwards reinforces her desire to object to court rulings allowing Donald Paul's accounting but notes that she was neither personally able to finance an appeal nor was she able to find free legal assistance. Paul had focused on activism rather than complying with expectations and having a family leaving her reliant on other women's rights activists to care for her in old age.

Edwards was also important in helping deal with some of the financial matters that technically fell under Sidney Burger's responsibilities. In recent emails between Edwards and Barbara Wardenburg, Wardenburg reminds Edwards, "Sidney Burger was conservator of the

⁴³¹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Elizabeth Chittick to Sidney Burger," 18 December 1975, document 86.

⁴³² Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Sidney Burger to Peg Edwards," 24 September 1976, document 10.

estate, and he paid her bills. He also kept Donald on the payroll way too long. You were the one who poured over Sidney's reports and complained to Romeo Petroni [Jude of Probate Court] about them."⁴³³ Edwards has numerous accounting notes, not all of which are labeled. Edwards compiled a detailed accounting of all of Paul's expenses to contrast Donald's 1974 figures for a hearing and left herself notes including questions about what may have been previously sold and what "office equipment" was purchased.⁴³⁴ These records also keep totals of what figures were disallowed and are indicative of Edwards's scrutiny of deals to make sure they were not being duped. Many letters also consult Edwards for her opinions on what would be best for Paul. One area Edwards advised on was the sale of property. Paul had rising healthcare costs, but also had unsettled debts for her care, and they were not covered by the sale of the back five acres of her property.⁴³⁵ This was no easy decision, "I am going to recommend that the property be sold even though I know it is very important for her to keep her hope that she can someday go "home."⁴³⁶

While an elderly person being taken advantage of by greedy relatives is not unique, Paul's status slightly changed this situation. Edwards had to manage Paul's well being, but she also had to manage her public persona and legacy. A letter to National Woman's Party President Elizabeth Chittick notes that a shampoo board (which allows hair to be washed in a sink while a person is sitting) had been ordered to "eliminate a very stressful situation for Miss Paul," but also discusses requests to use Paul's name and who should accept an honorary degree on Paul's behalf.⁴³⁷ Many elderly people have to contend with the trials of moving into a nursing home or

⁴³³ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "Barbara Wardenburg and Peg Edwards e-mails," 27 June 2013, document 219.

⁴³⁴ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "1974 Accounting for Hearing," document 20.

⁴³⁵ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Peg Edwards to Amelia Fry," Monday the 17th, document 120.

⁴³⁶ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Peg Edwards to Amelia Fry," Monday the 17th, document 120.

⁴³⁷ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter to Elizabeth Chittick," 28 April 1976, document 81.

other care facility, but not all caretakers also had to confer with lawyers and heads of national organizations to reject Virginia Slim's request to use Paul's name.⁴³⁸ Paul's name represented both her as an individual and the decades long battle to improve the status of women in the United States. Edwards was also working with Amelia Fry to make sure Paul had signed a release and had access to copies of the recently transcribed oral history.⁴³⁹ Managing Paul's public image was simply another layer of work for Edwards. One of Edwards regrets is that she has no picture of herself with Paul. An email conversation with Barbara Wardenburg reveals this was an intentional choice, "at the outset we agreed that we would not take photos because we did not want to be accused of "using" Alice. Ah, we were sooooo pure."⁴⁴⁰ Edwards's devotion to Paul was a personal connection that emphasized a commitment to protecting all aspects of her life as best she could.

In addition to managing Paul's public persona Edwards was also tasked with responding to requests while serving as guardian ad litem. Many individuals wanted to meet with Paul for various articles and research projects. Edwards recalled that Paul was not in the best physical or health by the time of her involvement in 1975 and Paul's memory seemed to be diminished as well. A *Village Voice* reporter was disappointed in the amount of information she was able to get after paying for an interview.⁴⁴¹ Some women hoped to meet with Paul because they too identified as feminists, including one photographer who hoped to photograph Paul on their shared birthday.⁴⁴² Edwards also responded to requests for biographical information in preparation for honorary degrees being awarded to Paul received inquiries from several libraries

⁴³⁸ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter to Elizabeth Chittick," 28 April 1976, document 81.

⁴³⁹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards," 14 May 1976, document 116.

⁴⁴⁰ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "Barbara Wardenburg and Peg Edwards e-mails," 27 June 2013, document 219.

⁴⁴¹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁴² Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Ann Chwatsky to Peg Edwards," 3 January 1976, document 145.

about Paul's documents.⁴⁴³ Several interviews agreed to pay for interviews with Paul, which was in part done to cover Paul's legal costs.⁴⁴⁴

Paul's emphasis on activism remained even when her physical and financial ability to do so deteriorated. In one letter dated January 26, 1976 Edwards relays Paul's request that Mary Kennedy, "come to Connecticut so that the two of you (Paul and Kennedy) can live in her cottage and establish a center for work of ratifying the ERA, particularly in Indiana. She wants me to tell you that she will reimburse you for all of your expenses and that she wants you to come as soon as possible."⁴⁴⁵ While Paul was focused on improving the rights of women, she was a bit out of touch with the reality of her situation. Paul had suffered strokes and was slowly improving but insisted she simply had pneumonia. Paul was also unaware of her financial situation and was confined to a nursing home because she could not afford around the clock home care. As a result Paul could neither live in her cottage with Kennedy, nor reimburse her for her expenses. Edwards explains Paul's situation in the rest of the letter and requests that Kennedy, "write her, making some reasonable excuse as to why you cannot come, but without referring to any of her difficulties."⁴⁴⁶ Edwards was complying with Paul's request and attempting to keep her spirits high by requesting letters, but Paul's desire to remain an activist far outpaced her capacities.

Edwards's connection to Paul was more than simply a court appointed guardian. Edwards thought her actions were beneficial for herself, but also as having a positive impact on Paul, "I

⁴⁴³ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Dr. Karnoutsos to Sidney Burger," 2 April 1976, document 175. And Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Schlesinger Library to Peg Edwards," 2 December 1975, document 127.

⁴⁴⁴ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Jean Feiwei to Peg Edwards and Sidney Berger," 17 August 1976, document 128.

⁴⁴⁵ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Peg Edwards to Mary Kennedy," 29 January 1976, document 169.

⁴⁴⁶ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Peg Edwards to Mary Kennedy," 29 January 1976, document 169.

knew it helped me to feel some responsibility and to feel like I could help this woman by providing a little quality of life giving her someone to talk to, somebody to write letters for her. I felt useful, I felt like that helped Alice's quality of life."⁴⁴⁷ In a personal notebook Edwards noted, "Alice is gone" on September 28, 1976 when she was moved to Greenleaf Extension a Quaker home in her hometown of Moorestown, New Jersey.⁴⁴⁸ A day later Edwards wrote Paul a letter beginning it, "Good morning, beautiful!" and signing her own name "Peggy, Dear."⁴⁴⁹ Within the letter Edwards talks of her plans to visit and hopes Paul will be happier there than she was at the convalescent home in Connecticut. In letters to others Edwards shares similar hopes that "Miss Paul will be happier now that she is in an atmosphere which is relaxed as in "home," not rigid as in "institution."⁴⁵⁰ Edwards wrote many, including Elizabeth Chittick, to tell them of Alice's move. This was not an event Edwards was prepared for as she noted in a letter to Chittick, "Although we knew she was on the waiting list, her departure was unexpected. I arrived at the home 10 minutes before the ambulance pulled away. Of course I will miss her: she will always be an important part of my life."⁴⁵¹ Even after Paul had been moved Edwards continued to act as her guardian ad litem responding to letters and working to connect Paul to the outside world. Alice Paul died on July 9, 1977, and it is remembered that she supported the ERA throughout the end of her life, nearly 50 years after she helped write it.⁴⁵² A page Edwards pointed out to me quickly when first looking through the suitcase full of documents is later in the

⁴⁴⁷ Transcript, Pauline Edwards interview, February 5, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁴⁸ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "small notebook," document 217.

⁴⁴⁹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Peg Edwards to Alice Paul," 29 September 1976, document 57.

⁴⁵⁰ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Peg Edwards to Mary McKeever," 4 October 1976, document 59.

⁴⁵¹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "letter Peg Edwards to Elizabeth Chittick," 29 September 1976, document 95.

⁴⁵² Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 251.

notebook and simply reads “Saturday 9 July 77, Alice is truly gone....”⁴⁵³ Sidney Burger filed his final accounting in September 1977 and was relieved of his duties as conservator and noted that the judge had awarded Edwards \$350 for her services.⁴⁵⁴

Edwards desire to protect Paul was fierce. In August of 1977 shortly after Paul’s death Edwards received a letter from Donald Paul’s lawyers demanding that she return to Donald Paul, “any mail in your possession addressed to Ms. Alice Paul, any correspondence from or to Ms. Paul, jewelry, clothing, books, the three volume transcript made by the University of California History Department, and any and all other items of property which belonged to Alice Paul, in your possession.”⁴⁵⁵ Edwards responds that she will give Donald the cards and letters she still has and that she is pleased an inventory of Paul’s estate is being taken but remains defensive, “I find other words and implications of your letter quite rude and unnecessary. Perhaps the years will demonstrate to you that truth lies somewhere between any two given points. Your client still cannot understand the great affection that I felt for Miss Paul, and that a stranger would give freely of considerable time and emotion to a once remarkable woman in need of conversation and attention not forthcoming to anyone else.”⁴⁵⁶ Edwards devotion to Paul is clear and the impact of the relationship on her as she concludes the letter, “other than some correspondence, I have nothing of Ms. Paul’s but her returned affection.”⁴⁵⁷

Despite the numerous documents demonstrating Edwards’s work, she herself often says she did very little. In early interviews with her Edwards says that other women had her appointed

⁴⁵³ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “small notebook,” document 217.

⁴⁵⁴ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Sidney Burger to Peg Edwards,” 12 September 1977, document 46.

⁴⁵⁵ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Francis Antonucci to Peg Edwards,” 11 August 1977, document 130.

⁴⁵⁶ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Peg Edwards to Francis Antonucci,” 22 August 1977, document 131.

⁴⁵⁷ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Peg Edwards to Francis Antonucci,” 22 August 1977, document 131.

to this position “to give me something to do, to make me feel useful.”⁴⁵⁸ However, in emails Edwards shared with me between herself and Barbara Wardenburg it becomes clear no one handed Edwards the position out of pity. Wardenburg reminded Edwards that her own role was minimal and it was really Edwards doing the work, “I was working part-time...and didn’t have a lot of free time I used to visit Alice on my lunch hour. You were the conservator of the person, but I had nothing to do with you getting that appointment.”⁴⁵⁹ Edwards states in early interviews that, “I was honored that I was able to in any way be kind to her (Paul).”⁴⁶⁰ As my conversations with Edwards progressed and she thought more of this time, she began to accept her increased role, “my memory is that I probably did a lot more than I realized. I probably assumed that Barbara did some of that, and Barbara said, “no.””⁴⁶¹ Edwards acknowledges the work she did, but never flaunts her work as special or unique. This is not unlike Paul’s own deference to her colleagues in the fight for suffrage. When Chita Fry attempted to give Paul credit for the major advancements in the fight for suffrage, Paul would also emphasize the work of other women. In a later letter to Edwards, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan refers to Paul’s, “natural modesty and shyness, her avoidance of the limelight.”⁴⁶² Paul’s modesty is apparent in describing her own role in a telegram, “you know I am only one person among millions of Americans. I will do the best I can, but I am only one person.”⁴⁶³ None of these reforms were the success of an individual, but the work of a group. While Edwards saw Paul as an icon, and I see great value in Edwards’s work, neither Edwards nor Paul were vocal about the importance of their own individual work.

⁴⁵⁸ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁵⁹ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “Barbara Wardenburg and Peg Edwards e-mails,” 27 June 2013, document 219.

⁴⁶⁰ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁶¹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁶² Peg Edwards Document Collection, “letter Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan to Peg Edwards,” 28 April 1976, document 174.

⁴⁶³ Peg Edwards Document Collection, “Mailgram: Alice Paul to Jane Wels-Schooley, 27 August 1976, document 74.

North Carolina & the ERA

Paul's move and subsequent death took a toll on Edwards and coincided with her move to Raleigh, North Carolina at the end of 1977.⁴⁶⁴ Edwards was far from enthusiastic about this move in part because the ideas of propriety in the South had gender norms even more deeply entrenched. Edwards attended the NWPC convention while the rest of the family moved and met them at their new home in North Carolina. This was a jarring experience. When Edwards arrived at her new home a neighbor in all pastels was sweeping her driveway into a dustpan, and the mortgage simply listed Larry Edwards and wife.⁴⁶⁵ Moving to North Carolina was a challenge to Edwards's identity, "my name was always Pauline Ponder Edwards and when I got down here, they said you can't be that anymore. You have to now be Pauline Steinbeck Edwards and so my Social Security had to be changed to agree with my driver's license because down here you didn't have a choice. You couldn't say what your name was."⁴⁶⁶ This did not signal an environment open to feminists, but Peg worked to find her niche.

Edwards further challenged expectations of women returning to the work force consistently within three months of moving to North Carolina, after briefly holding a job in Connecticut, as the children were all now in high school and college. In a national survey intended to determine predictors of a woman's likelihood of being activists and participating in social movements, education level and living outside the South were both factors that made women more likely to participate.⁴⁶⁷ Edwards's likelihood of being an activist decreased with her move to North Carolina according to this study. However, Edwards already had experience participating in the women's rights movement in Connecticut and attempted to carry this down to

⁴⁶⁴ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁶⁵ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁶⁶ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁶⁷ Pat Dewey Dauphinais, Steven E. Barkan, and Steven F. Cohn, "Predictors of Rank-and-File Feminist Activism, Evidence from the 1983 General Social Survey," *Social Problems*, 39 (1992), 342.

the South. Edwards was aware that she did not fit in completely, but embraced it. Edwards registered as a republican because it fit more with her fiscal views and she believed she would be able to do more in the Republican Party than with Democrats. Edwards's difference from the other North Carolina women was clear at a republican fundraiser where Miss America was the keynote address and received a standing ovation from everyone, except Edwards.⁴⁶⁸ While she was no longer the guardian of Alice Paul, she remained involved in women's efforts immediately finding a new group of women that were meeting and beginning to organize.

Edwards helped found a North Carolina chapter of the National Women's Political Caucus. She served as the vice chair for the state, but stepped down when she did not wish to serve as the chair.⁴⁶⁹ During the time Edwards became very involved in campaigning for the Equal Rights Amendment, the amendment Paul had campaigned for since the ratification of suffrage.⁴⁷⁰ This amendment was passed in 1972, but with a seven-year time limit for ratification.⁴⁷¹ Edwards took on this activist role in addition to working full time and taking computer science classes. Peg utilized her limited free time to campaign in North Carolina and she and others in the NWPC truly believed they had a chance at getting the amendment ratified in North Carolina, "we thought we were going to be OK and in the end they patted us on the head and said we're going to table it, which essentially killed it."⁴⁷² Edwards believes the time limit was the problem, just as Paul had feared for the suffrage amendment, "they were able to concentrate their (opposition) effort. There isn't time for social change to occur."⁴⁷³ Phyllis Schlafly was in, Edwards's words, a "master at publicity." Schlafly was spearheading the defeat

⁴⁶⁸ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁶⁹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁷⁰ Christine Lunardini, *Alice Paul; Equality for Women* (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 2013). 148.

⁴⁷¹ Walton, *A Woman's Crusade*, 247.

⁴⁷² Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁷³ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

of the ERA and made sure her title was always printed as housewife or homemaker, despite being a public figure and founder of the conservative Eagle Forum.⁴⁷⁴ Schlafly organized opposition to the ERA making the amendment controversial citing potentially devastating impacts on women's lives including losing male protection and being drafted into the military.⁴⁷⁵

Edwards characterized herself as very involved in the push for the amendment, but not a leader, "we tried very hard. And although I wasn't a particular leader in that group the caucus was involved and I personally was involved in a bunch of stuff, but it wasn't as a leader."⁴⁷⁶ She recalls how there were so many people working so hard for this amendment and how disheartening it was when they were not successful.⁴⁷⁷ Edwards was unable to be a leader in the ERA activism in part because she had returned to work, but also because that was not her personality, "I'm a reticent person. I'm always going to push someone else in front of me, and I'm the back up. I'm the one who sits in the meetings and listens and listens, and I sort of sum it up and give my analysis of what's been said and what I think we should do."⁴⁷⁸ Edwards continued to do some campaign work and was elected to a position in the local government. Once it was discovered she was an ERA supporter, some attempted to negate the election and when that was not possible she was never notified of nay meetings.⁴⁷⁹ North Carolina was a hostile environment for this work as Southern culture was much more patriarchal than Connecticut. Following these defeats Edwards took a step back from her involvement in politics and other activist engagements.

⁴⁷⁴ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards. And Jane J. Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 135.

⁴⁷⁵ Jane J. Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA*, 19 and 67-8.

⁴⁷⁶ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards,

⁴⁷⁷ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁷⁸ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁷⁹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

While Edwards characterizes her time in Ridgefield as some of the happiest times of her life in part because of the community she found, Edwards did find a community in North Carolina through her activism. After the ERA was tabled in North Carolina Edwards and the other women hoped to keep the community they had built, “we said what are we going to do to keep in touch? We’ve got this group of women we really really like. We think alike. We like the same kinds of things. We’re unique. You’re not going to find many of us in North Carolina.”⁴⁸⁰ In an effort to preserve this community the women created a book club and gave themselves the intentionally inflammatory title “The Women’s Reading Circle and Terrorist Society.”⁴⁸¹ This group retained their community through reading “real literature,” never “bodice rippers” or romance novels.⁴⁸²

Legacy and Impact Today

Peg’s time with Alice Paul and the women she met in Ridgefield were incredibly important in her life. She repeatedly emphasized Paul’s distinguished speaking style never using filler words like umm, but rather pausing to collect her thoughts.⁴⁸³ Edwards recalled Paul talking of how they acquired Belmont House and correcting anyone who referred to suffragists as suffragettes. Beyond these stories Edwards recalls what a happy time this was in her own life and the fulfillment that resulted from helping Paul. While the specifics of conversations may have faded, the legacy of her interactions with Paul have not.

Edwards learned a great deal from her activism in the 70s. Though she had long been uncomfortable with the limits placed on women, she was now directly confronting them for the first time, and learning how many other women felt similarly. This activism gave Edwards a

⁴⁸⁰ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁸¹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁸² Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁸³ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 5, 2014, Clark Edwards.

community she had previously been lacking but also demonstrated to her the complexity of so many of these issues. Edwards's activism helped her see the diversity women's experiences and the limitations posed by lack of choice emphasizing life's "shades of grey."⁴⁸⁴ Edwards defined the biggest thing she learned during this period as, "How it critical it is...that we have the right choices. There's no set thing that we have to grow up to be. We can be anything we want to. Just like little boys can be anything they want to be when they're growing up. There aren't any best things for us to be....and that we need to be considered for our abilities and what we produce just like men."⁴⁸⁵

One of the most prominent legacies of their interaction is Edwards's emphasis on women's networks and connections. Edwards was able to discover much about herself through strong networks in Ridgefield and through the security of these relationships could challenge the societal norms she felt so limited by. However, Edwards does not have these relationships in the same way today, "there have to be at least three other women who think like I do in my neighborhood that I have no way of knowing because I do not talk politics. I do not talk feminism. I refuse because everybody is saying all the things that I don't agree with. I mean we are a hotbed of Tea Party around here. They're not going to change me and, and I'm not going to change them."⁴⁸⁶ A close community of like-minded women had enabled Edwards's earlier activism, but finding a similar group of women was harder in North Carolina where many individual's political ideology did not mesh well with feminism. Edwards does not think this applies to everyone, "many women go to their church or PTA or they go their clubhouse or just in the neighborhood and there are women when think like they do. They can sit and they can share experiences, and they are very comfortable with this group of women and no matter where

⁴⁸⁴ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁸⁵ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁸⁶ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

they go they find a group of women. Well, there's some of us that we're so few and far between. And we put this mask on so we don't stand out."⁴⁸⁷

Edwards is proud of the advancements women are making, particularly noting women's control over their own bodies. Edwards discussed how there was no birth control access when she was growing up and that it was common in her mother and grandmothers generations to die during childbirth.⁴⁸⁸ These advancements are important, but Edwards believes there is space to continue advancing. Edwards refers to herself as the "crazy" grandma and expressed a belief that when possible women should have their eggs frozen upon graduating from college so they are in no way pressured by the biological clock.⁴⁸⁹ This is a more radical view, but a constitutional amendment for women's suffrage once seemed radical.

Edwards also saw the positive impact of future generations of knowing about her work as twofold. When asked about the significance of her work, she said it is important that, "young women (keep) these iconic women alive."⁴⁹⁰ This spoke to her own lack of knowledge about Paul prior to interacting with her. Edwards also included that it is "interesting to know about...the common woman, the common feminist, and by this I mean people like me."⁴⁹¹ Edwards uses the example of anti-abortion and anti-contraceptive debates going on in North Carolina explaining, "young women today don't understand why we think control over our bodies is so important."⁴⁹² Edwards further explained the repercussions of having a child or having an abortion and lack of access to birth control on friends of hers, while younger generations do not have similar experiences. Knowing these stories of women's activism and social change in previous

⁴⁸⁷ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁸⁸ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁸⁹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁹⁰ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁹¹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁹² Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

generations is important when considering how to continue the activism of these women. Part of the problem Edwards sees is also that younger generations do not recognize the things we take for granted today that were achieved through activism, “the young woman that demonizes feminism...has no thought for the advantages and the things that she can do that were built on the backs of generations of feminists that went before her.”⁴⁹³ Appreciating the work of previous generations may help women understand that the things they take for granted like the right to vote or birth control were achieved through the difficult work done by earlier women’s feminists.

The legacy of Edwards’s activism has influenced into her family. Edwards’s children were in junior high and high school during the period of their activism but know little of their mothers work. Edwards believes her activities had a more profound influence on her son than her daughters, “feminism didn’t really take with the girls.... I’ve always said I created a Scott (Edwards’s son) that would understand your mother. There aren’t a lot of guys their age that would understand where Lori’s (Edwards’s daughter in law) coming from because Lori’s not typical. She went to Stanford. She stood on her own two feet.”⁴⁹⁴ Edwards recalls her surprise that one of her daughters, Jill, did not change her last name when married but believes that was more the result of her personality than her feminism.⁴⁹⁵ Edwards has talked little about her activism with her granddaughters, but the transcripts of these new oral histories with Edwards and cataloging her documents makes it possible to preserve this history for generations to come. While Edwards’s activism will never be as well known as Alice Paul’s it was still important and understanding the roles and experiences of average women in activism is important for new generations of feminist activists.

⁴⁹³ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁹⁴ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁹⁵ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

Edwards's relationships with the politically active women in Ridgefield introduced her to literature like *The Feminine Mystique*, which explained to Edwards why she was so unhappy. These radical women then gave Edwards a place to become active and work to change the expectations she was so unhappy with. These are the women that gave Peg the spark and inspiration to be involved. Although Edwards has stepped away from public activism, she continues to advocate for women's rights and equality even within her family and to her granddaughters. She believes one of the most important things to be remembered about Paul and the other women who fought for women's right to vote was the courage they displayed in their quest to have women raised to the level of full members of society.⁴⁹⁶ In discussing the impact of these experiences on her and their legacy Peg stressed the need for choice for women, and not just abortion as the word choice is often interpreted as today. The importance of choice for women means that a woman can be a housewife, but she should not take on this role because she is expected to or because it is her only option, but rather because it is what she wants.⁴⁹⁷ She believes all women should be considered for their abilities in the same way men are. Every child should grow up believing they can be anything they want to be, and this is more possible for girls today than it previously has been as a result of the work of many women, including Alice Paul, Barbara Wardenburg, and Peg Edwards. Discussions with Edwards reveal the very real fight for women's equality that continues today. Edwards began her activism while in the home with three children and continued advocating for the ERA even after returning to work. While some scholars talk about the second shift of women working in the home following a formal workday.⁴⁹⁸ Peg went beyond that fulfilling both roles while trying to ensure her daughter's futures were limitless. Peg's awakening during the 1970s and the resulting political action

⁴⁹⁶ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁹⁷ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

⁴⁹⁸ Echols, "Nothing Distant About It," in *Reading Women's Lives*.

brought her to the very origins of women's political power in the United States. Her story serves as a link between the origins of the movement for women's equality and the current generations.

Conclusion

When women cannot find a group of like-minded women to share experiences with Peg Edwards says we “put this mask on so we don’t stand out.”⁴⁹⁹ Unpacking the Alice Paul suitcase allowed Edwards to take this mask off for me. Edwards allowed me in to understand her involvement with Alice Paul and the ERA, but also shared with me the experiences that led her to feminism and the legacy of her activism in her own thinking. Prior to researching my grandmother’s activism and looking more into the emphasis on feminism within my own family, I almost never thought of it at all. I identified as a feminist but had little explanation for why. I thought I should be free to shape our own futures and become what we wanted to be. Just as Alice Paul could not fathom how anyone could oppose women’s suffrage, I could not understand how people could oppose equality for women. I had assumed this was because of my experiences in life. Research solidified that while this was valued within my family, it was also instilled by decades of constant organizing by women to improve the status of women. Women did not always agree over how best to change or improve the status of women. These differing opinions led many women to become activists in some way during the 20th century and before, sadly this rich history of activism is largely unknown by current generations. These stories of women’s activism matter for women becoming activists in the 21st century.

As a child I was raised to believe I could be anything I wanted if I was willing to work for it. Now I see that this is largely due to the influence of the adults around me and that these women were in turn influenced by the women before them. I was raised by a stay at home mother. My mother is also a graduate of Stanford University and earned an MBA from Wharton. My mother and an aunt on both sides of my family did not take their husband’s last names. As a

⁴⁹⁹ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

child I was taught I could be anything I wanted. It was expected I would go to college and graduate school did not seem unlikely. The gap in wages was the only way I could really see that society still valued men over women. Learning more about Alice Paul and my own grandmother helped me see how hard earned progress has been.

An interesting illustration of gender stereotypes occurred when I was taken to the emergency room when I was just a few days old. The doctor examining me starts telling me what a tough guy I am, and my mother immediately corrects him informing him I am a girl. With an androgynous name and dressed in a plain onesie, my gender is not immediately apparent. What struck my mother was the doctor's response as he immediately shifted to telling me "Oh poor thing, don't worry it would be all-better soon." After learning more about my grandmother's activism hearing this story sparked a new response. I saw how stereotypically gendered this reaction was. I began to think about how this doctor and so many others would have completely different expectations for the future of a baby in front of them based all on the gender. With an androgynous first name this was far from the last time someone expected me to be a male. I have noticed over the years how people respond differently to my emails when they think I am a male.

My race, class, education, and upbringing color my experiences and how I relate to feminism. This is true of all women. Alice Paul was raised in an extremely sheltered Quaker community not exposed to any difference in class or race early in life. Paul failed to see the elitism of her movement and the racial and class homogeneity of the women involved.⁵⁰⁰ This racism is apparent in the 1913 suffrage parade where some African American women did end up participating in the parade, but others, including Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority from Howard

⁵⁰⁰ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 120. And Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights*, 27.

University, were told to not participate for fear of angering white southern suffragists.⁵⁰¹ The women who were asked not to participate were also well educated. Paul's activism and emphasis on political results were directly influenced by her status in society as a upper middle class white woman. Similarly Peg Edwards's activism was the result of interacting with women in her community who were like her. Edwards's efforts were time consuming and phone calls and constant letter writing were only possible because she was not working at the time. While factors like race and class did not ensure Edwards's participation in activism, they impacted how she could contribute and how she would be accepted.

A common theme of Paul and Edwards is their desire that later generations understand how women struggled before them "I wish that perhaps now women could have a more respectful, if you had more respect for the campaign for equality for women and for the women who took part in it."⁵⁰² Paul recalled that she knew little of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony and only knew of Lucretia Mott as a Quaker.⁵⁰³ This is a problem that still plagues the women's movement and students of history today, including myself. My first introduction to Paul were through a women's history class and the film *Iron Jawed Angels*. Had I not ended up in this class by fate there is a very real possibility I would still know nothing about Paul and my family connection to her. Learning more about Paul allowed me to see much more of the complexity of her character that I had not seen when she was depicted as an unwavering heroic force for suffrage.

Both Paul and Edwards began to engage in activism after first interacting with other activists. Paul became involved in suffrage during her time in England after hearing Christabel

⁵⁰¹ Hawranick et al, "Alice Paul: Activist, Advocate, and One of Ours," *Affilia*, 190.

⁵⁰² Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 433.

⁵⁰³ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 433.

Pankhurst speak and became involved with the Women's Social and Political Union.⁵⁰⁴ Edwards met women at a newcomer's dinner who involved her in the Ridgefield Women's Political Caucus.⁵⁰⁵ These women did not seek out activism, but rather learned of a cause they felt passionately about and subsequently became involved. Building relationships with women allowed for communication so Paul and Edwards could first learn about the causes they would later become involved in. Women were learning from other women, allowing themselves to get involved in the push for equality in the same way *The Feminine Mystique* gave women a way to understand and identify their oppression as housewives. Women cannot expect to continue making progress if we have to "keep reinventing the wheel" as Edwards feared with each generation of feminists beginning from scratch.

After beginning in activism both women developed networks of women who could share the work when it became too exhausting. These networks are important for helping pass the torch to the next generation, and in Paul's case cared for her in old age when she did not have family to do so. While Edwards no longer talks much about feminism or politics because she is surrounded by such oppositional views, it still shapes her opinions. Paul frequently took breaks from activism as the work was consuming and was exhausted following the achievement of suffrage so much so that she would have been willing to disband the organizations of women and retreat home. These were ordinary women dealing with the same problems many other women experience working toward a goal that resonated with them. While not every woman had the courage or commitment to go to jail, all can do something. Real experiences, like my grandmothers, are things I, and other young feminists, can relate to. No one individual is

⁵⁰⁴ Transcript, Alice Paul Oral History, Amelia Fry, Bancroft Library, 41.

⁵⁰⁵ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, November 25, 2012, Clark Edwards.

responsible for a political change like a constitutional amendment, these efforts hinge on the organization of many for a singular goal.

Understanding the stories of activists like Alice Paul in conjunction with the stories of activists whose names are not in history books allows activism to become something anyone can do. Women today can relate to the non-linear path both Edwards and Paul took to both feminism and activism. Some may relate to needing a push into activism, and draw comfort in the importance of women's networks to support action. Paul and Edwards both had to struggle with their own identities and conceptions of the world around them to prepare themselves for activism. These stories demonstrate that anyone can become an activist and make an impact. Not all activism may have a lasting impact on laws or policies, but it does impact the people involved and this impact can often be a part of shaping subsequent generations of activists.

While Paul's name will remain associated with the 19th amendment and the ERA, Edwards's work is important outside the confines of my family as it represents what normal women were doing during the 70s and crosses the generations of feminism that are not distinct phases. These generations overlap and influence one another as the push for increased women's rights continues. Edwards was influenced by the work of Paul's generation, but was active for the ERA because that was an issue that resonated with her in ways suffrage could not because she had always lived in a world where she would be allowed to vote.⁵⁰⁶ I have never lived in a world where women did not have any access to birth control and must now find an issue that resonates with me. Looking at the lives of Paul and Edwards gives allowed me to understand the things that motivated them to become active. Becoming active is a process for most woman as they develop their own form of feminism and opinions. Edwards recalls this, "I don't know when

⁵⁰⁶ Peg Edwards Document Collection, "Barbara Wardenburg and Peg Edwards e-mails," 27 June 2013, document 219.

or how I got as radicalized as I am but I'm sure it happened."⁵⁰⁷ This history is relatable and valuable in demonstrating the importance of women's networks in the push towards equality. Idolizing these women and failing to see them as human makes achieving change as an activist seem impossible for many women. Forgetting the stories of normal women in their every day lives is forgetting a part of history.

I started on a journey to learn more about the history of women's activism but found much more. I found that the key to continuing progress is the development and nurturing of women supporting women. I found that the past is more than pages of a history book and is the stories of women's everyday lives. I found that I am part of continuing this work when I find causes that resonate with me. I learned it from DePauw University, Alice Paul, Peg Edwards, and a suitcase full of documents.

⁵⁰⁷ Transcript, Peg Edwards interview, February 8, 2014, Clark Edwards.

Appendix One-Interview Transcript

November 25, 2012 Interview Clark Edwards and Peg Edwards

Clark

Is it all right if I start with some basic background information? It's sad I realized I don't know your birthday or anniversary

Peg

Alright. I was born on January 21, 1936. Married your grandfather, February 15th, 1958. We moved to Connecticut and grandpa would have to give you the date of when we moved to Ridgefield Connecticut. And that's where I met a woman named Marsha Hunt and Barbara Wardenburg.

C

Ok

P

And they were forming a chapter lets call it of the National Women's Political Caucus NWPC and it was sort of considered it the extension of a Rap group. I don't know how to explain a rap group for you right off hand. Just write it down. The other gals were all very politically motivated in Ridgefield. We had a town hall type meeting and you can look up somewhere else for explanation for that essentially there was the alderman and anything of importance was voted on and you could bring it to the town meeting and the town meeting was the collection of citizens. Anybody and everybody could go and we did things like go and be observers after the polls closed when they went and opened up the back of the voting machines. We had voting machines then and you go and you click down levers. And so they would open them up to see the counters on the back to see how many votes people had. So there would be several machines so the poll workers would go and total these and report precincts votes. We had a woman who ran for councilwoman and for the life of me I can't think of her name right now. And so we became very political. And I sort of latched on to these women.

C

Yea

P

I had never been exposed to anything like this before. And someone gave me *Feminine Mystique* to read and I and I learned why I was angry. Ok?

C

Yea

P

I found for the first time that I remember, other than a few individuals, I found women that I really connected with and it scared me to death. Because it was so different.

C
Right

P
It was so different from the way I was raised, from the way I was socialized then. I dragged my feet kicking and screaming. Marsha said to me one day you either have to join this group or you have to quit coming.

C
Laughing

P
You know, “this is either important to you or it’s not important to you.” Well it was very important to me to be around Marsha and Barbara. So I joined

C
Yea

P
Ok. I didn’t belong when the very first National Women’s Political Caucus Convention was held. It was probably in Texas but I don’t know that you’d have to look somewhere else.

C
Ok

P
There were a lot of big politically motivated women involved. And we were a splinter group off of NOW. Because these women, which included Bella Abzug, and again I’m short on names for ya.

C
That’s ok.

P
They wanted to raise money and work in campaigns. They decided they were tired of lobbying men to vote and consider women’s issues. So they decided the best thing to do was to recruit and run and support financially also women. And that was the only way we were going to get anywhere. And so somewhere along the way we obviously attracted a gay element. Although that wasn’t the primary reason those women were interested in civil rights for women. And in and amongst all that abortion...it started out support for the Equal Rights amendment. Which Alice Paul penned. If you don’t have a copy you must find one it’s just a little bitty paragraph not some humongous thing

C
Yea I've seen it a million times

P
Oh, ok. Alright ok. So where was I going?

C
With abortion?

P
That wasn't the original premise. That goal as I recall it was to support and run. And that's what we did. And one of the first candidates we ran was that woman for councilwoman we supported.

And the only personally significant thing. We had gone through a big hassle over the ice rink. There was a man who married a relatively wealthy woman and he started an ice rink for hockey. It takes different ice for hockey than for figure skating. Figure skating takes softer ice so the pick will hold so they can do all those things. It's called soft ice or whatever. And as your dad can tell you hockey wants hard brittle ice.

C
Yea

P
So this was for boys. The skating rink. And we fought long and hard for them to give us some off hours for the girls to have access to figure skating lessons and skate time. At first they just gave us all skate kind of stuff. And eventually I'd have to check with Barbara. Barbara would remember. I don't know if we had to sue him or not? We may have had to sue him. I can't remember or not. Write that down as a question to ask Barbara. Was it just pressure, peer pressure, or did we threaten him with legal action or what?

C
Ok I've got it down

P
Ok. So what was the other thing? I was co-chair I think of Connecticut for one period. And then at a later date I was an alternate a delegate. A delegate at large to the NWPC national. I didn't do anything significant. My daily shtick was bylaws and being fiscally responsible. Although I had asked and I had hoped to be treasurer. But I was not another woman from Ridgefield was treasured

Now the only other thing of significance, other than Alice Paul, we'll get to that in a second. And now mind you this was really rough on your grandfathers and my marriage. They decided they were going to give the boys' club -and there wasn't a boys and girls club this was just a boys' club period and there weren't even public hours. This was just a boys club and we decided

that I guess we tried indirectly to encourage them to let the girls go, but that didn't get anywhere. And you have to remember this is heavily Italian in that part of the country. And I'm not criticizing I'm just saying that they have a male family orientation that is very strong in their belief structure. So they told us what they wanted to do was give the land underneath the building.

C
Yea

P
They (the boys club) had a building it was on a square block that was city property. One block off Main Street. I mean it was in the heart of Ridgefield. And what they wanted to do was give just take the land underneath and they wanted to sell it to them for a dollar. And we didn't think that was a reasonable thing since it wasn't for all Ridgefield residents. And so I hiked myself down to the city hall I guess you'd call it and looked up the deed that they were proposing. And the deed did not say the land under the building. Because the boys club owned the building, the incorporated boys club. But the land belonged to the city. So I went down to the town hall I mustn't say city hall. And looked it up. And they were given the whole friggen square block and that wasn't just a block that was a huge piece of property that was across from the old high school building that I guess was the grade school at the time now or a junior high. They proposed to just give them this entire piece of property for a dollar. And we decided that wasn't right. So we got to the meeting that night cause I didn't go down, we didn't think of it until that afternoon that morning one or the other. And so we got to the meeting and one of us stood up and some how or another we announced that the deed did not say the land under the building and the deed was for the whole property and we did not think that was fair. And grandpa... you need to ask grandpa about some of this because the details are fuzzy. And there was a huge up roar. And then your dad⁵⁰⁸ bless his heart got up and said I don't think if they don't allow the girls there it is fair we shouldn't just give to a way a piece of property of that value to.... just the boys. At least fair market value or something. And so there was this one guy.

C
Right

P
You weren't supposed to have helicopters or fly helicopters in Ridgefield. But there was this one guy, a construction guy, who regularly flew his helicopter in and out of Ridgefield because laws don't apply to him

C
(Laughing) right

P
And he screamed at your grandfather and your grandfather was totally taken aback because we hadn't run into anything like this. Where people didn't talk politely to one another. And there were several people taking on Marsha Hunt's husband, you know "can't you control that bitch"

⁵⁰⁸ Dad should actually be Grandad.

C
Oh my

P
It was just awful, awful, awful. To just sorta sum it up then we went through then and they tried to get everyone to do it and since I had girls I decided I didn't have the guts to go be a part of the lawsuit since we decided that was the only thing to do that was the only thing that's going to stop them.

C
Right

P
Because one of the guys was the local judge. Was part of the boys club directory group or whatever. And so we all sorta fell down and Barbara Wardenburg bless her heart marched her daughter down and made an application for her to be a member of the boys club and when they rejected them she sued and it was sort of a class action thing and we got pro bono lawyers. And you'd have to ask Barbara how long it took, but in the long run they turned it into a boys and girls club and eventually sold that property to them for the girls and boys club and at supposedly fair market price and that was the legal settlement that came out of all of it.

C
Wow

P
Anyway we got little girls in and we got fair market pricing instead of giving it away to all the boys. So that was sorta that. So Barbara this sorta invigorated her. Most of us were Democrats, but Barbara was a long time Republican.

C
Wow

P
So out of this. We're in our mid 30s, and I may have been 5 years older than the rest of them, 5-7 years older than the rest of them. But anyway she (Wardenburg) went to school to get a law degree. I think she commuted to Hartford, Connecticut. She got a law degree. So when Alice Paul fell. She lived on this windy road right down the middle of one of the main access roads. It may have been route 7. So she had one of these really old fashioned high beds.

C
Right

P
Where you have these little steps, two steps to get in bed. Well she fell and broke her hip. She was getting pretty feeble by then. You know. So she was in the hospital. And all the sudden this

nephew shows up and he's supposedly living there to take care of. So I think you need to have someone else explain all of it, but the long and short is that he was just living off of her.

C
Right

P
And her funds were getting very low. I don't know how Barbara figured it all out. But she got our old adversary from the boys club thing, who was I don't know what position he was then. So she got him to name her the financial guardian, the guardian to take all the money away from Donald.

C
Right

P
She was not able to take care of herself so she was put in a nursing home. So to give me something to do, to make me feel useful, she said that I was appointed guardian ad litem. Which means health care, well-being. So that I would go a couple times a week at least at random times to make sure that she wasn't being mistreated and that everything was good with her. But I'll have to think of some more detail or if you can think of some specific questions. The only thing that I can give you is that during that period of time there was this woman from the Village Voice who made a paid interview with her and was disappointed with her because although she was very lucid in many ways she didn't have the memory. You know? I don't know I got the impression that she wasn't able to give the rich detail that this woman had expected to get from her.

C
Oh ok

P
But she did get something. And what I got out of all of this was that she had one thing. She never used filler words. She had a strong beautiful voice. And she would talk and she would pause to collect her thoughts. So that she spoke deliberately with pauses

C
Yea

P
There was never any and uhh err. There were never any filler sounds. Which made her sound very dignified to me. I thought that was quite unusual. And she always corrected people if anyone called her and her friends suffragettes. And instead of saying that's not right, she said we called our magazine or newspaper, I forgot what she called it, *the suffragist*. We are suffragists. Somewhere along whether it was from her or some other source -ette I think it's a French thing it's used to diminish things like you'd have flannel and flannelettes.

C
Right

P
And it was the cartoons. It was the press. That tagged them as suffragettes. A put down. And that's the reason it rankled her when people called them suffragettes. And I went on the website. There's a website out there for Alice Paul.

C
Yea

P
And they use suffragettes all the time all over the place. And I send them an e-mail and told them she would not be happy with that. And I never heard anything back.

C
Ohh

P
So that's all I can think. Do you have any specific questions for me? Or anything that you would like to ask? Eventually he did come back and get control and he took her back to Mooresville where her family is and very very recent of the DAR magazine has an article about her last years in Mooresville after he returned and took her back there. It made the statement that the Quaker woman in her community. She was a Quaker. The Quaker woman took care of her physically took care of her in the old family homestead. And it would be much easier if you ask to Aunt Sherry to give you a copy of that because she is all set up to scan and I'm not right now

C
Yea I can totally ask her about that.

P
Alright now so if there are other questions you have right now or if you think of any thing at any time give me a call or send me a tweet or not a tweet a text. And I will send an e-mail to Barbara that you might contact with her with questions if you have any.

C
Ok yea. Can I ask you a couple more questions then?

P
Sure

C
So did you know much about Alice Paul before you got involved with that?

P
None

C
None

P
Virtually none. I knew a little about the suffragists and I probably knew about the abuse that they underwent with the force-feeding and all of that. I'm sure I knew that kind of stuff. But not too much more than that.

C
So then when you were working with Alice Paul was she still talking about that period of her life when she was so active in getting the vote for women?

P
Oh people would ask her questions. She'd response. You know sweetheart I don't remember.

C
That's ok.

P
And I suspect that Barbara is a better place to ask that kind of question

C
Ok

P
Cause Barbara spent a lot of time with her.

C
Ok. Do you agree with the way she specifically went after a federal amendment and then doing the same thing with the equal rights amendment?

P
Of course I did! I mean she's a gutsy gal. and she parted ways with the oh who's the big suffrage amendment gal?

C
Carrie Chapman Catt

P
Well she's one of them who's the other? Anthony?

C
Susan B. Anthony?

P

Yea.⁵⁰⁹ She wanted to go for the whole ball of wax. She wanted to go for the Equal Rights Amendment and the other women said oh no oh no let's just go for an amendment that says we get the vote.

C
Right

P
Now you have to remember it was just landed women. Women with property and it was not very many women. If you were married you didn't have property. It was only if you were a widow or something else that women had property or if they were single like Anthony. It was a small portion then, but it was an even smaller portion of women. And I'm not downgrading that. I'm just trying to explain that Alice Paul said this is a waste of time. All we have to do is take the equal rights amendment that says all women... you know. That women shall be... you know I've forgotten what the words are.⁵¹⁰

C
Yea

P
You can't say that it just means men. It means men and women equally. It means humankind. When she penned or when she was responsible for the preamble or whatever to the charter for the league of nations if you go back and look in that it says human kind in there. It does not say men.⁵¹¹

C
Ohhhh. I didn't even think about that.

P
It says human kind because men. It used to be in old English that w-i-r meant husband. And w-i-s meant wife. And so husband and wife. And mann m-a-n-n meant human kind everybody, men and women. And somewhere along the way man m-a-n got hijacked.

C
Right

⁵⁰⁹ Susan B. Anthony was no longer alive during the final push for suffrage, and had been one of the early supporters of a federal amendment. This is more likely a reference to the split of Paul and the Congressional Union away from NAWSA, which was led by Anna Howard Shaw, and later Carrie Chapman Catt. This division was also not over the ERA, although other women would later leave the National Woman's Party when it chose to pursue equal rights following the success of the suffrage amendment.

⁵¹⁰ The suffrage amendment is often seen as only granting voting rights to white women. While black women were technically enfranchised, many note they did not fully have the right to vote until the Voting Rights Act in 1964.

⁵¹¹ Paul had success getting non-gendered language into the UN charter. The United States never joined the League of Nations, but the Covenant noted all the positions were open to both men and women.

P

And to mean men only. And we still have wife. But we not longer have the wir to mean the husband, men. W-i-r⁵¹² disappeared from the vocabulary

C

Interesting. And so what would you want people most to know about Alice Paul and then sort of your interactions with her later.

P

What an incredibly, and it's not just Alice, but Alice in particular to have the courage and the foresight and the vision to tackle the societal mores the way they did. To me it ranks right up there with fighting slavery. Women had a less degrading, white women, but they were servants also. They were subjugated. They were no people, they were not important. And these women had the strength to take the physical and mental abuse, because they wanted to be whole members of this society. And I just think that's extraordinary. And I think she was one of the strongest ones. And the fact that she was willing to stick with what she thought was the right thing to do was especially nice. I don't know if that answers your question. I was just absolutely honored that I was able to in any way be kind to her. To see that life that she was being well taken care of.

C

So this is a few years before her death.

P

Yea

C

Do you know roughly what years. Or how old you would have been during that period.

P

Larry? Larry? Hang on he's in the other room. We were there in. Grandpa's gone have to tell you what years. Larry? Hang on let me get myself in the other room.

C

Oh be careful

P

Hang on let me cover up the microphone. Larry?

Larry

I'm coming

P

Ok. How we doing on time?

⁵¹² Likely thinking of Latin Vir, which is pronounced with a W sound.

C

Oh I'm fine I don't have anything to be doing.

P

Ok he's here now darling. She's asking me what years we were in Connecticut.

L

Indecipherable. We were where?

P

We were in Connecticut. When all this Alice Paul stuff happened?

L

Let's see. When we were in Ridgefield. Let's see we went there in 1972 it was like Christmas. Call it January in 1973.

C

Ok

L

So the Alice Paul stuff happened probably right around 1975 or so. Now you're talking about the discussion over the boys club?

(talking over each other)

L

Cause that was like 76. And we left there in 77. So this was probably more 1976.

P

Yea yea. Cause we came down here in September of 1977. Do you have any insight from your point of view about the town hall meeting?

L

No not really.

P

How did it make you feel when you were attacked?

L

(Indistinguishable) ...Not a big deal.

P

He's a very different person now than he was in those days. It was very enlightening period for both of us.

C

What would you say the biggest thing you learned during that period was?

P

How important it is, how critical it is that we have the right to choices. There's no set thing that we have to grow up to be. We can be anything we want to. Just like little boys can be anything they want to be when they're growing up. There aren't any best things for us to be. And that means if we choose to be a stay at home mother that's wonderful and if our life doesn't allow us to do that or if we choose not to do that then that's fine too. And that we need to be considered for our abilities and what we produce just like men do just like men. There shouldn't be a difference.

C

Right

P

And so it exposed me to all that. And it struck me as right and true and and there's a lot more detail. Nothing in this life is black and white. It's shades of grey.

C

Right

P

And you struggle to find a place you are comfortable with that doesn't impinge on other people's rights to be what they want to be. You have to compromise you have to find a middle ground. So the whole discussion on a women's right to choose is very important. But there's some nuances in that I'd want to discuss at another time.

C

Ok

P

You have to remember that I grew up in an age where there was no birth control. None. Nada. The only thing was you can't touch me. stay away.

C

That's what scares me with where politics are going now. No we don't need to go back to that.

P

No we don't

C

Yea

P

I read once. And I'd give anything if I'd had cut it out. And it was a little blurb a little women's item or something in Newsweek magazine. That says they have been able to at that time discover brain activity in a fetus at about 4 and half or 5 months. Prior to that with the equipment and technology they had. And I came to the conclusion prior to that that up until then it was a potential child. It wasn't a child because our intelligence is what sets us aside from other animals. And that we are not duty bound to fertilize all our eggs. We have tens of thousands of them. We do not have an obligation to reproduce and reproduce and reproduce.

C
Right

P
And the other thing that I'm most thankful for is that our grandmothers and even our mothers. And this is talking about my generation. Our grandmothers and our mothers died in childbirth.

C
Right

P
It was a common common occurrence. And thankfully now that is highly unusual.

C
Yea

P
And now you women have power. If they don't take it away from you to control your sex life and your body.

C
Yea

P
So this is your democratic. Although all the times I was in the caucus I was a republican because I really believed in. somewhere. I think upstairs I have the republican platforms from the 70s. that I'm talking about. And you would be greatly surprised to go back and read those platforms now because they read like the democratic platforms today.

C
Yea...yea

P
I've forgotten who the first woman was to be a senator

C
Oh I know her name what was it

P

And she inherited it. Her husband was the senator and died. So she kind of inherited it. And we did increase the number of women in that era, but then they kind of fell away. But fortunately we're seeing a resurgence now.

C

So did you stay involved in the Caucus after you left Connecticut?

P

Yea when I came down here (North Carolina) the first thing I did was find the caucus. I was vice chair down here and then decided that I just didn't want to be the chair down here. But down here some time after I don't remember the years but we decided to make a push to get North Carolina to ratify the ERA. and when they brought it up again they got them to bring it out. And Strom Thurman I think it was Strom Thurman and that needs be to checked cause I could have the wrong name

C

Ok

P

And if it is him from South Carolina whoever it was had a black child out of wedlock. He's the one that said yes. There's not another amendment out there that had a time limit on it. And he said if you can get the correct number of ratified states in seven years I think it was five or seven. Otherwise it's dead forever. And that's the only way we could get going with it again whatever the process was.

C

Oh wow

P

And in the end we thought we were going to have the votes down here. We all were so close with the equal rights thing. You've seen the march that we did with the banner.

C

Yea

P

We tried very hard. And although I wasn't a particular leader in that group the caucus was involved and I personally was involved in a bunch of stuff, but it wasn't as a leader.

C

Ok

P

And we thought we were going to be ok and in the end they patted us on the head and said we're going to table it. Which essentially killed it.

C
Ugh

P
And then time expired. That was their intent all along. Was all this work and all this stuff and then the back...it later went on. I worked on someone's campaign down here who was running for sheriff. And then I ran for a place on the second level up of precinct chairs. And I was run just fine. That was at the time that that Frasier Helms decided that instead of trying to take over the Democratic Party or starting a third party that what they would do was take over the Republican Party.

C
Right

P
And when they found out they'd elected me to this council, when they'd found out I was an equal rights supporter they tried to negate the election.

C
Oh my gosh

P
And they guy said you can't do that. And he really put himself on the line saying you can't do that. And they said ok. And they never ever called a meeting that I was notified of.

C
Oh my gosh

P
And so what we have now down here are the Republican Party is made up of the old yellow dog democrats. So we see all the names, all the big names on the republican side get all the old timers, all the heads of councils, all the supreme court justices, blah blah blah are these yellow dog democrats that switched when Helms switched

C
Right. So who was it that...

P
But it's an interesting place to live my dear and I do not call myself a Republican anymore.

C
Thank you. Thank you for that. As someone who made the calls for the Democratic Party in the state of Indiana even after we had a senate candidate say if you get pregnant from rape it's God's will I'm quite...

P
Did he win?

C
No! Thankfully Joe Donnelly our kind of democratic democrat won.

P
Oh ok

C
And if we had a few more weeks I think we may have had the governor seat too just because of the attack ads that were being run they were so just so over the top

P
So so so ugly. Well thank you for being who you are sweet heart. Now if you have any more questions call me.

C
I will I will. Oh I forgot a really simple one I should've asked at the beginning. Where did you go to school again?

P
I went to central College in Fayette Missouri. Small, very small, religious affiliated school. Back then there were several of them. In the state of Missouri there was a Baptist one, there was a Lutheran one, there was another one. Churchill went to one of them. I've forgotten which one in this little athletic league where there's all these church schools. That's where he gave his iron curtain speech.

C
Oh ok

P
And it may have been at William Joe but I don't think so. I think Grandpa would know. But now I think it's Central University for crying out loud

C
Yea

P
And it has long since lost its church affiliation, Well its still associated with Methodists and probably still has theology stuff going on, but none of those are solely supported by churches anymore.

C
Yea. DePauw used to be Methodist but now it's, you know we say we're Methodist but that's about it.

P
Yea Yea same kind of thing.

C
Ok and when did you graduate from there?

P
I graduated in 57. The second year there I had a national Methodist scholarship as a matter of fact.

C
Oh wow. And then you went to IBM after that and that was it?

P
Oh no. No that's when I went to work at Los Alamos in New Mexico in the theoretical division at Los Alamos.

C
The theoretical what?

P
The theoretical division, I don't remember the proper name. The national... look up Los Alamos Lab. It was a nuclear development site. I had to have top clearance. And what I did was I worked on programming on one of the first big IBM computers.

C
Wow

P
And I quit that job and came home and got married, and we'll talk about that some other day.

C
(Laughing) ok

P
Ok.

C
Awesome. Thank you so much. I'll send you my paper when I finish it.

P
I appreciate that. By sweet heart.

Appendix Two- Interview Transcript

February 5, 2014 Interview Peg Edwards and Clark Edwards.

Peg

I think I told you this before she never used filler words. She would pause and collect her thoughts and then speak perfect grammar, very calm clear voice, when she was talking about all that old stuff.

You don't have many people speak without like uh, like, whatever. We put all these filler words in, like and the, that sort of space out our speech while our brain is catching up.

Clark

Yeah, I transcribed the interview that I did with you, I guess, last year when I was writing a paper, and I'm just listening to myself talk and it's "please stop saying the word like so much."

Laughter

P

You don't realize you're doing it.

C

Listening to myself. I was like this is awful.

P

I assume that she had talked about the newspaper.

C

Yeah, *The Suffragist*.

P

And she talked about how they bought the schoolhouse.

C

You had told me before about that too.

P

OK, that that was the woman's divorce settlement. I don't remember her name. I knew it at one point in time. It's the name of the woman who found her husband in bed with another woman and divorced him. And got this large settlement, and then she gave a bunch of that settlement to Alice Paul and the suffragists, who helped buy her schoolhouse.

C

Yeah, I think that story was in there. I don't remember the name off the top of my head, but I'm sure I can find it.

P

Probably Barbara will remember it. It's important. The other thing that I'm sure she'd talked about is the preamble to the...

C

UN Charter

P

No, not the UN. I think it's the League of Nations or something. It's a precursor to the UN.⁵¹³

C

Oh, with Wilson. I think Wilson was the one who came up with the League of Nations so that would make sense.

P

Because Alice penned the one for the previous one, and if you can find that you will see that she only said humankind or something generic. She doesn't say man.

C

Yeah, that was all in there and that was interesting too.

P

Ok, good.

C

We studied that stuff for other things.

P

Ok. What can I help you with?

C

I have a variety of questions - some of them are about Alice Paul, and some of them are more generally about feminism, and I apologize because some of them will probably be out of order or not chronologically make sense.

P

Oh, don't worry.

C

And also if you have to go at any point, cut me off because I could talk about this for hours at this point.

⁵¹³ Paul advocated for women's equality for both the UN and the League of Nations. Paul succeeded in getting humankind included in the UN Charter.

P

We may have to interrupt for a dinner break and resume.

C

Ok, that's fine.

(Side Conversation about being back at school and the family)

C

One of the first questions I have was when did you first come in contact with the term "feminist" or start identifying as one?

P

After I moved to Ridgefield, as best I remember, when we went there we joined a Newcomers thing, where you had dinner at your house and four couples would get together and have dinner at one couple's house. I met a woman named Marcia Hunt, who was a woman from Connecticut who went to school in Indiana I think. Met her husband there, and she is the woman that I really hold in the highest esteem. This is a woman - very talented woman, very fun woman. She was a schoolteacher, but she could have run a corporation. It was just that before women hadn't broken through the glass ceiling yet. I just would do anything to be around her, because she was such an interesting person. She had met and was good friends with a woman named Mary Rappaport - and Mary was involved in NOW. She was involved in what they used to call rap sessions. I don't know what it stood for r-a-p I think it was. It was a group that gets together and discusses whatever. They decided that they wanted to form a chapter of the National Women's Political Caucus. I'm not sure when the National Caucus broke away from NOW. It was NOW women that decided they were tired of going and lobbying all these men on feminist issues. They were tired of receiving pats on the head, and nothing happened. So they decided that they would form the National Women's Political Caucus, and they would focus on seeking out and training and supporting financially women who already were feminists and aware. I don't remember names anymore, but Sissy Fahrenhold was one. Bella Abzug is another woman. We can find out from Wardenburg what some other of the names are because Marcia died last year. Wardenburg was there for most of this or all of it. Marcia went there so I went there. She kept telling me That's the first time that I ever saw Germaine Greer's, whatever the name of her book is, *The Feminine Mystique*.

C

That's Betty Friedan I think.⁵¹⁴

P

Whoever's it is. It's that seminal feminist book. And it may have been Wardenburg that loaned me a copy. I was astounded at how much I agreed with what was being said in the book. How much these women were saying the things that I'd felt. I'd never been around women like this before. I'm not a person that's gregarious, and part of that is that I just hadn't found anyone that thought like I thought. But I still was very reticent to put myself out there. I can remember - this is in the mid-70s - and Mary Rappaport's favorite thing to say was that she was pissed off. I

⁵¹⁴ Betty Friedan wrote the *Feminine Mystique*, Germaine Greer wrote *The Female Eunuch*.

could not say that! I had to practice. I decided that I had to fit in, and one of the things I practiced was saying that I was pissed off. I finally got to where I could say it out loud. (Laughter.) It was this growing experience for me, and I was in seventh heaven being around these women. They were active in the national organization, and they had started a Connecticut state caucus. We had a town hall style of government in Ridgefield, CT, and one of our members ran for councilwoman, and was successful. We went to these town meetings. That's when we discovered that they were trying to give the Boys Club, at the time Boys Clubs were males only, they were trying to give...

C

Yeah, you told me about the stuff with the Boys Club.

P

So all of that happened about that time. Moving to Ridgefield, and meeting Marcia Hunt which coincided with the creation of this state subsidiary of this national organization was my introduction to feminism.

C

Had you ever heard the word "feminism" before?

P

I don't remember, but probably not. It was out there, but I don't recall that I really... all my life I've felt out of place. That's when I became aware that to the extent that I was willing to step out a little. We got involved. We had a local skating rink.

C

Yeah, you told me about this.

P

So all of that was happening. We were putting ourselves out there to make sure that they would include girls. We were putting pressure on the Boys Club about admitting girls or else paying fair market price. We were going to town hall meetings, and we helped elect, or supported, this woman for the town council. So I sort of came to life, and that's when I ran for at-large delegate at national. One of the other woman became the treasurer. I worked on by-laws committees and all of that at the national level. Then I was to be the chairwoman of the state organization. We then moved. I came down here and was involved in the North Carolina one and also in the push for the Equal Rights Amendment in North Carolina, which was unsuccessful. I think I probably told you this before - the Equal Rights Amendment, which Alice Paul penned, is the only amendment to the Constitution that has ever had a time limit on it.

C

Do you know what I found? As I was reading the big oral history with Alice Paul - they tried to do that on the suffrage amendment at one point, and so Alice Paul went back into Congress, told them all to vote against it. And obviously her other people did too because they knew that if it had a time limit on it the opposition would stay there. Whereas once they passed the amendment without a time limit these other women who had been opposing it just sort of gave up. So they

were like, if you leave the time limit, people are going to oppose it so much more. Which I just thought was so interesting.

P

They were able to concentrate their effort. There isn't time for social change to occur. I think that by now we could probably ratify it.

C

I would hope so.

P

That's not what happened, and the irony is it's from Thurman that fathered a child with an underage maid when he was a young man and denied her publicly until - was it after his death or when he was on his death bed - before this child ever came forward. I don't remember what her name is. It's so infuriating that it was somebody like that was the spearhead for the time limit.

C

It's awful. So you said that, *The Feminine Mystique* was one of the big books that you read that helped you understand.

P

That spoke to me.

C

And you told me last time we talked about this that you were in a book club with other women where you intentionally avoided romance novels.

P

We were, all of us, busy, busy, busy with this organization in Raleigh where we were lobbying, raising money, and doing all kinds of things to pressure the legislature to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. When that failed with a nice little pat on the head, "Thanks for trying girls," we said what are we going to do to keep in touch? We've got this group of women that we really really like. We think alike. We like the same kinds of things. We're unique. You're not going to find many of us in North Carolina. So, we said, "Well, let's start a book club." One of the women who was very very active in - I'll have to think a while for her name. Valerie was the assistant librarian for the Wade County Library System - so she's very, very well read. Her house has stacks of books, and she reads them all. She reads several books a week. We had her as a resource to tell us books, to find good books for us, so we only read women authors. We only read books of value, not romance. We didn't read bodice rippers. We read literature - Kingsolver, who's the gal from England who won all the Booker Awards - Anita Brookner, and just for aggravation - now we probably couldn't get by with it today, we called ourselves The Women's Reading Circle and Terrorist Society! I'd have to get confirmation of the exact words. We'd get ourselves in a lot of trouble, but we just thought that was clever.

I can remember driving down our street for the very first time and seeing the woman picking up the dirt as she swept in a dustpan when she was sweeping up her driveway. I can't tell you how

many times I'd hear somebody say, "Oh, I just can't deal with a checkbook. It just upsets me. I can't deal with any of that stuff," (in whiny southern voice). You'd heard stuff like that all the time. When we were first here, we lived in blue jeans in Ridgefield so I came down here, and I continued to wear my jean jacket, and I always wore a hat on workdays. I had a brown tweed hat I used to wear all the time, and then I had a dress hat. I figured out early that most of the women in the caucus in national. They did everything, and they had a Republican caucus, and they had a Democratic caucus within the organization. I mean all of these women came. One of the women was appointed to the air traffic control, the FAA would go out to crash sites and evaluate stuff, and one of the women was one of those people. And we had Bella Abzug, who was a legislator. So it was like a political thing, this organization. Where was I going with this?

C

Were you going to tell me about when you were wearing jeans in North Carolina?

P

I figured out early that I could have a bigger role if I was a Republican than I could if I was a Democrat. And besides, back then the Republicans were viewed as more fiscally conservative and although I was liberal on the one side, I thought that keeping track of yourself financially was important. Besides there were only how many of us that were registered Republicans and so that's how I got started in that as being a Republican up there. That was my registration. So when I came down here, I just registered as a Republican. That's what I was registered as. So I went to a Republican Caucus fundraising (event). They had Miss America. She was going to come and speak to them. So I go in, stop me if I'd told you this before. So I go in in my jeans jacket, and I'm sitting there, and my legs are crossed and there's this little girl sitting on the other side of her mother. She's sitting next to me, and her mother was on the other side. I'm sitting there with my legs crossed and my blue jeans on. The next thing I know, the little girl crosses her legs, and her mother comes right out of her seat. She said, "Don't do that. Get both feet on the floor!" And the little girl pointed at me, (and the mother) says, "I don't care, Get both of your feet on the floor." So anyway, that was my introduction, and Miss America got a standing ovation from everyone but me. I don't get up for Miss America. You've got to be bigger stuff than that for me.

So those are the kinds of things... and the other funny one, which is not feminist at all, is - I had to go to the courthouse to register to do something. We'd been here a few weeks. The woman said, "We're around here on Fayetteville Road (very southern accent)". Around here on Federal Road is what I heard. What she was saying was "around here on Fayetteville Road." I couldn't find Federal Road, no where, no way. I finally found out I was looking for the wrong road. So, it was just a totally different culture down here. Now it's changed a lot because we have had more and more outsiders come in. Ok, so now that too. That probably answers and doesn't answer your first question. Laughter

C

No, it does plus any of this helps, plus I'm so curious about it. Who knows what I'm actually writing still.

P

That's ok. It's gives me an opportunity to talk about the good times of my life.

C

This is also interesting too. I like to think of myself as a feminist today and even one of professors first semester goes, "Who in here is a feminist?" I obviously raised my hand and all of these freshman don't. And she's (professor) like, "Why aren't you?" and this one girl goes, "Feminists are like scary and like aggressive and mean." At which point I'm like sitting in my head wanting to say, "You're wrong! Are you're crazy? You don't understand." And then I realized that me attacking her like that would have proved her point. I'm like, "Oh gosh, you guys need to learn."

P

Phyllis Schafly was a master at publicity. It was the Eagle Forum, and she was the national figure that spearheaded and went around lobbying for defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment. She was the opposition embodied. Every time you saw her name in print, after it "housewife." Phyllis Schafly, a housewife. A housewife? Then they would go on and tell what she was doing. Well, she was no more a housewife than anybody else. She had a bunch of children. She travelled all the time. She had nannies and governesses at home for her children. She did not keep house. She was not a housewife, homemaker. I don't remember which word it was, but it was one of those two. She was a business woman. She was a lobbyist. She was a special lobbyist. She was out there. So she and the press had this little thing going where she was (coughing). So anyway, I'm sure you can read all kinds of things about Schafly and her Eagle Forum and how successful she was.

C

Because Alice Paul started advocating for the ERA right away after suffrage. One of the other things that I was reading ...

P

But she, and I think, she started out in suffrage, and she just decided that we're asking for a piece of the pie here. The thing to ask for is that the Constitution, when it talks about the people, it means the men and the women. She broke away, but that happened before - that she was on a different path before the suffrage amendment was ratified. Somewhere along in there she broke away.

C

It's a little bit hard to tell in some of the stuff I've been reading because obviously, there's the split in women's organizations early on about suffrage itself where it's should you go with the state by state approach versus the federal.

P

Wardenburg, was a big, and has always been and probably still is involved with the League of Women Voters. You want to know anything about the League of Women Voters and when stuff happened, you need to make a call to Wardenburg

C

I also need to ask her these questions in general about all of this stuff. I keep being like, oh, I need to have my research done before I talk to her and before I talk to you because I want to be an educated researcher and finally I hit the point where I was like I can keep reading forever. I gotta just start asking the questions now.

P

You might find - because Barbara's going to give you a different perspective. Because Caucus work was secondary for her. Her main thing was League of Women Voters. She was an officer and all that stuff. She's still active in the Republican Party out in California.

C

I also have a few questions about the time with Alice Paul. So you told me before that health-wise she was really on the decline and couldn't be on her own.

P

She came in because she had this broken hip or whatever. She fell. She had a high bed - the old-fashioned high bed, and she had these little steps to get up into the bed and somehow or another she slipped and broke her hip. And that's how she got into the nursing home, and her worthless nephew came in supposedly to care for her, and he started spending all of her money. Then she was beginning to decline - I know that when the Village Voice gal came for an interview, she was really disappointed and aggravated because she couldn't get the information. She had a list of questions, a list of things she wanted Alice to respond to. Alice wasn't able to do that. The gal could not control Alice. Alice would tell her what she wanted to talk about that. It was sort of repetitive. I don't know anything about whether she ever published anything, but she was a reporter. I think maybe she was writing a book. Wardenburg'll know. Because Wardenburg negotiated with her and got Alice Paul a fee. I think it was a thousand bucks or something for this reporter, reporter/author whichever, to come down and interview Alice. Rather than just letting this woman who was going to write something that she was going to profit from to come down and use Alice Paul so Wardenburg made her pay. I think she (reporter) was very disappointed in what she was able to get. From that, my memory now tells me that Alice was declining mentally. Part of it was being shut up in the nursing home.

C

Understandable. You said you used to visit her at least a few times a week. What sort of things would you do when you were visiting her? Or were you just talking to her or what were you talking about?

P

She'd tell me stories, which I don't remember. She'd get mail from people, and we would write an answer. She'd get a letter from someone, and it would go to Wardenburg - she was taking care of the financial stuff. Maybe they came to me. I don't remember now as guardian. Again, I would get these letters, and you may have one or two of them in the papers that you have from me.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁵ Letters make up a large portion of the more than 200 documents Edwards had saved. They include letters to Paul, letters to Edwards, responses to both, and drafts of other letters.

C

There's actually a lot in there, and one of the things I noticed in all of them was, "How's the ERA?" There was actually one woman writing from Indiana. So Alice (I mean it's you responding for Alice)...

P

So that's the kind of thing we did. I was just company, and I would just write letters or whatever she wanted me to do. It's always good when someone's in a home like that that there's someone around to look. Occasionally, she wouldn't be clean. You've got the staff that has how many people, and you can't do everything. But she was soiled on day. So, for anyone you care about, you have to pop in unexpectedly and keep an eye on things. Give her some company.

C

What do you think about how she perceived your presence? Did she know that you were helping her?

P

Good heavens, I don't know. Now, that's a good question for Barbara. I thought that it helped. I knew it helped me to feel some responsibility and to feel like I could help this woman by providing a little quality of life, giving her someone to talk to, somebody to write letters for her. I felt useful. I felt like that helped Alice's quality of life.

C

Even when I first talked to you about this last year when I was writing my other paper, because I knew so little about it, and I'd never looked at the papers, I was like, "Oh, you went and checked on her a couple times." But in looking at the court records, it was clear you were doing a lot, from the quantity of letters that you're responding to, and you're giving all this detailed accounting stuff in court. It was impressive - the records you kept.

P

Well, and of course I don't remember all of that. My memory is that I probably did a lot more than I realized. I probably assumed that Barbara did some of that, and Barbara said, "No." Barbara's focus, I think, was on what the nephew was doing. She's the one that found out that he was trying to sell off part of her property and that he was diminishing her funds. It's Barbara - that was her focus.

C

You have a lot of the stuff in there - court records are kind of hard to understand because sometimes it seems like things are duplicated, and it's just the legal jargon sometimes loses me. But, from the letters it really seems like you were doing a lot just even in keeping other people in contact and informed of her.

One of the people I wanted to talk about was the president of the National Women's Party. I believe her name was Elizabeth Chittick. There's a lot of letters from her. But then when I read the oral history of Alice Paul, Alice seemed very skeptical of her, and was like she's [Chittick] trying to sell off Belmont House where all these National Women's Party documents and seemed

not to like her. Do you remember any of the groups you tried to reach out to? How did you make these connections to have people in contact with Alice or try to help her?

P

I think they came to her, but I don't remember.

C

Was there ever any controversy about you helping her?

P

I don't think so. There was controversy in that we went into court to make me her guardian and to put somebody else in charge of her finances because of what Donald was doing. That was the Caucus. As I recall, that was spearheaded by Barbara. Barbara didn't want to do the daily stuff that I was willing to do. She was the one that figured out that Donald was abusing her finances in his relationship to her. It was Barbara that, as I recall, was the driving force for getting the Caucus, and she (Barbara) and I, to make this happen - to get a conservatorship, get it away from Donald. When we did that, when we'd taken Donald away; it was incumbent upon us to provide with the companionship and the oversight and all the things that a family member would do.

C

Right. It sort of seems like you're helping an older woman... that was a very poorly worded question. Was there any pushback against you identifying as a feminist?

P

Oh well, two things have gotten lost out of that stack of papers. One of them was when the Caucus said that we must not have any association, we mustn't include them in any discussion, or make any reference to them when the two of us were dealing with Alice Paul because that was detrimental to the Women's Political Caucus because that would reflect on, whatever this woman was who was the councilwoman.

[Question aside to Larry asking if he know the name of the councilwoman in Ridgefield.
Answer - no.]

It started as a collective thing and was spearheaded by myself and Barbara, but then the political caucuses - that was not their focus. Their focus of the political caucus was political - getting women elected - not care taking and watching out for one woman.

C

It seems to me so interesting because she wrote the amendment. It seems like someone you would want to have connections with.

P

Oh, it was so petty. It was on yellow-lined paper that I had in those papers, and now I have no idea where it is. That and my copy of the legal guardianship. I know we had it upstairs in Sir's [my grandfather's] office, and I cannot find it because I don't think it's in the stuff you have now.

C

No, I don't think it is either.

P

Those two things were in that suitcase, and that suitcase is kind of fun because when Chita came and had her interviews - Alice was in better shape when Chita was there.

C

Yeah, it was like 1972, I believe, so five years earlier.

P

So she was in good shape then, and Chita got a lot out of her. I don't think that because of where Chita was associated with or what she was doing, she didn't have to pay a fee because she wasn't working on something that was for profit for her. I've forgotten what Chita's position was.

C

She worked at the Bancroft Library in Berkeley.

P

Yeah, she was doing something that was archival.

C

Yeah, she was doing oral histories with a lot of different women who had been involved with suffrage.

P

Well, that's something that Alice should do. So we gave her ready access to Alice for that. Wardenburg got a draft of it from Chita to proofread - I don't know, I got it, Wardenburg got it, who knows which one of us got it but we proofread, and what she did was she photocopied every page of so I have, I don't think I've thrown it away, I have upstairs, an exact copy of the draft of what you read it on-line.

C

I had to print it out and read it. It ended up being over 550 pages.

P

You could have read it for free if you'd have been here with my suitcase.

C

Although I did use my privileges as an Honors Scholar to use their printer to print it.

P

Grandpa's got dinner cooked.

C

Why don't you go do that? I have more questions, but I can save them for later.

P

We can pick it up another time. Give me an hour and you can call back anytime after that or anytime any time. We're only gone if it's a men's or women's basketball game.

C

I don't see that as a bad thing at all.

P

Ah, good girl. Ok, I'll talk to you later.

Appendix Three- Interview Transcript

February 8, 2014 Interview Clark Edwards and Peg Edwards

Clark

Why did you save all the documents and everything that you'd saved?

Peg

Because I'm a keeper. Your mother is a discarder. She can't stand to have something around that isn't useful now and I have upstairs that I'm going to have pitch - I have a scrapbook from high school with my letter in it, with programs from dances. I have art envelopes from grade school upstairs. So my keeping stuff is just who I am. I'm a keeper.

C

Oh ok.

P

I'm not sure if that's the answer you wanted but it was a pretty important thing in my life. You know you said something the other day about things - that I was kind of a follower, and, you know, I'm a reticent person. I'm always going to push someone else in front of me, and I'm the back up. I'm the one who sits in the meetings and listens and listens, and I sort of sum it up and give my analysis of what's been said and what I think we should do. And that's kind of the way I operate. It's like on the boys' club thing - if I hadn't had a bee in my bonnet. For whatever reason I didn't trust them. And nobody asked me to go check on the deed. I got in the car went over and checked on the deed and the guys, including the judge, were lying to us. And when they tried to lie to us in even in the town hall meetings. So I said "guys, that's not what the deed says. You're not telling us the truth." So I probably did more than I'm giving myself credit for.

C

I'd agree with that.

P

Anyway, it was an interesting comment you made, and an interesting reaction I had to it. So that was a very special time. Ridgefield was the happiest I have ever been, and living in New York City, in terms of personal development. It almost destroyed our marriage because this was a paradigm shift in terms of the roles that Larry and I had settled into. I did a lot of things on my own long before Larry. We were young. And Larry as a male was younger than I was, and I'd been off and had a job and worked and was on my own, and he was still in school. So anyway that's sort of, I don't whether that has anything to do with anything, but you asked the question about why I kept it. And part of it is I'm a keeper and part of it is those are memories of very very good years.

C

I think that's a great answer for that, and I mean I'm going to end of keeping my scrapbooks forever, whether or not my kids care.

P

That's right. Those are the kinds of things that when we move from here. You know I have a trunkful up there. None of the kids want that stuff, but they're going to have to throw it away after I'm gone.

C

Yeah, I'll make sure my dad saves it.

P

Ok

C

So you didn't ever have any plans for what you would, I don't know. You didn't have any idea that anyone would be interested in these ever.

P

No, no, I didn't. They were just mementos of a happy time.

C

So I guess then how did you feel when I started asking questions about this and decided to write my thesis about it?

P

I can't tell you how excited I was. You know my feminism didn't really take with the girls. I think that the time that I went through, that Larry and I went through, I've always said that I created a Scott that would understand your mother. There aren't a lot of guys their age would understand where Lori's coming from because Lori's not typical. She went off to Stanford. She stood on her own two feet. She's a brilliant woman, and it's been tough on her sometimes because you don't fit. You're a misfit. For every one you there's 99 more maybe 999 of others that aren't on the same page as you are. That's sort of like the young woman saying that demonizes feminism. They're other. and it has no thought for the advantages and the things that she can do that were built on the backs of generations of feminists that went before her. So that's my thought.

C

Do you think there's sort of significance for sharing these stories outside the family? Because obviously there's a big, I'm curious about it because it's also because that's Nana and related to her. Do you think there's a significance in trying to share these stories outside the family and getting people who may not have had a feminist upbringing?

P

I think all of that, and I think that young women keeping these iconic women alive. But I also think that it's interesting to know about, I think it's interesting to someone, the common woman,

the common feminist - and by that I mean people like me. Just like right now in North Carolina we've got some nasty stuff going on down here. In terms of anti-abortion. You know young women today don't understand why we think that control over our bodies is so important. We came from an era where you didn't have any control. There was no birth control. There was only abstinence. There was - you were committing murder if you terminated a pregnancy. You couldn't, there weren't any doctors out in the open. It was all back alley. And abortion has been with us - Cleopatra reportedly had abortions. So all of this is important and we all have to - no one thinks lightly of that. I have a very good friend who had - her husband died, and she had a little child. He was in the service and his helicopter got caught in a downdraft in Greenland or something and he crashed. And then she was on her own and she had this little girl and she was running around the country trying to find out what she wanted to do and what group she was. And she ended up pregnant, and she made the decision to give up, not carry the child, and then because her mother-in-law was going to take her first child away from her because of this pregnancy, she gave the child up. She is haunted today by where is this child, what's it doing. The flip side of carrying the pregnancy that you can't raise the child is every bit as bad as having an abortion. And another friend, Murray Lynch, a lawyer here in town, when she was like 16 or 17 chose to have an abortion. She will not have children then because of the guilt. Neither path is good. So you rationalize things, and I read once that about I don't remember, nine weeks, or whatever. I had to come to grips with where was the line for me, and it wasn't reasonable that the line was when it's a fertilized egg. It wasn't when it was a vessel, a fetus that had the potential to be a human being. And I read once in Newsweek that, and I'd give anything if I'd kept the article, to track brain waves in a fetus at about 5 months. That they could just begin to see the kind of brain activity that would make them believe that they were becoming a human being so I sort of had it in my mind that if you thought you couldn't care for a child that you needed to make that decision early. And so that became my line, and that became my rationalization for supporting birth control and abortion because not all women can take care of a child and you want to bring a child into the world and not it's someone else's problem. And some women don't have the wherewithal - not just money - but the physical energy. Raising a child is a huge commitment. So I think that knowing your mother and knowing me, it gave you a different perspective. It didn't limit you. And it will be interesting to see where your sister ends up.

C

Yeah, because I tell her about the things I study in class and stuff. But even as much as you and my mom have told me through the years, I honestly think that if I hadn't ended up in a women's history class my first semester freshman year, maybe I wouldn't have realized that - sort of why I needed to study it. Or that you have to have a separate class to study women's history doesn't make sense to me. Isn't it just a part of history?

P

Yeah, that's right. And the books are so stilted. They may be better now, but I remember when we were in Ridgefield one of the women had a little girl in school. Dick and Jane used to be the primers or books for young kids in school. I guess there were six of them or else there were eight of them. Dick goes to the firehouse. Dick does... I can't remember but one of them that was focused on Sally was Sally watches. She was a passive participant in whatever it was. And these feminist mothers of these little girls were livid.

C

Understandably

P

Because in all of the Dick books Sally's there watching him doing something. But even the one about Sally she was not doing something - she was watching something. So anyway, I do think it's important that young women are exposed to this, and unfortunately, you gals are self-selecting, and you chose to go to a women's history class. You wouldn't have chosen to go to a women's history class if you hadn't had the mother you had. So we keep having to reinvent the wheel because this generation doesn't remember why we did some of the things we did. You have a lot of freedom now. I was just going to say - and birth control is the biggest. Your crazy grandmother has always said that I think the very best thing you could do for a granddaughter is when they graduated from college, I wish I had the money to give each girl enough money to harvest and freeze eggs. So that you could go do what you wanted to do with your life and not have to worry about being a late life mother where your eggs are old. You could have your young eggs and decide when it was that you wanted to have a family. You're still trapped by the biological clock and that's unfortunate.

C

I've heard people who are in my grade talking about I want to do to law school or I want to do this and that. But people still say that I want to start my career now so that when I want to have kids in five, six, ten whatever years then I'll be established enough to be able to take that time off.

P

But you'll still bearing with old eggs. And everybody when I saw we should be saving and freezing our young educated daughters' eggs everybody looks at me like I'm crazy. That's that. I think we ought to do be doing it.

C

My thing with that would be that would require needles and I don't do the needles.

P

Ah, you don't do needles.

C

No

P

Ok, alright

C

But sort of on the subject, cause kind of one of the things I was thinking about as I was trying to start, you know, what do I want to write. There are a lot of parts to this. I'm limited in that I've only got however many months I have left to write it. I'm not going to write everything. But I

think the generational feminism stuff is just so interesting because had I not asked about this, would I ever have known?

P
No

C
Were there things you learned from previous generations of feminism? Or was it that reinventing the wheel thing when you got involved?

P
Well, a little bit. I was pushy. You know I had a job. I went off to Los Alamos and got a job and that was a mistake. I should have gone to grad school. But my father couldn't afford to spend any more money on education, and we didn't know that I could support myself as a grad student with an assistantship. Dad didn't know that. Mom didn't know that, and nobody told them. And then when the dean of the school said I just heard that you're not going to college, that you're going to quit school, and he said I'm really sorry. He said I missed that. You should be going to school. But it was a done deal then. There was no backing out of it or going away from it. But anyway, where did you send me mentally. You had asked a question. Oh, what did I learn from previous? Well, I had Aunt one of Mother's older sisters. All of the girls except for the very first daughter, and they put her in the kitchen. The rest of the girls were all teachers. Doke was, mother was. They went to two years. At that time, that's what a teachers certificate took - was two years of school. So they spent two years in Cape Girardeau. The state universities were then teacher's education, nursing. So my Aunt Doke didn't have children, was a schoolteacher. I had her as a role model. Mother taught school, and was pretty sassy and independent until she married and morphed into a housewife. And I think that, I just remember I was always bothered by the lack of information about women, and it's hard for me to remember back. I did everything I wanted to in high school. I was in plays. I was in honors society. I was president of this and president of that. The math club, I was president of the math club. I think being in math so that my associates were the boys and not the girls; I think that played a large role. I still don't interact well with women. Much more comfortable with men. Not as a male, but as, I just fit better there. We'd sit around up in the math office doing our homework and everything, and I was one of the boys. I wasn't one of the girls. And I can remember being upset when I read things in school about a history book that said the pioneer took his wife and his children and his cattle and went west. And his wife, you know. No conversation, no talking about how essential women were. How they worked right alongside the men out in the field, you know when they relocated like that. They weren't at home. They were in the field. And how when the guys went off to war, and they had to build all the airplanes and everything and then when the guys came back, and all the women had to go back to the kitchen. And so they made homemaking glamorous in the ads when they would show a woman using these wonderful new Hoovers, and they had her in heels with her pearls on sweeping the floor with her sweeper. If you saw a woman in an ad in the kitchen she was all dressed up with the little silly apron on, the bottom not the top, just around her waist. That's doesn't do a lot of good when you're cooking. It was just this whole thing about the only acceptable role for a female was a wife and homemaker. Oh, you could be a nurse or a teacher, but that was it. And so I've always been sensitive to the limitations on what I perceived was acceptable for me to do. So I don't know

where I got that, but it has, and then of course when I married, I got people like Alice Walker and Amelia Earhart and all of these women that back in the 20s. You know, the first woman to go to college, and the first woman. And then we sort of fell back from that in World War I whatever. And how the female fliers, the woman who wanted to fly, they could only fly transport, and they weren't even officially in the Army. They were some sort of adjunct thing. And I saw something recently how retroactively they had made them, some of those early women that flew, there was something in the paper within the past year about they had been given elevated military status.

C

Oh yeah, they finally had recognized them, and I think some of them got their wings or awards they should have

P

Some recognition as having carried the same kind of load that the guys carried. So I don't know where - I just think that was that it was little bit by little bit, and it just came down from, I guess it must have come from Mom. Also, for whatever reason I was interested in math and that was unusual. For some reason my intuitive side, the so-called female side, the literary side is underdeveloped in me. The math side is the side that developed. Who knows why? And I think that just made me more akin to the males and so maybe it's just sort of in the genes somewhere.

C

Well, that I think will be interesting to see because my sister is the much more math inclined of the two of us.

P

Well, that's interesting

C

Our new theory is that now she maybe she'll go into engineering.

P

Well, all right.

C

I mean it will require her to say which subject she likes.

P

Laughter Well, my fun was, and this is just a digression. If you have a chance to learn bridge, do it.

C

Ok

P

Even if you don't think that's a neat thing to do. When I look around at people my age who are the ones that have the best memory. It's the people that have played bridge.

C
Interesting

P
That requires counting cards. That requires memory. It requires instant recall. It requires building up a base of what statistically what's going to happen, what's the most common thing that could happen. But in addition to that - what are the oddball things that can happen. So that is a big regret of mine that when I was in college I didn't learn to play bridge. It's sort of akin to your brother and your dad had a big break because they learned to play golf when they were young. He learned to skate when he was young. Particularly the golf. You just can't pick that up at your age. So now you have to bring me back to where you had me going.

C
I had just been asking about the generations of feminism. But the story's that's sort of the most interesting to me in all this is like - so yeah, Alice Paul was being taken advantage of and in a very sad way that kind of happens to a lot of people as they get older. But the interesting part to me was how sort of how you organized all of these other women and sort of your story in it. And I guess that also in women's studies I guess there is a sort of new trend that is regular women, whatever that means, but their work. So I guess, do you think it would have mattered in this whole story that it's Alice Paul who's famous and a well-known name? Or this is also just women rallying around each other sort of.

P
That's exactly right. And as you'll notice the Caucus made a point of saying you can't use the Caucus name in conjunction with this feminist because our focus has to be on elections and convincing men to vote for our candidates and so that was akin to Alice Paul's wanting to keep not being diverted, and the League of Women Voters cutting themselves off from Alice Paul because they didn't want to muddy the waters. They wanted to be a clear cut thing that they were convinced that they could pull the men into, and when she wanted to go far off to the right, or to the left, whichever you want to call it and get into this female thing. That was in direct contrast to the culture. They didn't want the diversion. And quite frankly, I think they were right in that sense. They got something by the push for just making it personhood. And when it says mankind in the Constitution, it means male and female. That was the goal of the Equal Rights Amendment that they're synonymous. You don't have to make an amendment just to -- all this amendment is saying is that we're all human beings and the Constitution applies to all of us, not just males, not just land and males. People of all color, nationality, whatever. The Constitution - a human being, a citizen, whatever. And now you've got to pull me back again because I'm ranting and raving.

C
That's ok in that it seems so common sense to me that all people are created equal that's people - sure it says men, but people.

P

And what's ironic to me and what really angers me is when people draw a circle around themselves and their like-minded group and says we are the only way. That's the trouble that I have with organized religion. They both draw - this is right and this is the only way to believe. And if you don't believe this way you're doomed. You're an outcast. I have nothing to do with you, and that seems to be a human trait - that we seem to have this awful trait of needing to be better than somebody. That's just across the board. No questions asked - no rhyme nor reason. I am better than someone else. I've got to be better than somebody else. There's got to be somebody below me. And I think that's primarily where racial discrimination comes from. There are people who said I'm not successful among my peers. No matter what I do I'm unsuccessful among my peers. As hard as I try I can't get elevated in my peer group. Therefore, I'm going to find another group that I'm going to put down because I believe they're lesser than me. And I think that's where discrimination comes from. I don't I don't care whether it's religion or it's race or it's economic group or whatever. There seems to be this awful trait that we have to be fundamentally better than someone else.

C

I think that's come up in politics a lot lately with all the politicians who are refusing to compromise whether it's on gay marriage or pro-choice/pro-life stuff. It's all like - here's the right way. When politicians say you're going to hell for things, I'm like, "Whoa. Separation of church and state. Sorry that's not - not a valid argument.

P

No it's not. We are getting polarized and what's acerbating it, I believe, is the gap - is the top-loaded wealthy and the dwindling middle class. Too many of us are poor and too few of us are very, very, very rich. Larry and I came from - my parents - my father came from the bad side of town. My father's family was the bad boys in town. They were the roughnecks. My mother's family went apeshit when my mother came home with dad. I mean they were so unhappy because he owned land, and he wasn't a good farmer. He was always losing things. But he was the president of the bank and they had a clerk that embezzled the money and then burned down the bank to hide it. And grandfather was the president, and so he used his own funds to pay back. And it was sort of like the beginning of the Depression, and everybody else walked away and said that people were out of luck. Only grandpa stayed around and tried to pay off this debt. They were all schoolteachers. They were educated. The boys weren't. The boys were farmers, but all the girls were educated. So when she came back home with this (man)- grandpa on the other side was a machinist in the mill. They worked on cars, and they rode motorcycles, and they were the bad boys in town. And they'd have picked somebody else. I once met the man that the family wanted her to marry. We have got a mix of gene pool, and my brothers are all very handy. They're all talented with their hands. They have good minds, and dad was a tool engineer. He was the only one of his siblings that had any education at all. My father was the cream of that family, and he had a lot of ambition but he was still a bad boy.

C

It seems like people are afraid of what they don't know.

P

That's exactly right. There's not a willingness to say I don't believe that. It doesn't make sense to me. But it's ok if you believe in that. I'm not going to put you down for that. I mean that's what you believe. And quite frankly, if I could get the inner strength - you know one of the things I watched with dad was the surgeon - the family doctor was gone, out of town on vacation, when dad had his surgery and had the blood clot, the embolism that went to his lungs and killed him. And he (surgeon) would not let - he had him on these machines and his kidneys failed. Everything failed. The man was gone, but he would not let her take him off of life support. When he screamed at my mother that she wouldn't dare want to let him die. It was just awful. Then the family doctor came back and within 24 hours, He was gone. But when we came on the scene the, I watched the load shift. Mother'd been carrying it all, and she was able to put something between her and the doctor (family doctor?), and it gave her such relief that the other doctor had put all this shit on her. Anyway, something you said made me think about made me go back to that experience. But that was so tough on my mother, and it was him. He'd had two patients die that week and that was back before they understood that needed to put elastic stockings on people that had surgery and you had to get them out of bed so that clots didn't form. That's something they had to learn, but they screamed at my mother. The shifting - the sharing and so when I look at people who are truly religious and believe that god will intervene for them, I think how wonderful that is to have that kind of faith because you are able to shift the responsibility not to this deity, but you're able to put the weight of what your burden is - some of it's still on your shoulder but it's also on their belief that it's on god's shoulder too and therefore the weight on them is less. And I think that's a wonderful thing, but this is like what mother was able to do to the doctor. Well, I don't have any problem with believing differently, but I do have a problem when they think less of me because I don't have that. I guess so that's a problem that I have with organized religion. They draw a line and circle around themselves and say we're the only way. We're the only people that are going to make it.

C

And even so often they don't include other people in making their beliefs, and I think the same thing is what led to so much sexism and why it kind of persists today. If we only have men in government, and men are the only ones talking about what laws on women's healthcare should be.

P

Well, that's why the Caucus, the National Women's Caucus broke away from NOW. We understood, and in that era when we first started working. In that era there were more women elected to state legislatures as well as a few more in Congress than there are today. I mean it's slipped back.

C

It strikes me as so odd that in setting up governments in Afghanistan and Iraq, and as we're telling them how to do their constitutions they said you should really include women and set a minimum of I think 25%. We only have 17% women in government in this country.

P

Two things. I fundamentally believe that we make a grave error when we impose democracy on these Middle East societies. They're tribal. That's not the way they think. That's not

appropriate. We need some kind of interim thing other than these godlike dictators. That's what we're trying to avoid. But our model of democracy isn't relevant to those areas. And what we really need not to have is unfortunately this Islamic, this tribal thing of Islam against Christianity. I can't believe in a god that says you have to go out and kill everybody else that doesn't believe this way.

C

It just doesn't make sense.

P

No, it doesn't. It's intolerance of difference. And we can't all be alike. That's not how god made us. He made us different - or she - it made us different. That's another thing that drives me nuts. Somewhere I have, I don't think I've given it to you, I've given you the (books) with the picture of me and Sir. But somewhere I have two copies, and I only have two copies, and they're about words and how important words are. And the derivation of words. Consider wife. The marriage ceremony used to say man and wife, not husband and wife, and some women made great inroads in changing that. It used to be that the word for humankind was mann and it meant humankind. And the weir and the wife, the husband and the wife, and what the men did was take the word for humankind. Kept the diminutive, the diminishing term for women. It just comes out of humankind, and the one thing that we've got to develop - Ms. was a good substitute. I can remember reading an article about some country club and this was a woman in Ridgefield I want you to know. There was this article about the women's championship, and it listed all of the Missus - plural for Mrs. and then it listed the men's names. So the women's championship was won by Mrs. John Smith and so it had this whole list of names, but it was just men's names. It was incredible, and this was when we were in Ridgefield. This is the Alice Paul years.

C

I was just in Cincinnati visiting JR. Well, I guess it was a couple weeks ago. But we went to his country club with his family, and now that I'm thinking about it on the wall they had the club championship names listed, and for the women for a long time it was Mrs. and occasionally you had someone under their own name, but...

P

Well, you know it wasn't a single woman because she wouldn't have been allowed in the clubhouse. And we go in cycles. We make a few inroads and then it slips away. Then we make a few more inroads. One of the reactions that I have that I'm ashamed of, but it always irritates me to see Muslim women in the United States of America with - I was in the grocery store parking lot one day when a group of Muslim women in the black. They didn't have masks on. They had the full black enveloping - what do they call that costume -

C

Well, a burka covers the face technically, the hijab is the headscarf.

P

Well, this is everything - the headscarf and the voluminous black thing that goes down to the floor. The only thing they were missing was the mask, but you couldn't wear the mask and

drive. I think that's probably the only reason. What irritated me was that they were wearing those symbols, but we're living in the United States of America and could drive a car if they wanted to drive a car and they could go to the grocery store or they could go anywhere they wanted to. But they made a point of wearing this humiliating, awful gown for hiding you. You don't want to be seen you're so inferior

C

It's premised on the fact that if a man sees the curve of your knee, he won't be able to control himself. How is that a religious?

P

And all of it - I mean what they do to women in India is just appalling. If you don't want her, there's a kitchen fire. If you didn't get enough dowry, you get rid of them so you can marry somebody else and get a better dowry. Anyway, that's digressing from your whole point of view. I don't know when or how I got as radicalized as I am, but I'm sure it happened.

C

So I guess one of the other things I'm very interested in is the organizing of women whether it's for political means or as a support system. And I suppose this also comes from my mom saying how important she thinks her network of women friends are. And it seems like especially when you were in Ridgefield, women were organizing for political things but this was also your support network and your people.

P

Yes. Many women go to their church or PTA or they go to their clubhouse or just in the neighborhood and there are women who think like they do. They can sit and they can share experiences, and they are very comfortable with this group of women and no matter where they go they find a group of women. Well, there's some of us that we're so few and far between, and we put this mask on so we don't stand out. So that we're not shut out because we are this other kind of woman. It's so seldom that we can find a group of us like your mother has found a group of like-minded women, and that ain't easy. And so that was the first time - and I live here [North Carolina.] There have got to be at least three other women who think like I do in my neighborhood that I have no way of knowing because I do not talk politics. I do not talk feminism. I refuse because everybody is saying all the things that I don't agree with. I mean we are a hotbed of Tea Party around here. I just keep my mouth shut. They're not going to change me, and I'm not going to change them. So we'll talk about something else.

C

Do you think it's important for people more in my generation to not - because I'm not good about keeping my mouth about politics. My other grandmother's learned that.

P

I applaud you for that because it's a tough row to hoe. Do you have a lot of like-minded women around you?

C

Yeah, or even some people will differ on certain political things but as far as people - my best friends I think all think similarly on the position of women and their capacity to do or be anything.

P

When you get out of school, you may find that the ratio goes down. But each generation has more freedom. Birth control was a huge thing because it allowed women to really break through the glass ceiling. But we fall back as is indicated by the reduced number of women, of either persuasion, in legislative and judgeship. I voted for Obama for one reason. I didn't care about anything else. Now, I was pleased about other stuff. One reason and that was because there was going to be a Supreme Court nominee. It killed me that there's not going to be another opening while he's still there because we're going to have a Tea Party guy, someone that's acceptable to the Tea Party is going to be the next President. I believe that when that happens. I don't wish for our more liberal thinking for the Supreme Court. I don't expect to be in the majority. 5-4 is a perfect number for me. When it gets to be more lopsided than that then I'm unhappy. Laughter. You get this not-negotiable stuff. I mean the things they're doing down here. They're putting in voter ID requirements. They're shortening the early voting because more Democrats vote early. They're making it much harder to do absentee by restricting the number of early voting days. There are people have jobs that they cannot get to the polls on a Tuesday. Can't do it. And they put restrictions on how late they can stay open. You can't just stay open until the line is taken care of. When the time comes and you're not in the voting booth, you can't vote. And so they cut down on the number of precincts, the number of voting places. It's just some bad stuff happening down here.

C

I was reading about in Texas with their new voter id laws a lot of women were saying they having problems because if you changed your name when you got married sometimes their drivers license didn't match their voter registration, didn't match their birth certificate, didn't match their Social Security card and it was just... Really? That's going to be our problem now.

P

When we moved down here my name was always Pauline Ponder and when I got down here, they said you can't be that anymore. You have to now be Pauline Steinbeck Edwards and so my Social Security had to be changed to agree with my driver's license because down here you didn't have a choice. You couldn't say what your name was.

C

That just seems so wrong to me.

P

Well, it's still that way.

C

Although that's also very clearly, my mom never changed her name so...

P

Well, I thought it was interesting that of my two girls - it was Jill that didn't. But I think that's because her A type personality didn't care. She didn't feel like she needed to have that happen. I'd give anything if I had kept my name. I can remember, and I'm sure I told you this, I can remember after I got married my mother when I was in school wrote me a letter and when I got married and the first letter came that said Mrs. Larry Edwards on the front of it. I can't tell you what a sinking awful feeling I had. Where did I go? Who am I? I don't have the same name. The fact that we had to change our names at all has become appalling to me. I think every woman ought to keep her name. I'm even to the point that I think that women ought - now you have to put a stake in the ground because all of my names going all the way back are the men's names. I think that at some point in time you put a stake in the ground, and you say that from this point on I'm keeping this name and my name goes down the female side and his name goes down the male side. Oh, ok, I like that. Oh, you have a crazy Nana. I would be interested to know how many grandmothers your friends have that are as crazy.

C

The funny this is if you ask me which one the crazy grandma is, I say the other one!

P

Laughter. Boy, has your mom done a good job with you. You tell your mom that I think she's done a wonderful job with you.

(side conversation about my mom)

C

I have a question going in a very different direction and completely backtracking. When you were working on the ERA, was Alice Paul ever mentioned in it because I know she was the author of it? Obviously, she's much older.

P

We knew who she was.

C

Was her health ever used by anyone as a reason to pass it? Sort of pass it while she's still alive. Or was it just she kind of wrote this amendment.

P

I don't remember. I just know that this was the main, now then there other women in other, you know the Pankhurst's? There were other women that were involved with her but to me anyway, she was the center point of the American women. She was always the name that I associated with, and when I discovered that this woman was in town, for crying out loud. I don't stand up for many people or many things but I had to stand up for Alice Paul. I'd be right on my feet.

C

Because some of the ERA books I looked at were just like Alice Paul wrote the amendment and then move on to other women who were mobilizing in the 70s. Just curious.

P

But where did it come from? That was the next generation. At least in my mind, when we were working she was in the matriarch generation. I don't know how much organizing or what she did in Washington, but she was a name that we did everything in, as far as I'm concerned. That's my memory. She was the head honcho of the movement. And we did things and she was our inspiration and then the women that carried the mantle in the 70s for the women in the 60s started driving forward - the Freidan's and the Bella Abzug's and the Olympia Snowe's. You can think about Olympia Snowe. You want somebody that had a calm head. She was clearly a Republican, and I can remember being around her. I was in a room with Olympia Snowe one time and a Connecticut legislator and why I was in a room with them had something to do with all this. Herb was a friend, but we could not budge him on the Equal Rights Amendment. He would vote for a lot of women's issues, but we couldn't budge him on that. And voted with us a lot of times so you had to take the good with the bad. Olympia Snowe was a very levelheaded Republican.

C

One of my other questions was about *Iron Jawed Angels*. Well, I guess you and my mom both have been telling me to watch it for a while, and it took me a long time to watch it. When did you hear about it and what did you think when did you first heard that it was going to be a movie and saw it.

P

I don't know that I've seen it.

C

I guess then it was my mom that told me to watch it.

P

Yes, yes, it's your mom that found this. Not me. This is a relatively recent documentary right?

C

Yes, probably in the past five to seven years. I mean it's a few years old now.

P

Yeah, I don't think I've seen it. You know part of me. I still get join this, join that, do this for. I still get things from Planned Parenthood and everything, and I'm not a big contributor anymore. It's time for my granddaughters. It's time for my daughters. My time has past. I'll support you verbally, and I'll go vote for you. I'll even make donations if you that tell me there's this candidate that really needs me to on a campaign, but I'm not going to support the executive overhead. I know it's important, but it's time for you. It's time for the next generation to take that over. So, I'm not in the loop on things. I don't think I've seen it. Now maybe if I'd seen it, it would bring the memory back. I just don't

P

It's all about Alice Paul and the suffrage stuff, the late 19teens and 20s. I was just wondering if you had a reaction to it. That's interesting. I hadn't realized you haven't seen it.

C
It's really good.

P
I have to figure out how to do that. It's a documentary.

C
I think it was on HBO. I watched it in class, but I can see if I can find it online and send it to you.

P
OK

C
Because my professor calls it a docudrama where she goes it's based on fact and some parts are kind of played up just for the movie or you can't really back up if that it's exactly who said what. I mean it's just interesting because a lot of the people - I say I'm writing about Alice Paul and they're like "Who?" and others say, "Iron Jawed Angels." Well, yeah, but there's more to her than that.

P
Do me one favor. Figure out a way in your paper to bring in the denigrating cartoons calling them "Suffragettes" and how Alice Paul always always said, "We're suffragists." It frustrates me that Alice Paul website interchangeably calls them both suffragists and suffragettes.

C
Oh, that's terrible.

P
I even sent them an email or whatever. Irritating

C
Maybe I'll see if it's still on there, and if I send an email if they notice anything.

P
She'd bristled if someone called her a suffragette. In Iron Jawed did they show any of the newspaper cartoons about putting down the suffragettes?

C
I don't think they did because it was supposed to be, like it wasn't a documentary looking back, it was supposed to be more of a movie of Hilary Swank is Alice Paul. But, I know they showed the newspaper and stuff, and I think they only referred to themselves as suffragists.

P

The newspaper of the time. I just didn't know if they showed any in the background or if they showed any newspaper cartoons.

C

I can't think of any off the top of my head, and I'd have to go. I'd have to watch the movie again to check.

Appendix 4

Peg Edwards Document Collection: Primary Source List

Honor Scholar Primary Sources			
Number	Date	Title	Category
1	9/25/75	Donald Paul letter to Elizabeth Chittick (National Woman's Party National Chairman)	Letter
2	6/25/65	Land alteration info	
3	5/27/50	Alice Paul letter to Mrs. Ernestine Breish Powell	Letter
4	Jan-75	Schedule of Income Received April 15,1974- December 31, 1974	Court record
5	4/15/74	Alice Paul estate inventory	Court record
6	9/24/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Sidney Burger	Letter
7	8/30/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Judge Romeo Petroni with expense records	Letter
8	5/27/09	Guardian ad litem definition- 1973 Connecticut Probate Practice Book	
9	3/2/76	Areas of Inquiry, Goals, and Concerns	
10	9/24/76	Letter Sidney Burger to Peg Edwards	Letter
11	10/28/77	Letter Alta (Shameless Hussy Press) to Peg Edwards	Letter
12	1/24/77	Letter Anne Pride to Joan Wilson and Joan Wilson to Peg Edwards	Letter
13	1/21/77	Letter Elizabeth Safanda to Peg Edwards	Letter
14	9/23/76	Letter Donald Hamilton to Sidney Burger	Letter
15	9/27/77	Letter Sue to Peg Edwards	Letter
16	Jul-77	A Fundraising Idea- Barbara Wardenburg	
17		Paul Said to Owe Most Back Taxes	News article
18	7/8/76	\$20,000 sale allowed	Court record

19	7/7/76	Affidavit for appraisal	Court record
20	1974 (?)	1974 accounting for hearing (?)	
21	6/7/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Judge Romeo Petroni	Letter
22	1975 (?)	Notes and time lines	Notes
23	1974-1975	Letter drafts and notes	Notes
24	2/10/76	Letter Marguerite Rawalt to Shirley B. Bysiewicz	Letter
25	2/27/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Elizabeth Wellington and areas of inquiry	Letter
26	2/2/76	Letter Marguerite Rawalt to Shirley B. Bysiewicz	Letter
27	9/8/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Amelia Fry	Letter
28	9/8/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Susan Meredith (CWEALF) x2	Letter
29	8/20/76	Letter Susan Meredith to Peg Edwards	Letter
30	8/17/76	Letter Sheila Taub to Amelia Fry	Letter
31	8/27/76	Letter Sheila Taub to Peg Edwards	Letter
32	8/10/76	Letter Sheila Taub to Amelia Fry	Letter
33	5/13/76	Letter Peg Edwards to CWEALF Board of Directors	Letter
34	9/17/76	Letter Susan Meredith to Peg Edwards	Letter
35	5/13/76	CWEALF application	
36	3/5/76	Bill for legal services-Wellington & Albrecht	
37	3/9/76	CWEALF executive committee agenda	
38		Notes	Notes
39	Jul-77	Invitation to Dr. Alice Paul memorial service	
40	7/23/81	Letter Joan Cashin to Peg Edwards	Letter
41		Page 2 of Amelia Fry letter and notes	Letter
42	7/20/76	Letters Herbert V. Camp Jr. to Richard L. Brinkerhoff	Letter

43	8/20/76	Letter Amelia Fry to Sheila Taub	Letter
44	2/6/76	Letter Shirley Bysiewicz to Marguerite Rawalt	Letter
45	9/25/77	Our heroine long unsung	News article
46	9/12/77	Letter Sidney Burger to Peg Edwards	Letter
47	10/31/86	Alice Paul memorial fund fundraising letter	Letter
48	4/19/77	Letter Janice Horowitz to Alice Paul c/o Peg Edwards	Letter
49	10/13/77	Letter Clara B. Weir to Peg Edwards and Article Draft	Letter
50	1/20/77	Letter Marjorie Austern to Eleanor Needs	Letter
51	9/24/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Judge Romeo Petroni	Letter
52	1/26/76	WFSB Press Release (The Story of Women's Suffrage in the United States to be present on the Birthday of Susan B. Anthony on WFSB-TV)	
53	4/30/75	Greenleaf Application for Admission	
54	Dec-76	Letter Mary McKeever to Peg Edwards about letter from Parry Pane (sic)	Letter
55		Letter draft to Mary McKeever	Letter
56	7/18/76	Copy of letter Lewis M. Robbins to Donald Paul	Letter
57	9/29/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Alice Paul	Letter
58	10/3/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Jane	Letter
59	10/4/76	Letter + edits Peg Edwards to Mary McKeever	Letter
60		Notes	Notes
61	1/8/77	Letter Joan Hoff Wilson to Peg Edwards and copy of article for NOW newsletter	Letter
62	3/8/76	Letter draft Peg Edwards to Dr. Alice Baker	Letter
63	3/8/76	Letter draft Peg Edwards to Marjorie Longwell	Letter
64	2/29/76	Letter draft Peg Edwards to Nancy Gager	Letter

65	4/17/76	Letter Carcuthers Berger and Mary Eastwood to Alice Paul	Letter
66	5/15/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Jane Wells- Schooley and others	Letter
67	5/6/76	Letter Alice Paul (?) to Ernestine	Letter
68	3/10/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Miss Koza on behalf of Alice Paul	Letter
69	5/25/76	Letter to Ernestine	Letter
70	5/28/76	Letter to Ernestine	Letter
71	5/12/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Dr. Karnoutsos	Letter
72	7/9/76	Letter Alice Paul to Ernestine	Letter
73		Letter Peg Edwards to Donald Paul	Letter
74	8/27/76	Mailgram Alice Paul to Jane Wels-Schooley	Letter
75		Letter Peg Edwards to Mary Brennan	Letter
76		Letter Peg Edwards to Susan Reynolds Arndt	Letter
77		Letter Peg Edwards to Elizabeth	Letter
78	9/23/76	Letter Donald Hamilton trust administrator to Elizabeth Chittick (President NWP) and letter to Sidney Burger	Letter
79	Jun-76	National Woman's Party Bulletin	
80	3/24/76	Letter Elizabeth Chittick to Pat (Peg) Edwards	Letter
81	4/28/76	Letter to Elizabeth Chittick	Letter
82	5/12/76	Letter to Elizabeth Chittick	Letter
83	5/19/76	Letter Elizabeth Chittick to Peg Edwards	Letter
84	7/14/76	Mailgram from National Woman's Party	Letter
85	10/9/75	Letter to court for Donald to return papers, files, and cabinets to NWP	Court record
86	12/18/75	Letter Elizabeth Chittick to Sidney Burger	Letter
87	10/3/75	Notice of hearing on 10/17/75	Court record
88	8/16/75	Minutes of Executive Committee of the NWP	

89	8/6/75	Memorandum Elizabeth Chittick about meeting to strategize care for Alice Paul	
90	8/21/75	Letter Joseph A. Egan to Elizabeth Chittick	Letter
91	12/18/75	Letter Elizabeth Chittick to Sidney Burger	Letter
92	1/15/76	Letter Sidney Burger to Elizabeth Chittick	Letter
93	4/1/76	Letter Elizabeth Chittick to Peg Edwards	Letter
94	9/30/76	Letter Eleanora Schaufler to Peg Edwards	Letter
95	9/29/76	Peg Edwards to Elizabeth Chittick	Letter
96	9/23/76	Letter Elizabeth Chittick to Peg Edwards	Letter
97	9/29/76	Letter Eleanora Schaufler to Peg Edwards	Letter
98	9/22/76	Letter Elizabeth Chittick to Betty Newcomb	Letter
99	4/23/76	Letter Elizabeth Chittick to Peg Edwards and letter to Sidney Burger	Letter
100	4/23/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Elizabeth Chittick	Letter
101	2/12/76	Letter Elizabeth Chittick to Peg Edwards	Letter
102	3/24/76	Letter Elizabeth Chittick to Peg Edwards	Letter
103	7/19/76	Draft of a letter from Peg Edwards +notes	Letter
104		ERA info and pamphlets	
105	10/30/75	Peg Edwards appointed guardian ad litem for Alice Paul	Court record
106	12/20/76	Letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards	Letter
107	6/2/76	Letter and papers from Joan and Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards	Letter
108	10/22/76	Letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards	Letter
109	11/3/76	Letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards	Letter

110	2/28/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Amelia Fry	Letter
111	8/4/76	Letter Amelia Fry to Sheila Taub	Letter
112	4/22/76	Letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards	Letter
113	11/4/75	Mother of U.S. equal-rights measure nearly penniless in nursing home at 90	News article
114	6/3/76	Letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards	Letter
115	7/28/76	Letter Lillian Efron to Amelia Fry	Letter
116	5/14/76	Letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards	Letter
117	8/25/76	Letter Amelia Fry to Peg Edwards (with copies of other letters)	Letter
118		Feminists and Other Useful Fanatics (Harpers?)	News article
119	7/14/76	Letter Joan Hoff Wilson to Peg Edwards	Letter
120	Monday the 17th	Letter Peg Edwards (?) to Amelia Fry	Letter
121		Excerpt of oral history of Amelia Fry conducted with Alice Paul	
122	4/28/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Amelia Fry	Letter
123		Letter Amelia Fry to Ethel Eckhaus	Letter
124	11/18/75	Letter to Amelia Fry from?? Part about Peg Edwards	Letter
125	11/26/75	Letter Amelia Fry to Ethel Eckhaus	Letter
126	30-Jul-81	Letter Joan Cashin to Peg Edwards	Letter
127	12/2/75	Letter Schlesinger Library to Peg Edwards about Alice Paul's Papers	Letter
128	8/17/76	Letter Jean Feiwei to Peg Edwards and Sidney Berger	Letter
129	9/7/76	Letter Kathi Weiss to Alice Paul and article by Kathi Weiss about Alice Paul	Letter

130	8/11/77	Letter Francis Antonucci to Peg Edwards	Letter
131	8/22/77	Letter Peg Edwards to Francis Antonucci	Letter
132	6/26/76	Letter Karen Wynn to Peg Edwards	Letter
133	2/18/77	Letter Mary Lu Abbott to Sidney Burger	Letter
134	2/20/77	Letter Sue to Peg Edwards and Barbara	Letter
135	10/23/76	Letter Jean Feiwel to Peg Edwards and Sidney Berger	Letter
136	11/23/76	Letter Jane Wells- Schooley to Peg Edwards	Letter
137	10/26/76	Letter Jane Wells- Schooley to Peg Edwards (x2)	Letter
138		Letter draft Peg Edwards to Sue	Letter
139	11/8/76	Letter Fern S. Ingersoll to Peg Edwards	Letter
140		Letter draft to NOW?	Letter
141	9/8/76	Letter fern S. Ingersoll to Peg Edwards	Letter
142	11/11/76	Letter Sue Heath to Barbara and Peg	Letter
143	8/4/76	Mailgram from Jane Wells-Schooley to Alice Paul	Letter
144	12/17/76	Letter Liz Neely to Peg Edwards	Letter
145	1/3/76	Letter Ann Chwatsky to Peg Edwards	Letter
146		Letter Mary Brennan to Peg Edwards	Letter
147	12/16/76	Letter Peg Edwards (?) to Alice Cohan	Letter
148	11/6/76	Letter Peg Edwards to John Gaffney	Letter
149	9/9/76	Letter Jane Wells-Schooley to Peg Edwards	Letter
150	8/12/76	Letter Ellen Norton to Peg Edwards	Letter
151	5/10/76	Letter Ernestine Powell to Peg Edwards	Letter
152	7/21/76	Letter Lisa Soderberg to Peg Edwards	Letter

153	5/6/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Ernestine Powell	Letter
154	Jun-76	Notice of hearing	Court record
155	April	Invitation to ceremony designating Sewall-Belmont house a landmark	
156	4/21/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Mrs. SB Pulliam	Letter
157	4/13/76	Letter Mrs. Henry Forbes to Peg Edwards	Letter
158	4/21/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Mrs. Forbes	Letter
159	3/23/76	Letter Edward A. Reno to Judge Romeo Petroni	Letter
160	3/15/76	Letters to and from Quinlan Flowers	Letter
161	3/28/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Edward Reno	Letter
162	2/10/76	Letter to Peg Edwards	Letter
163	2/19/76	Letter Ernestine Powell to Randolph Hearst	Letter
164	2/4/76	Letter Edward Kern to Peg Edwards	Letter
165	12/28/75	Letter Marny Meserve to Peg Edwards	Letter
166	12/1/75	Letter Lynn Nyberg to Peg Edwards	Letter
167	2/2/76	Letter Peg Edwards to A. G. D'Souza	Letter
168		Memorandum/ note from Anne Maries	Letter
169	1/29/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Mary Kennedy	Letter
170	12/16/75	Letter Peg Edwards to Ms. Magazine	Letter
171	6/10/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Paula Marie daughter	Letter
172	6/10/76	Letter Peg Edwards to Martha Payne	Letter
173	5/20/76	Letter William J. Maxwell to Elie Schaffler	Letter
174	4/28/76	Letter Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan to Peg Edwards	Letter
175	4/2/76	Letter Dr. Karnoutsos to Sidney Burger	Letter

176	10/1/76	Letter Judge Romeo Petroni to Herbert V. Camp	Letter
177		Visit notes?	Notes
178		Activist Alice Paul's Freethinking Refuge (in DAR magazine)	News article
179	May-75	Alice Paul signature	
180	12/6/75	Donor list?	Notes
181		Notes on NOW national Board Meetings and copy of blurb asking for letters to AP	News article
182	8/76- ish	Portrait of Alice Paul	
183	8/16/77	Memorandum on Alice Paul commemorative March	
184		Assorted unidentified news clippings	News article
185	8/22/77	Probate court records	Court records
186	9/25/75	Court records/discovery	Court records
187	Oct-76	Court records on Donald's appeal	Court records
188	9/9/76	Donald Deposition	Court records
189	10/30/76	Probate court record appointing Peg Edwards guardian ad litem	Court records
190	8/27/76	Court order to sell AP property	Court records
191	8/27/76	Court finding disallowing loans made by Donald without court approval	Court records
192	9/9/76	Donald deposition	Court records
193	3/30/77	Approval of sale of AP property during Donald's appeal	Court records
194	9/17/76	Donald's appeal that he is rightful conservator	Court record
195	8/22/77	Ruling the appeal is to be heard	Court record
196	11/14/75	Another claim for appeal	Court record
197	11/26/75	Bond to prosecute appeal	Court record
198	8/5/76	Court records- statement of charges and discharges	Court records
199	10/1/76	Letter Judge Romeo Petroni to Herbert V. Camp plus notes	Letter
200	9/2/76	Letter Herbert V. Camp to Judge Romeo Petroni	Letter

201	10/1/76	Letter Judge Romeo Petroni to Herbert V. Camp plus notes	Letter
202	10/8/76	Reasons for appeal	Court record
203	9/3/75	Court order Donald is wasting AP's estate and must appear in court	Court record
204	10/1/76	Letter Sidney Burger to Greenleaf Extension to allow Peg Edwards to visit with Alice Paul	Letter
205	10/8/76	Reasons for appeal that accounting and sale of property is inaccurate	Court record
206	10/1/76	Duplicate of 199	Letter
207	9/2/76	Duplicate of 200	Letter
208	7/19/76	Petition for an aide	Court record
209	8/11/76	Petition to sell Alice Paul's real property	Court record
210	8/10/76	Petition to disallow two loans Donald was attempting to charge to Alice Paul's estate	Court record
211	5/14/76	Petition for filings	Letter/ court record
212	11/4/75	Letter to altnacraig convalescent home about probate court decrees	Letter
213	12/10/75	Reasons for appeal	Court record
214	5/14/76	Notice of hearing	Court record
215	8/2/76	Notice of hearing	Court record
216	5/21/76	Court order to allow sale of real estate	Court record
217	1976	Small notebook	Notes
218	1975-1977	Index card notes	Notes
219	6/27/2013	Barbara Wardenburg and Peg Edwards emails	

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