

Bridging the First and Second Waves:
Rhetorical Constructions of
First Wave Feminism in
Ms. Magazine, 1972-1980

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Introduction

After the Nineteenth Amendment giving women the right to vote was ratified and became law in 1920, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, a suffragist, said, “I am sorry for you young women who have to carry on the work in the next ten years for suffrage was a symbol and you have lost your symbol.”¹ Dr. Shaw’s statement, predicted what Elaine Showalter, Avalon Foundation Professor Emerita, has called feminism’s “awkward age.”² At the time, while there remained significant feminist voices after suffrage (such as Margaret Sanger who fought for women’s reproductive rights), the first wave³ of the movement subsided⁴ and much of the detail and history of the time and its great feminist leaders was left unattended for many years as women “returned to the business of living-to the cleaning, washing and tidying of their individual lives.”⁵ A strong feminist movement did not reemerge until the second wave in the 1960’s and 1970’s.⁶

In this essay, I examine the rhetorical ties between the first and second waves of feminism as developed in *Ms.* magazine from 1972 to 1980. Initially, I discuss the importance of scholarship examining the second wave of feminism in the United States from a rhetorical perspective. Then, I discuss *Ms.* as a representative text of second wave feminism. Finally, I examine the rhetorical relationships between first and second wave feminists as crafted in the pages of *Ms.* During this time, *Ms.* published numerous articles that sought to both reclaim feminist history and provide greater grounding for feminist ideas and beliefs. This was primarily done in three ways which will be exemplified. Gerda Lerner, an historian and Professor Emerita at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, articulated the import of historical understanding in the pages of *Ms.*, “The history of women . . . represents a long tradition, a proud heritage from which we can draw inspiration and courage as we face contemporary issues and struggles.”⁷ By making this history known, *Ms.* rhetorically bridged the gap between first and second wave feminists so that *Ms.*’ readers could understand their struggles as activists in the context of feminist history.

Studying the Second Wave of Feminism in the United States

Bonnie Dow, a well-known feminist rhetorical scholar states, “the second wave of feminism in the United States is history.”⁸ By this Dow is not suggesting that the time has merely passed, but that enough time has passed that the second wave of feminist activism in the United States can now be analyzed through an historical lens. Dow suggests that “it has now become suitable for treatment as an historical phenomenon.”⁹ Feminism of the 1960’s and 1970’s can be treated as history; it should also be examined from this perspective or it risks “being forgotten” as scholars debate the existence or dimensions of a ‘third wave.’¹⁰ The second wave has been neglected among rhetorical scholars because it is generally considered “messier and less cohesive” than the first wave due to changing methods of communication and to being “ideologically diverse

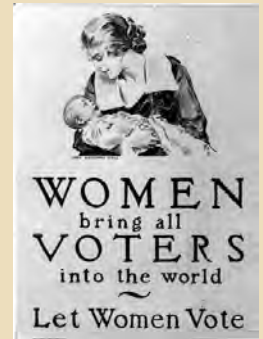


“Suffrage parade, New York City, May 6, 1912,” 1912. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. Reproduction Number LC-USZ62-10845.



rather than mere coping the key to our editorial strategy.”²⁵

A small part of this mission was to provide an understanding of the history of the first wave of feminism in the United States. Gloria Steinem, a founding editor at *Ms.* and a well-known feminist, highlighted her view of this objective as she looked back on the second wave in the 25th anniversary issue of *Ms.* She wrote, “Feminism isn’t called the longest revolution for nothing.”²⁶ In discussing the early years of *Ms.*, Steinem stated, “We also lacked women’s studies, black studies . . . to teach us that the suffragists and abolitionists had struggled for more than a century to gain a legal identity for women of all races and men of color, so we had better be prepared for at least a century of struggle to gain a legal and social equality.”²⁷ Because there were no gender studies programs and the history of the first wave had not been well publicized, this area of scholarship was exploding in the 1970’s. *Ms.* functioned as a forum for feminists to understand and contextualize the first wave of feminism in the U.S. They sought to build bridges between second wave feminists and their foremothers by reconstructing some of the key rhetorical aspects of the first wave on the pages of *Ms.*



North Carolina Museum of History



I examined all of the articles in *Ms.* between 1972 and 1980 that focused on historical references to 1848-1920, typically referred to as the first wave of American feminism. The period of analysis begins with the founding of *Ms.* in 1972 and ends in 1980 when the second wave of feminism in the United States began to wane as Reagan was elected president and the backlash of the 1980’s began.²⁸ During this time, *Ms.* published forty eight articles that included historical facts about the first wave or women of that era including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony among others. Some of the articles reviewed women whose lives overlapped the first wave but who may not be considered first wave feminists, such as Amelia Earhart, the first woman pilot to fly solo across the Atlantic.

There were four primary types of articles that featured women who lived during the first wave or feminist events related to the first wave. First, there were cover stories attached to feature-length articles in the magazine. Second, many first wave women appeared in a regular monthly series entitled “Lost Women,” intended to highlight different influential women from the past who had received little attention in previous historical accounts. Third, a few of the relevant articles were included in the “Stories for Free Children” series which included both fictional and factual accounts designed to be shared with readers’ children. Finally, some articles were featured in the “Gazette” insert which mimicked a newspaper and often featured several shorter articles clustered around a particular theme. In total, one hundred and two issues of the magazine were released from 1972-1980. This means there was an average of a little more than two articles per issue containing information about historical facts or persons from the first wave of American feminism. As I read and sorted the articles, several themes emerged: (1) reclaiming women’s history; (2) historical narratives of first wave people and events; (3) connecting first and second wave activists; and (4) creating first wave heroines. I will explain and exemplify each of these themes.

Rediscovering Women's History

Ms. advocated for greater historical understanding of the first wave. The magazine highlighted the gradual forgetting of the women's voting rights movement and argued that historical understanding was important for individual women and to broaden societal acceptance of women's participation in public life. In other words, if the impact of the first wave was understood, contemporary women might conceive of a world of full female participation and women's understanding of what they could accomplish. *Ms.* did this in three ways: (1) it published information about the first wave to remedy historical forgetting; (2) it identified first wave role models and heroines; and, (3) it used historical understanding as a means of and to promote activism.

First, Anne Grant, then coordinator of the National Education Task Force for the National Organization for Women, identified the lack of attention to the first wave. In an article describing the first U.S. women's rights convention at Seneca Falls,²⁹ she argued that the historical contribution of the 1848 meeting had been largely forgotten:

*A hundred years after the Convention, Life Magazine sent reporters to Seneca Falls to cover its Women's Rights Centennial but only a dozen people turned out to celebrate. Something similar had happened throughout the country. By 1948, women were voting, but they had been forced out of wartime jobs and back into their homes by the revival of "protective" legislation and the suspension of government subsidized day care. In the fifties, during women's long trek back to the suburbs, there is no press report of commemorations in this historic town at all.*³⁰

By the time the second wave was looking to revive this history, a laundromat stood on the site of the convention. This lack of historical remembrance was highlighted by Gerda Lerner:

*There is a good deal wrong with the history you were taught, the textbooks you read . . . and the culture which has largely ignored what women have experienced and contributed to human development. It is time to change the narrow, male centered view of the past, to redefine history as the history of men and women.*³¹

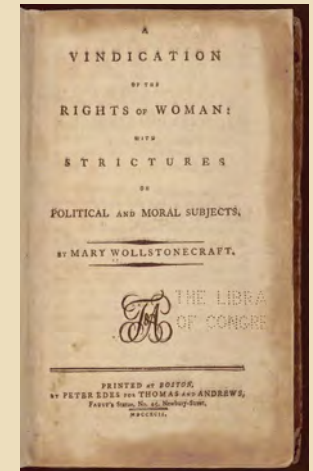
Ms. criticized traditional understandings of history and located the forgotten history of the suffrage movement.

Second, Lerner argued that historical forgetting impacted second wave feminists by denying them role models and heroines. She wrote that such denial impacted societal understanding of women's capabilities and contributions to American history. Lerner argued that denying women's history also denied them "role models" and "heroines."³² She suggested that women have been "fed myths which prevent you from seeing clearly not only what your past has been, but who you are."³³ Lack of historical understanding limited what women believed both themselves and other women could achieve. Lerner wrote, "Because we have not been taught women's history, women have always thought that whatever problems we have are personal problems" when in fact women had a key role in building communities.³⁴ In fact, American history is filled with "women of achievement" and "women have always been actively involved in changing and shaping society."³⁵ The knowledge that women shaped and changed history allowed women to believe that they could have real impact on their world.



Third, *Ms.* published historical material to promote activism in the contemporary 1970's context. Lerner argued, "All that work is part of the history of women and it represents a long tradition, a proud heritage from which we can draw inspiration and courage as we face contemporary issues and struggles."³⁶ In this vein, *Ms.* promoted feminist actions designed to preserve historical understanding. For example, they encouraged readers to "write President Carter at the White House today to urge him to establish an annual national observance of 'Women's History Week' . . . by presidential proclamation."³⁷ In addition, activists sought to preserve historic sites in Seneca Falls. The first women's rights conventioners and long-time leaders of the movement such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and others met and

lived in Seneca Falls. Ralph Peters, a retired educator who purchased the Stanton home hoping to save it, said, "We felt dismay and loss seeing that these historically significant places had not been preserved."³⁸ Nancy Dubner, then director of the western New York office for lieutenant governor, said, "Since the Seneca Falls women's historic contribution was a real turning point, it is important to preserve the whole story."³⁹ Preservation of these historical places would ensure that women's history was remembered and potentially lead to recognizing other people and places. As another way of linking historical understanding to activism *Ms.* publicized a women's history conference at Sarah Lawrence College. The conference was designed to forge bonds among the participants and to allow them to "continue to make women's history."⁴⁰ They invited readers who did not attend to join by publishing the reading list from the conference in the magazine. "Summer Institute participants were required to purchase 18 books that ranged from basic texts . . . to thematic studies . . . and documentary collections."⁴¹ *Ms.* provided information for readers to access those and many other books focusing on women's history. They even suggested that young readers celebrate their birthdays with a Susan B. Anthony birthday party and include party games. Specifically *Ms.* suggested: "a huge crossword puzzle, biographical charades, and 'Hit the Unratified States'" which involved pasting "felt cutouts over those states that had not yet ratified the Equal Rights Amendment" and throwing "velcro balls at those targets."⁴² Thus, *Ms.* sought to integrate the feminists' growing knowledge of their history into their everyday lives and modes of thought by providing information, highlighting feminist heroines and linking historical understanding to feminist activism.



Historical Narratives of the First Wave

A second theme that was evident in these early *Ms.* magazines involved historical narratives of the first wave. Historical narratives of the first wave were created in three distinct ways: (1) profiling first wave feminists; (2) actively connecting the past and the present; and (3) examining historical events from the first wave. The magazine profiled the lives of "Lost Women" in a regular feature of the same name. This section featured women of the past including Margaret Fuller,⁴³ Annie Oakley,⁴⁴ Frances Wright,⁴⁵ Charlotte Perkins Gilman,⁴⁶ Bessie Hillman,⁴⁷ Boxcar Bertha,⁴⁸ Jeanette Picard⁴⁹ and Dorothy Reed Mendenhall.⁵⁰ Elizabeth Cady Stanton,⁵¹ Susan B. Anthony,⁵² George Elliott (Marian Evans),⁵³ Amelia Bloomer and Elizabeth Smith Miller,⁵⁴ Victoria Woodhull,⁵⁵ Amelia Earhart,⁵⁶ Harriett Tubman⁵⁷ and Virginia Wolf⁵⁸ were spotlighted in longer features. The articles were both biographical and topical in nature. For instance the suffrage movement was discussed in articles about Seneca Falls and women's voting rights and the Women's Christian Temperance



Union. Lifestyles were addressed in articles about sports, the workplace, pioneer women in the west, marriage, race and communal living. Women's health issues were covered in articles addressing sexual freedom and reforms to childbirth practices in the United States. *Ms.* profiled female artists and writers from the first wave. By writing about women's history in substantial depth, *Ms.* provided a basic overview of women's history for its readers.

First, *Ms.* profiled many first wave feminists. In the regular feature "Lost Women," *Ms.* highlighted groundbreaking women from the first wave. *Ms.* identified women who made major strides in their personal, social and economic lives. For instance, they profiled Margaret Fuller "the first female newspaper reporter and the first regular newspaper literary critic of either sex."⁵⁹ Nellie Cashman was another example of a woman who "lived as if sexist constraints were nonexistent" and was the "West's only female mining expert" who ran "stores, restaurants, hotels and boarding houses in the areas where she mined."⁶⁰ Another lost woman was "Dorothy Reed Mendenhall who, after having to fight to go to medical school, studied childbirth practices in Denmark and brought them back to the United States. Six years after her report was published "the maternal death rate in the United States was half what it had been a decade before."⁶¹ *Ms.* published many other examples of lost women who did remarkable things in their time.

The second strategy was to actively connect the past and present. Authors writing in *Ms.* often ended these articles with references to contemporary feminist politics. For example, Teresa Riley, a free-lance writer specializing in women's history and a contributor to *Ms.*, wrote that Boxcar Bertha (Bertha Thompson) was "part of an indigenous American anarchist and feminist tradition little remembered today If Bertha were around now, she would be concerned with . . . broader efforts to free women from everything that limits us."⁶² Another example of this move to relate feminist heroines to contemporary situations is Celia Morris' description of Frances Wright, a social reformer and lecturer who died in 1852. Morris wrote Wright "embodied in her own life the principles of *change* she so admired in the American political system. And she fought with enthusiasm, style, and integrity, most of the major battles of her time and our own."⁶³



Active connection of the past and the present was an editorial policy. *Ms.* had Betti Paul design a bicentennial symbol featuring the Statue of Liberty to identify articles that embraced women's history and contextualized issues for then contemporary audiences. In the editorial box announcing that the emblem would be used throughout the 1976 bicentennial celebration, editors wrote,

*When we focus on history . . . we will be working toward a true reconstruction of women's heritage, not simply filling in the blanks, caused by the exclusion of our heroines. . . . And, we will be sharing some of the creative offerings that women in all parts of the country choose as celebrations of their lives and their past.*⁶⁴



Ms. worked to recreate understandings of history that had been lost and, importantly, to integrate those experience into readers' understandings of their own lives.

Third, *Ms.* focused on specific historical events and campaigns which familiarized readers with the details and characters involved in the first wave. Articles related the historical moments to second wave feminists. For example, Kanter discussed communes in historical context. She wrote "People of all kinds live communally and they have for centuries."⁶⁵ She then profiled Oneida which was a radical Christian commune that existed from 1848-1881:

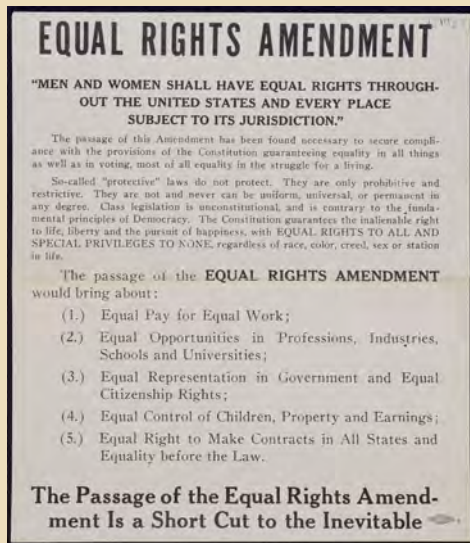
*More than a century ago feminism and communalism met in Oneida, New York Founder John Humphrey Noyes considered marriage a form of slavery, a 'spiritual tyranny' in which a man owned exclusive rights to a woman as a piece of property.*⁶⁶

Onedia was championed because it promoted female equality. "The women of Oneida wore trousers, played ball and managed the commune's businesses including the newspaper."⁶⁷ The article discussed modern communal living and suggested that communes might be a "*better* way to live" despite their imperfections.⁶⁸ Another article recounted historical events by discussing Susan B. Anthony's reading of the declaration alongside the reading of the women's rights declaration whose authors wrote that "their work was not for themselves alone, nor for the present generation, but for all women of all time."⁶⁹ Many similar articles sought to revive historical knowledge among feminists to explicitly relate that knowledge to women's lives during the 1970's. *Ms.* did this primarily by recounting the details of individual women's lives in particular historical contexts. Thus, *Ms.* recounted historical narratives of the first wave by sharing the details individual women's lives, actively connecting the past and present and highlighting historical events.

First Wave Activists and Second Wave Activists

Ms.' profiles of first wave feminists allowed readers to identify with the experiences of the first wave. In this section, I discuss suffragists who were profiled in *Ms.* The magazine chose suffragists who were still alive, thereby making first wave feminists very real to readers. That is, rather than being mere historical figures, first wave feminists could be understood as older versions of themselves. Additionally, the activists displayed unflagging support for women's rights. For example, 87 year old Alice Paul, a prominent suffragist from the first wave, said, "The question which seems more natural to me is why any woman is *not* interested" in women's rights.⁷⁰ Additionally, Alice Paul was still advocating for passage of the ERA. She said, "If women work together, we can try to be an effective group to make the principle of equal rights worldwide. If we can do this, we will change history."⁷¹ Readers became aware that Alice Paul was a fellow activist who was still fighting for change. This may have helped readers identify with and emulate Paul who was clearly more than an historical figure.





While Paul was the most well-known, several other first wave feminists were also profiled: Burnita Sheldon Matthews who helped Alice Paul draft the “initial Equal Rights Amendment.” *Ms.* noted, “At 78, she is hopeful that the Equal Rights Amendment which she helped draft a century ago, will finally become reality.”⁷² Mabel Vernon, an 89 year old, who was still advocating for the ERA was also profiled. Vernon said, “I think it is preposterous to have any delay on the Equal Rights Amendment.”⁷³ Florence Luscomb, who was meeting with young activists and “giving them a historical perspective of the Women’s Movement,”⁷⁴ was also featured. Luscombe told *Ms.* “We haven’t finished the job until we have absolute equality and are full members of the human race.”⁷⁵ In each case, *Ms.* profiled suffragists and their past activist experiences then linked the suffragists to modern activism. Readers might identify suffragists as older versions of themselves. At the very least, readers would understand these women as activists. Readers were asked to carry on the fight for these women so like themselves who were born so many years earlier. When Alice Paul died, at the age of 92, Robin Morgan, a radical feminist activist and writer, argued that younger activists must succeed for Alice Paul and “for ourselves.”⁷⁶ By highlighting living first wave feminists, *Ms.* was able to draw connections

between activists from two different eras of feminist thought.

First Wave Heroines

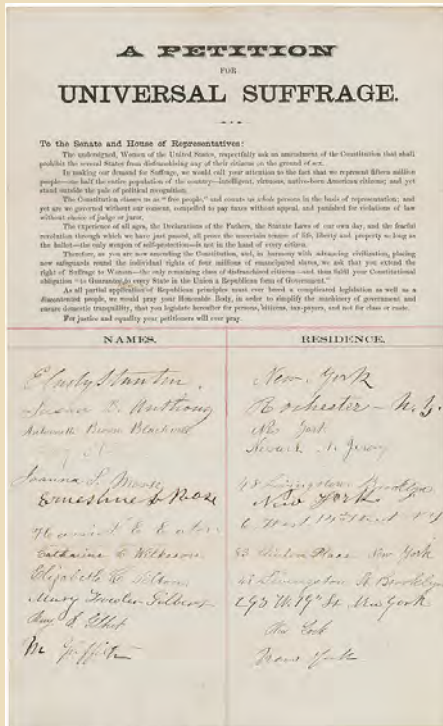
During the period from 1972 to 1980, articles in *Ms.* presented many feminist heroines. These depictions included contemporary and historical women as well as real and fictional women. There were several heroines from the first wave who were highlighted. These heroines “served as proof that strength, courage and perseverance could result in political empowerment through political change.”⁷⁷ Feminist heroines could “capture . . . [readers] . . . imagination, challenge the limits of their thoughts about the potentialities of women and political action and inspire them not only to dream, but to pursue those dreams with great and abiding passion.”⁷⁸ Heroic women profiled were Victoria Woodhull, Elizabeth Smith Miller and Amelia Bloomer, Annie Oakley and many others.

Susan B. Anthony, one of the two most well-known suffragists from the first wave, was highlighted. The feature noted her “courageous leadership” and “sensitive understanding of the more personal aspects of women’s lives” allowed her to become worthy of being featured on a silver dollar.⁷⁹ In addition to general nods toward her leadership, Anthony was depicted as the strong and steady heroine at the first Centennial where she “bestowed the woman’s Declaration, lovingly hand lettered and tied up with multi-colored ribbons, on the startled Vice President, whose face momentarily paled as he accepted it.”⁸⁰ Then she stood on a “platform in front of Independence Hall. With a colleague beside her holding an umbrella to shield her from the bright July sun, Susan B. Anthony read the Declaration aloud.”⁸¹ *Ms.* cemented this heroic representation as they suggested children make her the focus of their birthday parties as little boys might do with superman. In the instructions for playing Susan B. Anthony Charades, Blake Ariel Morgan Pitchford,



a young girl who planned a Susan B. Anthony Birthday party, instructed each child to read the underlined part of the sentence aloud and to act out the underlined portion of the sentence. She wrote, “The sheriff warned Susan B. Anthony not to vote. But, she was brave. She went ahead and voted, and she went to jail” [emphasis in original].⁸² These stories and remembrances created a vision of Susan B. Anthony as someone who was larger than life and was a heroic inspiration to second wave activists. While Anthony is the most prominent example, highlighting first wave heroines challenged readers’ preconceived notions about the limits of their political activism.

Celebrating the lives of women such as Anthony allowed readers to dream about leading extraordinary lives of activism.



Conclusion

In the early years of its publication, *Ms.* magazine sought to remedy the forgetting of significant historical people and events in women’s history. In particular, *Ms.* focused heavily on the first wave of feminism in the United States that culminated in women winning the right to vote. *Ms.* featured many articles that encouraged women to remember the feminists of the past and to use those ideals as a basis for second wave activism. They constructed these histories in three primary ways. First, they justified a historical reclaiming of feminist ideas, people and events. Second, they created connections between second and first wave feminists. Finally, the constructed feminist heroines and celebrated the inspirational nature of their lives. In each case, *Ms.* sought to use a greater connection with the past to serve as a foundation for their readers to become feminist activists on their own. Rhetorically bridging the gap between first and second wave feminists reminded women that while there were still gains to made, they had benefitted from gains made in the past. In fact, that they were part of a movement larger than themselves, a movement to which they owed allegiance as activists seeking equality for all human beings, not for themselves alone. These messages, then, functioned to resurrect the past and to provide an historical foundation that could be used to both inspire and direct the second wave. Indeed, the magazine built ideological, logical and emotional bridges between women in the first and second waves of feminism.

Endnotes

¹ Showalter, Elaine. "Feminism's awkward age: The deflated rebels of the 1920s," 79.

² Showalter, Elaine. "Feminism's awkward age: The deflated rebels of the 1920s." Ms., January 1979, 79.

³ This period began with the Seneca Falls Convention (1848) where the first demand for women's voting rights was formally declared and ended in 1920 when a constitutional amendment granted women the right to vote. During this seventy-two year period, the feminist movement in the U.S. was very active. After the passage of 19th Amendment, the feminist movement waned. The metaphor of a wave is used to describe a period of concerted activism followed by a period of dormancy in a movement. Thus, the first wave of feminism in the U.S. began in 1848 and ended sometime in the 1920's. It is this time frame that I use to define whether materials and people featured in Ms. were considered relevant to the first wave of feminism in the U. S. For more information, see Wheeler, Marjorie Spruill, ed. *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*. Troutdale, OR: NewSage Press and Educational Film Company, 1995. See also Flexner, Eleanor, and Ellen Fitzpatrick. *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996.

⁴ Campbell, Karlyn Khors. "After Woman Suffrage." Vol. I, in *Man Cannot Speak For Her*, by Karlyn Khors Campbell, 181-188. 1989.

⁵ Grant, Anne. "125 Years Later: What Do You Know About Seneca Falls?" Ms., July 1973, 99.

⁶ The second wave of feminism in the United States started in the mid 1960's and lasted through the 1970's. While there is not a clear end date for the second wave, the initial failure of the Equal Rights Amendment and the election of the Regan administration is thought to reflect the beginning of a period of decline in feminist thought. This decline occurred in concert with the rise of an anti-feminist backlash or negative social reaction to feminist ideals that is associated with the decade of the 1980's. For more information, see Dow, Bonnie. "Review Essay: Reading the Second Wave." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, February, 2005: 89-107. Because Ms. grew out of second wave activism, it was founded in 1972. Therefore, the dates examined in this article include analysis of the magazine from its origin through the end of the 1970's.

⁷ Lerner, Gerda. "Women's History-- The Uses of Our Pasts." Ms., December 1979, 109.

⁸ Dow, Bonnie. "Review Essay: Reading the Second Wave." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, February, 2005: 89-107.

⁹ Dow, Bonnie. "Review Essay: Reading the Second Wave," 89.

¹⁰ Dow, Bonnie. "Review Essay: Reading the Second Wave," 89.

¹¹ Dow, Bonnie. "Review Essay: Reading the Second Wave," 90.

¹² Dow, Bonnie. "Review Essay: Reading the Second Wave," 90.

¹³ Dow, Bonnie. "Review Essay: Reading the Second Wave," 91.

¹⁴ Dow, Bonnie. "Review Essay: Reading the Second Wave," 104.

¹⁵ Dow, Bonnie. "Review Essay: Reading the Second Wave," 104, 105.

¹⁶ Dow, Bonnie. "Review Essay: Reading the Second Wave," 90, 104.

¹⁷ Conrad, L. "Mag Hags: 200 Years of Feminist Zines." *Bust*, 2000, 71.

¹⁸ Conrad, L. "Mag Hags: 200 Years of Feminist Zines," 71.

¹⁹ Thom, Mary. *Inside Ms.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997; Farrell, A. E. *Yours in Sisterhood: Ms. Magazine and the Promise of Popular Feminism.* Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998; Hopkins, J. "Editor-in-Cheif with Ms. Magazine." CNNFN (Transcript # 9709170FN-L06). September 17, 1997; Partlow Lefevre, Sarah T. *Texts of Empowerment: A Functional Rhetorical Analysis of Ms. Magazine in the First Five Years* (unpublished doctoral dissertation). Ann Arbor: ProQuest LLC, 2009.

²⁰ Huerta, Dolores. "Voices Carry." *Ms.*, 2007, 38.

²¹ Partlow Lefevre, Sarah T. *Texts of Empowerment*, 54.

²² Farrell, Amy Erdman. *Yours in Sisterhood*, 1.

²³ Gillespie, Marcia Anne. "We've Only Just Begun." *Ms.*, September/October 1997, 1.

²⁴ Farrell, Amy Erdman. *Yours in Sisterhood*, 1.

²⁵ Gillespie, Marcia Anne. "We've Only Just Begun." *Ms.*, September/October 1997, 1.

²⁶ Steinem, Gloria. "Reving up for the next 25 years." *Ms.*, September/October 1997, 82.

²⁷ Steinem, Gloria. "Reving up for the next 25 years," 82.

²⁸ Dow, Bonnie. "Review Essay: Reading the Second Wave," 92.

²⁹ The Seneca Falls convention (1848) was the first women's rights convention in the United States. Held in a church in Seneca Falls, New York, the convention issued a document titled the "Declaration of Sentiments" which listed needed legal reforms that would ensure women's rights in a variety of areas. Most importantly, the "Declaration of Sentiments" called for universal suffrage or voting rights for women in the United States. This meeting is considered the founding event of the first wave of American feminism which lasted until women won the right to vote in 1920. For more information, see Wheeler, Marjorie Spruill, ed. *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement.* Troutdale, OR: NewSage Press and Educational Film Company, 1995. See also Flexner, Eleanor, and Ellen Fitzpatrick. *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States.* Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996.

³⁰ Grant, Anne. "125 Years Later," 99.

³¹ Lerner, Gerda. "Lost Women: So You Think You Know Women's History." *Ms.*, September 1972, 32.

³² Lerner, Gerda. "Women's History," 109

³³ Lerner, Gerda. "Women's History," 109.

³⁴ Lerner, Gerda. "Women's History," 109.

³⁵ Lerner, Gerda. "Women's History," 109.

³⁶ Lerner, Gerda. "Women's History," 110.

³⁷ *Ms.* "Action!" *Ms.*, December 1979, 111.

³⁸ Moynehan, Barbara. "Seneca Falls Rises: From Laundromat to Women's Rights National Park." *Ms.*, January 1980, 26.

³⁹ Moynehan, Barbara. "Seneca Falls Rises," 26.

⁴⁰ Omalade, Barbara. "Finding Ourselves-- And Each Other." *Ms.*, December 1979, 112.

⁴¹ *Ms.* "What to read and where to find it." *Ms.*, December 1979, 112.

⁴² Morgan Pitchford, Blake Ariel. "Give Yourself a Susan B. Anthony Birthday Party- I Did!" *Ms.*, February 1979, 67.

- ⁴³ Shapiro, Fred C. "Lost Women: The Transcending Margaret Fuller." Ms., November 1972, 36-39.
- ⁴⁴ Kreps, Bonnie. "Lost Women: Annie Oakley's Untold Love Story." Ms., January 1977: 8, 12-13.
- ⁴⁵ Morris, Celia. "Lost Women: Frances Wright: She Fought the Major Battles of Her Time and Ours." Ms., January 1976: 15-18, 24.
- ⁴⁶ Degler, Carl N. "Lost Women: Charlotte Perkins Gilman: The Economics of Victorian Morality." Ms., June 1973: 22-24, 28.
- ⁴⁷ Julianelli, Jane. "Lost Women: Bessie Hillman: Up From the Sweatshop." Ms., May 1973: 16-20.
- ⁴⁸ Riley, Teresa. "Lost Women: Boxcar Bertha: Sister of the Road." Ms., December 1972: 12, 14.
- ⁴⁹ Lyons, Harriet. "Jeanette Picard: She Waited 50 years." Ms., December 1974: 50.
- ⁵⁰ Corea, Gena. "Lost Women: Dorothy Reed Mendenhall: Childbirth is Not a Disease." Ms., April 1974: 98-100, 102-104.
- ⁵¹ Rossi, Alice S. "A Feminist Friendship." Ms., January 1974: 70-73, 80, 83-84; Schneir, Miriam. "A Note on the Centennial." Ms., July 1974: 99-100; Grant, Anne. "125 years later;" Moynehan, Barbara. "Seneca Falls Rises."
- ⁵² Rossi, Alice S. "A Feminist Friendship;" Schneir, Miriam. "A Note on the Centennial;" Grant, Anne. "125 Years Later;" Moynehan, Barbara. "Seneca Falls Rises;" Morgan Pitchford, Blake Ariel. "Give Yourself a Susan B. Anthony Birthday Party;" Anthony, Susan B. "Unpublished Works: Susan B. Anthony on Marriage and Sexual Attraction." Ms., July 1979: 58-59, 78.
- ⁵³ Godwin, Gail. "Would we have heard of Marian Evans?" Ms., September 1974: 72-74, 88.
- ⁵⁴ Tucker, Linda Schechet. "Amelia's Bloomers." Ms., December 1979: 115-118.
- ⁵⁵ Schneir, Miriam. "The Woman Who Ran for President in 1872." Ms., September 1972: 84-89.
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