

**TWO FEMINIST VISIONS: SOCIAL
JUSTICE FEMINISM AND EQUAL RIGHTS,
1899-1940**

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*O*n July 12, 1937, Emma Guffey Miller, the long-time Democratic party broker in Pennsylvania, wrote an urgent letter to Eleanor Roosevelt.¹ Miller asserted that she did not wish to “[tear] down” the Women’s Division of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), but she believed that the leader of the Women’s Division, Mary Williams (Molly) Dewson, did not understand the high level of discontent among party women. Miller argued that this dissatisfaction arose because many party women did not receive appointments to patronage jobs after the successful 1936 election and Dewson ignored the formidable achievements of women’s Democratic party clubs throughout the country.²

Although Miller scribbled in the margin of her letter that “my only thought is to strengthen the party,” she failed to mention the tensions that caused her to write. Since early 1936 she had fought for control of the Women’s Division against Molly Dewson. The fight intensified when Miller received DNC chairman James A. Farley’s support to become DNC vice-chairman,

only to be outmaneuvered by Dewson at the 1936 Democratic National Convention. In addition, Miller's feminist vision, which centered on ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), differed from Dewson's vision of social justice feminism.³

The participation of women in Pennsylvania politics has received relatively little attention from historians.⁴ This article addresses that gap by examining how two Pennsylvania women influenced feminist political thought in the United States in the early twentieth century. One of these women, Florence Kelley, came from Philadelphia, imbued with the complexities of national politics and the heritage of one of the nineteenth century's most noted social movements. She began social justice feminism, a movement that envisioned the passage of labor legislation for working women as an entering wedge for laws protecting all workers, regardless of gender. Her protégé, Molly Dewson, would lead the movement in the 1930s. The other woman, Emma Guffey Miller, came from the western part of the state, also influenced by her family's political involvement and equally determined to see her feminist vision established through ratification of the ERA. Social justice feminists opposed the ERA's ratification because the amendment's express prohibition of any legal differentiations based on gender might eliminate women's labor legislation. The ensuing clash of feminist visions reached its apex in the 1930s, as Florence Kelley's protégé and her formidable opponent fought for control of the Women's Division of the DNC.

Florence Kelley and the Development of Social Justice Feminism

The roots of the conflict between Emma Guffey Miller and Molly Dewson reach back to the advent of the industrial revolution in the United States, and Florence Kelley's reactions to that historic transformation. The end of the Civil War in April 1865 signaled a period of massive changes throughout the United States. The energies suppressed during four years of internal conflict now burst into rapid, sometimes simultaneous, forces, changing a previously rural, relatively isolated nation into an urbanized, interconnected country.⁵ Pennsylvania, as the nation's second largest state in the late nineteenth century, was key to these dramatic changes. By 1880, the Pennsylvania Railroad constituted the world's largest corporation, with 30,000 employees and \$400 million in capital. While the state led the U.S. in the production of such

goods as glass, ships, and textiles, Pennsylvania's most important products were steel and coal. Henry Bessemer's development of an iron ore process hastened the development of steel mills in western Pennsylvania, particularly in Pittsburgh. Andrew Carnegie began his investment in iron manufacturing in 1872 when he formed Carnegie, McCandless, and Company, which eventually led to the creation of U.S. Steel in 1901. With the increase in both anthracite and bituminous coal production, Pennsylvania became one of the leading producers of energy for the nation's rapidly burgeoning industrial and urban demands. By 1900, 60 percent of the steel produced in the U.S. came from the factories of Pittsburgh and other areas of Pennsylvania. One of seven state residents worked in manufacturing.⁶

Pennsylvania also became urbanized in the late nineteenth century. In 1860, 782,000 people lived in the state's twenty largest cities, constituting just 27 percent of the commonwealth's total population. By 1910, 4.7 million people lived in Pennsylvania's twenty largest cities, which now encompassed 55 percent of the state's population. Philadelphia was the nation's third largest city with 1.3 million people, while Pittsburgh ranked seventh with 452,000 inhabitants. The sharp increase in urban population partially resulted from the fact that between 1845 and 1914 more immigrants settled in Pennsylvania than in any other state besides New York.⁷

These dramatic changes naturally brought new problems as well as advances. In large urban areas, abusive working conditions and cluttered, dirty living areas developed. Many Americans, particularly middle-class, college-educated women, felt frustrated and sometimes frightened by the nation's transformation. Before the rise of the industrial order, most people lived in what Robert A. Wiebe calls "island communities," isolated rural towns with their own tight-knit value systems. Sweeping changes in transportation and communication systems, and the development of complex corporations and national media outlets threatened these communities. To replace this lost cohesion, middle-class reformers in the late nineteenth century embarked on what Wiebe calls a "search for order."⁸

Florence Kelley proved a typical example of the middle class's search for order amidst the radical transformation of the United States. By the time she died in 1932, Kelley had headed one of the nation's leading reform organizations, the National Consumers' League (NCL), for almost thirty-three years. Her colleagues included two Supreme Court Justices, Louis Brandeis and Felix Frankfurter. Kelley's protégés encompassed a future U.S. Secretary of Labor (Frances Perkins) and a later, renowned Democratic party leader (Molly

Dewson). Frankfurter, who worked with Kelley for nearly ten years before the two bitterly terminated their working relationship, still later stated that she “had probably the largest single share in shaping the social history of the United States during the first thirty years of [the twentieth] century.” Born in the Germantown area of Philadelphia in 1859, Kelley was raised in a highly political and reformist atmosphere. Her father, Republican congressman William Kelley, represented Pennsylvania’s Fourth District from 1860 to 1890. A political maverick who eventually broke with his party’s hierarchy over its programs favoring capitalism, Kelley still felt pride in his state’s formidable industrial resources. The congressman took his daughter to a local factory in 1871, where she observed the Bessemer process. Florence Kelley later considered this one of the pivotal events in her life, for she then realized the great power of industrialism.⁹

In addition, Kelley found herself influenced by her mother’s family, especially her Quaker aunt, Sarah Pugh. As Paula Baker notes in her influential 1984 essay, women’s political activities in the mid-nineteenth century did not yet encompass direct involvement in political parties. While the women’s rights movement initiated in 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York, slowly gained prominence, suffrage did not become an important issue until after the Civil War. Instead, reform-minded women expressed themselves by signing petitions and joining voluntary organizations. The outstanding example of this indirect political activism before the Civil War was abolitionism.¹⁰ Philadelphia Quakers stood at the center of the burgeoning abolitionist movement in the early nineteenth century. Frances Perkins, later a protégé of Florence Kelley, believed her early reform convictions reflected the Quakers’ “concern” about social justice. Kelley’s aunt, Sarah Pugh, a Quaker abolitionist, was a member of the executive board of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. Through her anti-slavery activities, she provided a strong model for her young niece. Thus, from both sides of her family, Florence Kelley received at an early age both political acumen and a deep interest in social issues.¹¹

After graduating from Cornell College in 1882, Kelley became enraptured with the new radical movement pulsating throughout Europe—socialism. After her marriage to an Eastern European doctor, Lazare Wischnewetzky, in 1884, Kelley busied herself in translating the essential socialist works of Friedrich Engels. In 1891, Kelley left Wischnewetzky, taking their children with her.¹² Finding a sanctuary in Chicago’s new settlement experiment, Hull House, Kelley took full advantage of her new surroundings, including the

settlement's strong women's network. She assisted, as Jane Addams later recalled, with the series of social investigations that Hull House conducted in the 1890s, and earned a law degree from Northwestern University in 1895. Quickly becoming an influential reformer on the local scene, Kelley became Illinois's factory inspector in 1893. She served for four years until her position ended with the defeat of progressive Governor John Altgeld.¹³

In 1899, Florence Kelley accepted an offer to become general secretary of the National Consumers' League (NCL), a newly formed coalition of women's consumer leagues throughout the United States. The NCL provided a natural forum for Kelley because it allowed her to address on a national level the problems resulting from urbanization and industrialization, and because the NCL's New York offices provided a site for networking with other reform-minded organizations such as the New York Women's Trade Union League. Kelley initiated social justice feminism from her new, national position. Social justice arose as a concept in the late nineteenth century as women's organizations confronted the "social question" of reconciling industrial and technological advancements with preserving the dignity of working people. The term, with its social and religious implications, appealed to an American middle class wary of Marxist theory. Previously the word "justice" had arisen only in the legal context as a safeguard against the invasion of property rights. But with the advent of the Progressive Era, reformers influenced by the Social Gospel and the harsh conditions of "Machine Age" America used the term "social justice" to question capitalism.¹⁴

Until 1911, Kelley's social justice feminist efforts centered on litigation; as a lawyer she felt comfortable with the court system. When Oregon's hours law for working women came before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1908 (*Muller v. Oregon*), she quickly formed a legal team to defend the statute. Kelley, her research assistant Josephine Goldmark, and famed attorney Louis Brandeis undertook a dramatic defense of the law that became known as the "Brandeis brief." Using evidence garnered from a myriad of sources, mostly European reports about industrial conditions, the brief successfully convinced the nation's highest court that women's labor legislation did not violate the U.S. Constitution. Between 1908 and 1915 the NCL legal network continued to win similar cases, such as *Bunting v. Oregon*, a Supreme Court case upholding men's working hour limitations. Social justice feminists and their allies hoped that their agenda of defending women's labor legislation would result in the eventual inclusion of all workers, regardless of gender. As NCL counsel and Harvard Law School professor Felix Frankfurter remarked in a 1916

Harvard Law Review article, “[O]nce we cease to look upon the regulation of women as exceptional . . . and shift the emphasis from the fact that they are *women* to the fact that it is *industry* . . . which is regulated, the whole problem is seen from a totally different aspect.”¹⁵

After 1910 Kelley expanded her movement to include political coalitions promoting labor legislation for all workers. When the New York legislature created the Factory Investigating Commission (FIC) after the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory disaster of March 1911, which killed 146 female garment workers, Kelley and other pioneer social justice feminists such as Mary Dreier and Rose Schneiderman worked with the FIC to promote and pass fifty-six labor laws between 1911 and 1915. These successes led in September 1918 to the creation of the Women’s Joint Legislative Conference (WJLC). A coalition of more than twenty New York working and middle-class women’s organizations, the WJLC eventually promoted and passed a 48-hour law for working women in 1927, and a minimum-wage law for the same group in 1933.¹⁶

By the 1920s, both working and middle-class women embraced the idea of social justice. In an address before the 1926 national Women’s Industrial Conference, Schneiderman, now the president of both the national and New York branches of the Women’s Trade Union League, declared that workers desired the rights of “industrial justice,” which included the “right to be born well, the right to a carefree and happy childhood, the right to education [and] the right to mental, physical, and spiritual growth and development.” Without these rights, Schneiderman concluded, full participation in American politics by working women would be an impossible dream. Frances Perkins came from a background far different from Schneiderman’s—a middle-class, heavily religious upbringing and a college education at Mount Holyoke. Yet Perkins sought the same goal as her working-class colleague. At a 1929 luncheon celebrating her appointment as New York’s first female Industrial Commissioner, Perkins told the assembled audience that “social justice is possible in a great industrial society.” She then noted that Florence Kelley’s efforts had demonstrated how social and economic institutions could be modified so as to “create real happiness and welfare for people who cannot govern and control their own conditions of life.” Thus the quest for social justice united all of its female proponents, regardless of class.¹⁷

Even with the continued successes of social justice feminism in the 1920s, progressive activity in the United States declined markedly. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down federal child labor legislation and a District of

Columbia minimum wage statute for working women (*Adkins v. Children's Hospital*). In addition, a proposed child labor amendment to the U.S. Constitution never passed Congress. After the 1923 minimum wage decision, Kelley lamented to Frankfurter, "As to my impatience with further tinkering with legislation—what have I done for forty-one years? My tragic error was failing to [push a constitutional amendment for the minimum wage and labor legislation] at once." It would take the seismic shock of the Great Depression to revive the possibilities for national reform.¹⁸

Emma Guffey Miller and the Equal Rights Movement

At the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, newscaster David Brinkley paid tribute to the nearly ninety-year-old Emma Guffey Miller. Although she was twice Brinkley's age and half his size, Miller's ability to bargain with her fellow politicians and socialize all night in her nearby hotel suite amazed the broadcaster. By the time of Brinkley's tribute, Miller had been a distinct presence in both Pennsylvania and national politics for nearly fifty years.¹⁹

Born on July 6, 1874 in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, just outside of the Pittsburgh metropolis, Miller grew up in a sharply politicized Protestant family. "The Guffeys in all generations were Democrats and Presbyterians and took their whiskey straight," her elder brother, Joseph Guffey, later remembered. Their father balanced his deep commitment to the local Democratic party with his duties as the local county sheriff. Emma Guffey graduated from Bryn Mawr College in 1899, and three years later married Carroll Miller. Settling in Slippery Rock, Pennsylvania, the new bride seemed destined for a typical middle-class lifestyle. But Miller wanted more than just a family. By 1910 she became a lobbyist for the commonwealth's suffrage movement and, with the Nineteenth Amendment's ratification, she joined the League of Women Voters, only to become frustrated by the organization's non-partisan policy. After 1925, the Democratic party became the focus of Miller's formidable energy.²⁰

The state Democratic party in which Miller was active for the next forty-five years faced severe challenges. From 1860 to 1932, Pennsylvania remained one of the nation's most firmly Republican states. Every GOP presidential candidate, from Abraham Lincoln in 1860 to Herbert Hoover in 1932, carried the state. From 1865 to 1934, when George Earle won the gubernatorial

torial election, only one Democrat was elected governor. The situation remained grim on the national political scene as well. Almost all of Pennsylvania's U.S. Senators remained Republican between 1875 and 1921, with political bosses Matthew Quay and Boies Penrose determining the successful candidates.²¹

Joseph Guffey's rise in Pennsylvania politics certainly did not hurt his sister's simultaneous ascendancy; in 1913, the oil businessman became the state's Democratic party chairman. But Miller possessed a dynamic political charisma in her own right, for, as Brinkley observed, she never hesitated to mingle with her colleagues. Also notable were Miller's outspokenness and considerable speaking ability.²²

After establishing herself in Pennsylvania politics, Miller gained national prominence. She made her national political debut in 1924 when she seconded the nomination of Governor Al Smith at the noisy, lengthy Democratic National Convention held in New York City's Madison Square Garden. While Miller's endorsement of Smith demonstrated the pragmatic embracing of a Democratic party leader who symbolized the rise of a more urbanized, immigrant faction within the party, it also showed her personal tolerance. Although a devout Episcopalian, Miller did not hesitate to endorse the Roman Catholic Smith, and again seconded his successful nomination four years later at the national convention in Houston, Texas. Thus, Miller had established her own, powerful niche within the Democratic party.²³

By the 1920s, Miller had become a formidable political organizer. Nancy F. Cott has argued that political women in the 1920s felt trapped in a "double bind": should they promote male politicians to public office or concentrate on building a coalition of women voters? The gradual disillusionment of Emily Newell Blair supports this argument. A key suffragist before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, Blair enthusiastically entered partisan politics in the early 1920s as a Democratic club organizer. But by 1931 Blair publicized her subsequent disenchantment in a popular magazine article entitled, "Why I Am Discouraged About Women in Politics." Initial gains by women in both major political parties, she concluded, had vanished. "Far from participating equally with men in politics," Blair continued, "they [now] participate in leadership hardly at all." Women elected to national party committees during the 1920s now left their votes in the control of male politicians. "I find politics still a male monopoly," Blair sadly concluded.²⁴

Miller did not sympathize with Blair's discouragement about the future of women in the party, an optimism shared by her fellow Democrats Eleanor Roosevelt and Molly Dewson. Although Miller's personal papers reveal little of her internal feelings, her actions demonstrate a determination to increase women's power within the Democratic party. She cofounded the Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Women, a network of women's clubs, during the 1920s. Miller also became an ally of the Woman's National Democratic Club (WNDC), an organization established in 1922 to provide a national office for clubwomen in the Democratic Party.²⁵

Miller's political power increased in the late 1920s and early 1930s as a result of women's suffrage and the rise of the state Democratic party after 1929. With ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, Pennsylvania women quickly asserted their new political power. Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, the wife of two-time Governor Gifford Pinchot, pointed the way. A flamboyant, controversial figure, Cornelia Pinchot ran for the U.S. House of Representatives three times and encouraged her husband to appoint women to governmental positions (a record seventy-nine women by the time he retired for the second time in 1935).²⁶ The second and most important reason for Miller's growing prominence was the breaking of Republican hegemony in Pennsylvania politics. The stunning effects of the Great Depression in Pennsylvania—1.6 million persons on relief and 476 banks closing or merging by 1934—created a new opportunity for the state Democratic party. As historian Philip S. Klein describes the situation, the Depression changed the Democratic party "from a laughingstock to a vital organization."²⁷ For the first time since Abraham Lincoln's election in 1860, the commonwealth's Democratic party possessed the opportunity to control the state's political structure.

Joseph Guffey took full advantage of the situation. Not only did his gubernatorial candidate, George Earle, win easily in the fall of 1934, but Guffey also became Pennsylvania's first Democratic U.S. Senator since the Civil War. The 1934 elections began the rise of western Pennsylvania politicians to leadership of the state Democratic party. By 1958 Guffey's Allegheny County chairman, David L. Lawrence, became governor of Pennsylvania, while a young woman reformer, Genevieve Blatt, served as Pennsylvania's Secretary of Internal Affairs from 1955 through 1967.²⁸

Senator Guffey quickly became Pennsylvania's staunchest supporter of the New Deal, which deepened his political relationship with Franklin D. Roosevelt. In addition, the federal appointment of Miller's husband

Carroll Miller to the Interstate Commerce Commission provided an entry into the Washington political scene, where she could mingle with Eleanor Roosevelt, Frances Perkins, and her eventual rival, Molly Dewson.²⁹ Emma Guffey Miller's new prominence within the Democratic party also brought to the forefront her own vision of feminism, which encompassed ratification of the ERA.

The conflict between equal rights supporters and social justice feminists began in the post-World War I era. Ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment left many suffragists looking for a new cause. Among the most prominent of the suffrage leaders was Alice Paul, one of the most controversial women leaders in early twentieth century American political history. Born in 1885, Paul came from a wealthy Quaker family in New Jersey. Educated at Swarthmore College and the University of Pennsylvania, the young reformer became a prominent leader in the suffragist movement by 1913, when she formed the Congressional Union. In 1917 the CU merged with the Woman's Party to form the National Woman's Party (NWP).³⁰

In early 1921 Paul decided that the NWP's post-suffrage agenda would encompass the abolition of all discrimination against women and pushed this new agenda through the party's national convention. The new demand for equal rights aroused the concern of Florence Kelley and other proponents of legislation for working women. Kelley had served on the CU's New York advisory council and attended the NWP's 1921 convention to present the new goals of social justice feminism. She feared, however, that any equal rights legislation would invalidate labor legislation that protected working women but not working men.³¹

Alice Paul initially seemed willing to allow exceptions for women's labor legislation, but by August 1921 she declared, "I do not believe in special protective labor legislation for women." Four months later, Kelley attempted a compromise between social justice feminists and Paul's supporters. But Paul refused to make any changes in the NWP's equal rights legislation. In December 1923, after celebrating the 75th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Declaration, the NWP introduced the ERA in Congress. Matters now passed the point of no return between the two visions of feminism.³²

It is unclear when Miller became an equal rights supporter; what is clear is that by the 1930s she enthusiastically embraced the issue. As she stated in 1944, "we should have an Equal Rights Amendment because justice should not be based on sex." Miller became a leader in the equal rights movement at an opportune time. In 1928, the NWP shocked its Democratic members by

supporting Herbert Hoover for president despite Hoover's refusal to endorse the ERA. In response Sue Shelton White, a rising young Democrat organizer in Tennessee, resigned her NWP membership. Additionally, the NWP needed new leadership. Alice Paul, its founder and leader, drifted away from the equal rights movement in the 1930s, turning her attention to international affairs. Thus Miller became the foremost proponent of the ERA in the Democratic party during the 1930s. A newly strengthened organization, the Women's Division of the DNC, became her forum to advocate equal rights.³³

Molly Dewson and the Rise of the Women's Division of the DNC

As the Great Depression spread throughout the United States, social justice feminists mourned the passing of Florence Kelley, who died in February 1932 at the age of seventy-two. Still the NCL's general secretary, by the late 1920s Kelley had relinquished most of her movement's leadership to protégés such as Molly Dewson and Frances Perkins. But Kelley remained a consistent advocate of social justice feminism. In late 1929, she wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt, who was about to address the Consumers' League of Eastern Pennsylvania. Kelley urged her to mention the "white list," a method by which NCL members made voluntary minimum-wage agreements with manufacturers in return for the organization's public endorsements. "I censure [sic] to point out," Kelley told Roosevelt, "that nothing else could be so further all our efforts in behalf of the white list as you can." Thus Kelley continued to fight for the issues she considered important, despite the weaknesses of encroaching age.³⁴ Frances Perkins eulogized Kelley at a memorial service in New York City:

She was willing to go into these far little corners where a handful of girls were students and tell them about the program which she was evolving for industrial and human and social justice . . . She took a whole group of young people, formless in their aspirations, and molded their aspirations for social justice into some definite purpose, into a program that had meaning.³⁵

Within a year social justice feminism entered its last and most critical stage of development, particularly through a newly strengthened organization: the Women's Division of the DNC. In 1922 the national Democratic party,

following the precedent set by the Republicans, created the Women's Division as part of its central organization, the DNC. For its first ten years the Division remained a weak force within the nation's oldest party. The Division director did not work full-time on party activities, and the DNC provided little funding. Thus the Women's Division remained only a potential symbol of women's political influence. The rise of Eleanor Roosevelt and Molly Dewson presaged different times for women's participation in the Democratic party.³⁶

Roosevelt and Dewson saw national politics as an area where women could establish a niche despite male dominance. Roosevelt argued in 1928 that if "women believe that they have a right and duty in political life today, they must learn to talk the language of men." Dewson declared in 1933 that despite the male-dominated party system, "women can make themselves an influence in politics." Neither woman felt that the male power structure of the Democratic party automatically foreclosed opportunities for women.³⁷

The two close friends and political allies presented contrasting backgrounds by early 1933. Eleanor Roosevelt first became embroiled in politics when she campaigned for Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1920 vice-presidential candidacy. In the 1920s she had built a strong women's division within the New York State Democratic Party, then had directed women's activities for Al Smith's unsuccessful presidential campaign in 1928.³⁸ Molly Dewson came to party politics late in life. Born in 1874, the same year as Miller, Dewson exhibited the feisty individualism of her Massachusetts ancestors. Graduating from Wellesley College in 1897, the young reformer worked for various social welfare organizations until she became executive secretary of Massachusetts's minimum wage commission in 1911. For the next seventeen years Dewson sought the passage of floor wage legislation for working women. In these efforts she followed the examples set by her initial mentors, Elizabeth Glendower Evans and Florence Kelley. Evans worked with the young Dewson in the Women's Educational and Industrial Union after her college years, and then interceded to give Dewson her commission job, while Kelley, general secretary of the NCL, employed Dewson as the League's research secretary between 1919 and 1924.³⁹

After leaving the NCL, Dewson became civic secretary for the Women's City Club of New York (WCCNY). While she felt exhausted from reform activities, the now fifty-year-old Dewson took the WCCNY position upon Kelley's urging. "In 1925," the NCL general secretary urged her protégé in a letter, "*forty-two* legislatures will be in session. If we do not make a nationwide drive for the 8 hours day . . . who will?"⁴⁰ Dewson left the

WCCNY after a year, depleted from the intensive lobbying waged on behalf of New York's proposed eight-hour bill. But the job did entail one reward: Dewson met Eleanor Roosevelt for the first time. As Dewson later described the meeting, club president Ethel Dreier "introduced me to a tall, slender woman who was hastening out of the room." "Mrs. Roosevelt," Dewson continued, "stopped long enough to shake hands and give me a warm, friendly smile." The relationship soon grew close, with Dewson and Roosevelt regularly exchanging letters.⁴¹

In 1928 Eleanor Roosevelt convinced Dewson to participate in that fall's presidential campaign. Dewson traveled to St. Louis and worked as vice-chairman of the DNC's Midwestern campaign committee. She then gained additional experience by working for Franklin D. Roosevelt's successful gubernatorial re-election campaign in 1930. Dewson succeeded Eleanor Roosevelt as head of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Campaign Committee during the 1932 presidential campaign. The social activist had now become one of the highest ranking women within the Democratic Party hierarchy. Her lack of political experience within the party, however, would soon hinder her efforts to garner support against Miller.⁴²

The Women's Division of the DNC became Roosevelt's and Dewson's central concern in early 1933 as they became convinced of its effectiveness in mobilizing women. Dewson personally toured the Far West, and later concluded that Democratic women's organizations had proved essential in the 1932 elections, and would be again. Democratic women from across the country, however, warned of brewing problems. Dessamond Nelson, a Democratic organizer in Iowa, bluntly informed Dewson that deserving women had failed to receive patronage positions, while Lillyan G. Robinson, the wife of New Mexico's party chairman, argued that women's political organizations should be kept "alive" between campaigns. Sue Shelton White, executive secretary of the Women's Division, privately confessed her frustrations to Dewson. Stating that she did not want to "deteriorate into a party hack," White added that the Division received little funding or staffing from the DNC. All these factors confirmed that the Women's Division needed additional funding and organization.⁴³

After Eleanor Roosevelt convinced both her husband and James A. Farley, the new DNC chairman, to make the Women's Division's directorship a full-time position, Dewson replaced Nellie Tayloe Ross in October 1933. While Dewson possessed political savvy, her close friendship with Eleanor Roosevelt proved most significant in her success. Dewson continually

forwarded letters to the White House when she wanted a response from the Roosevelt administration. The First Lady's natural access to the President usually meant quick answers. If no definitive response appeared to be forthcoming from the President, Dewson later remembered, Eleanor Roosevelt would invite her to dinner, "where the matter was settled before we finished our soup." This extraordinary access naturally made Dewson's work much easier.⁴⁴

Dewson's directorship established the Women's Division as a strong force in the DNC. She instituted new speaker and publicity bureaus, produced an agreement with President Roosevelt and Farley that gave the Women's Division a permanent budget, and established the "Reporter Plan," which trained women throughout the United States as "reporters," or local experts in New Deal policy. Thus the Division no longer existed merely as a cipher within the DNC.⁴⁵

In addition, Dewson firmly believed in the goals of social justice feminism. She had worked with Felix Frankfurter on the legal brief supporting minimum-wage legislation for women in the ill-fated *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* case. As president of the Consumers' League of New York from 1927 to 1931, moreover, Dewson gathered support for minimum-wage legislation. Dewson never wavered in her strong views concerning social justice as director of the Women's Division. The Great Depression, Dewson declared in early 1936, starkly demonstrated that "rugged individualism" could no longer survive as a political principle in the United States. "Cooperation," she added, "is based on the principle that there is more for all of us by getting together than by fighting each other." Thus she emphasized that social justice could not be accomplished without a common effort from all segments of American society.⁴⁶

Social justice during the New Deal defined itself in two ways. The first definition centered on recovery, as agencies such as the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration tackled the country's appalling unemployment conditions. The second and perhaps most lasting definition came in reform. The New Deal made the state a permanent force for change in American society. Franklin D. Roosevelt made this goal of social justice clear in his 1935 annual address to Congress. Buoyed by the 1934 congressional elections, the President stated his intention to remedy the inequities of life in the United States. He declared that in "most Nations social justice, no longer a distant ideal, has become a definite goal, and ancient Governments are beginning to heed the call." He added that this

entailed accomplishing three goals: the security of workers' livelihoods through an improved use of national resources; the security of all Americans against the "major hazards and vicissitudes of life"; and the security of "decent homes." "I am now ready to submit to the Congress," the President asserted, "a broad program designed ultimately to establish all three of these factors." Thus the New Deal now embraced permanent change, not just temporary expedients for recovery. Dewson further made this policy clear in a 1936 speech. "I could go on endlessly," she declared, "about what the administration has done to get a measure of social justice for various groups."⁴⁷

The Women's Division promoted the goal of social justice by asserting the connection between women and social justice in its publications, making speeches throughout the country, continuously promoting the New Deal's legislative achievements, and promoting gender equality through the "50-50 plan," which directed each state party organization to select a chairman and vice-chairman of different sexes. Thus, the goals of social justice, in both general and gender-specific senses, became the primary objective of Dewson's vision for the Democratic party.⁴⁸

Emma Guffey Miller and Molly Dewson Confront Each Other

Before discussing the growing confrontation between Miller and Dewson, it is important to point out two elements in their relationship. Despite Miller's commitment to the ERA, she did not oppose labor legislation in the New Deal. She rejected Alice Paul's previously narrow agenda, which focused only on passage of the amendment, and supported the Roosevelt administration's programs for social justice as wholeheartedly as her brother. What Miller objected to was the *method* that social justice feminists employed to accomplish their goals, namely, their emphasis on women's labor legislation as the entering wedge for social justice. On her side, Dewson felt no special animus toward equal rights supporters. Unlike Rose Schneiderman or Mary Anderson, the head of the U.S. Department of Labor's Women's Bureau, she remained aloof from the conflict during the 1920s and early 1930s. Dewson even maintained a friendship with Sue Shelton White, who, despite her disenchantment with the NWP, continued to support the ERA. In fact, when the White House confidentially asked Dewson in October 1933 for the names of fifteen women to receive appointments in the new administration, Dewson

put White's name first. White believed, however, that women remained so divided over equal rights that they could not successfully organize within the nation's major parties. When Dewson outlined her ambitious plans for the Women's Division, White, according to Dewson's later recollection, "gave a raucous laugh and wished me luck." Although the two women remained friends, White left the Women's Division in June 1934 for the Consumers' Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration. Therefore, while Miller and Dewson possessed differing feminist visions, these ideological divergences were insufficient to explain their political animosity. Personal differences also played an important part.⁴⁹

By 1935 Miller's support of the ERA disturbed Dewson. Miller, meanwhile, did not trust the new Women's Division director, for equal rights supporters felt utter contempt for Dewson. "Watch your step with Molly Dewson!" national NWP leader Jane Norman Smith warned a California business colleague in late 1932. "I usually try not to say unkind things about other women," Smith continued, "but my contempt for Mary Dewson's method of work is beyond words." Dewson could not directly confront Miller because of the latter's prominence in the national Democratic party. In her public letters to Miller, Dewson urged her Pennsylvania colleague to attend Women's Division's events and expressed pleasure when Miller did so. "Carolyn Wolfe [a Women's Division leader] said you could come," Dewson remarked in an April 1935 letter to Miller, adding, "Hurrah!" In private, Dewson called Miller "her nuisance." It seems hard to believe that Miller, with her extensive connections within the Democratic party and her sharp political antennae, did not hear of Dewson's private disparagement.⁵⁰

The tentative truce between Miller and Dewson lasted only until early 1936, when Miller suggested to the U.S. State Department that the ERA be placed on the agenda of the upcoming Inter-American Peace Conference in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Firing off letters to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Dewson blocked Miller's request. Angered by Dewson's opposition, Miller expressed contempt at what she called Dewson's tactics of "patient persuasion." Dewson's reluctance to oppose the Democratic party's male hierarchy appeared too "pacific" to her outspoken opponent. Miller wanted the Women's Division to undertake "direct action" and openly confront party leaders. As the 1936 Democratic National Convention approached, she decided to openly challenge Dewson's leadership of the Women's Division.⁵¹

The Women's National Democratic Club provided important support to Miller's leadership challenge. Besides the natural connection with Miller, a

longtime clubwoman, WNDC leaders had another reason for opposing Dewson. Since 1929 the club had published the *Democratic Digest* (“the *Digest*”), which went to seven hundred women’s Democratic clubs throughout the country. Then Molly Dewson announced that she wanted the Women’s Division to assume responsibility for publishing the *Digest*. With a subscription list numbering in the thousands, the *Digest* could be an effective means of informing party women across the nation of the Division’s policies, including social justice feminism.⁵²

While Dewson eventually convinced WNDC leaders to transfer the magazine to her organization, the *Digest* matter deepened clubwomen’s antipathy toward her. Unlike Miller, Dewson had never participated in party women’s clubs before she assumed national leadership in the Democratic party. In fact, Dewson never directly participated in any political campaign before 1928. Thus, she stood the risk of appearing like an usurper, a person who had not paid her political dues. And, as Eleanor Roosevelt admitted later to Miller, Dewson did not consider clubwomen important to the Democratic party. “Molly has always felt, and I think she is right, that [the clubs] are the second line rather than the first line,” Roosevelt stated to Miller.⁵³ Dewson’s indifference for clubwomen evidently deepened the WNDC’s resentment of the new party official. As she was to find out, this indifference resulted in the broadening of support for Miller’s fight against her control of the Women’s Division.

The Miller-Dewson Conflict Sharpens During the 1936 Democratic National Convention

While the 1936 Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia showcased the New Deal, Miller’s challenge to Dewson erupted into open warfare. The turning point came when Dewson became the leading candidate to replace Nellie Tayloe Ross as vice-chairman of the DNC. Miller also wanted the position and pressured James A. Farley to appoint her. Dewson quietly worked behind the scenes to defeat Miller’s candidacy, even asking Eleanor Roosevelt to talk to Farley. “I think,” Roosevelt later reassured Dewson, “there will never be any question about Mrs. Miller being the first vice-chairman.” Thus Molly Dewson could apparently replace Ross at the convention without any viable threats from Miller.⁵⁴

But this apparent agreement soon unraveled during the convention. Miller seconded President Roosevelt’s nomination before an enthusiastic convention

hall and a national radio audience. Dewson remained in the background, shepherding the Women's Division's efforts on behalf of the party gathering. Farley now apparently felt divided. He knew Dewson from their joint participation in Democratic party activities and the Women's Division's contributions. But Miller presented a formidable figure, with her long-time party activities and a powerful brother in the U.S. Senate. Farley therefore could not easily dismiss her in favor of Dewson.⁵⁵

The Democratic National Committee scheduled a meeting to announce its campaign activities, including the announcement of Ross's replacement. Farley called Dewson at her headquarters. Telling a stunned Dewson, "I can't help it," the party chairman announced that Miller would become the new DNC vice-chairman. Perhaps feeling guilty for his sudden reversal, Farley then added that Dewson had "five minutes" to respond. Naturally feeling "double-cross[ed] with a vengeance," Dewson quickly demonstrated her political savvy. She convinced Farley to nominate a slate of honorary vice-chairmen, including Miller, at the meeting. The DNC, despite Miller's protests, unanimously approved the slate. Dewson then became the active vice-chairman, as later announced by the Committee's stationery.⁵⁶

While Miller never forgot what she considered Farley's treachery, she apparently decided after the convention to reconcile with her chief opponent. When Dewson wrote a conciliatory letter to Miller, the Pennsylvanian therefore denied in her reply that she felt resentment over the outcome, even though the media had clearly highlighted her interest in the vice-chairmanship during the convention.⁵⁷

The 1936 campaign represented the apex of social justice feminism in the New Deal. Women's Division speakers crisscrossed the country lauding the New Deal's efforts for social reform. Division pamphlets informed local Democratic women leaders of their obligations. But the Division's greatest effort centered on the "Rainbow Fliers." Mary Chamberlain, head of the Division's publicity section, conceived of the idea to create colorful fliers that emphasized the efforts of the New Deal and countered Republican criticisms. "The Farmer Remembers Longer Than the Elephant," one flier cried, noting that wheat, corn, and cotton prices had doubled and even tripled since 1932. Other fliers trumpeted new federal aid to housing and examined the fulfillment of pledges made during the 1932 campaign. Thus the Women's Division made vital contributions to the overall party effort.⁵⁸

Miller Again Confronts Dewson

Franklin D. Roosevelt's decisive re-election in November 1936 brought great satisfaction to Dewson, particularly when the President's second inaugural address focused on a nation still "one-third . . . ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." For one brief, shining moment it appeared that social justice feminism could accomplish further legislative goals during the New Deal. "I cannot believe I have lived to see this day," Dewson enthused upon the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935. "It's the culmination of what us girls and some of you boys have been working for for [sic] so long it's just dazzling." With a historic mandate from the electorate, and large majorities in the U.S. Congress, the second Roosevelt administration seemed poised to further dazzle Dewson.⁵⁹

But Dewson's euphoria proved temporary. Instead of focusing on a federal hours and wages law, one of Dewson's goals, President Roosevelt now turned to an old nemesis: the U.S. Supreme Court. Angered by the Court's previous rejection of major New Deal legislation in his first term, President Roosevelt now introduced a bill in Congress to increase the membership of the Court. The White House claimed that the aging justices—six were seventy years or older—could not handle the caseload before them; thus six additional new justices had to be added to the nation's highest court. But skepticism about Roosevelt's motives led opponents to call the measure the "Court-packing" bill.⁶⁰

Dewson initially appeared to be a natural advocate of the Court bill. A 5–4 majority of the Court had declared New York's new minimum wage law for working women unconstitutional the previous year. But Roosevelt's decision apparently troubled her because the issue created a diversion from the social justice agenda she wanted to promote and because the bill could inflict a significant political defeat on the Roosevelt administration.

Sensing trouble, Dewson initially kept the Women's Division out of the growing political controversy. But in May 1937, James Roosevelt, the President's son and private secretary, forced the issue. He informed Dewson that the President wanted her to personally introduce a resolution supporting the court bill at an upcoming Women's Division regional conference. A desperate Dewson first tried to finesse the situation, telling James Roosevelt that "it wasn't wise to get women in on the Court issue." When a skeptical Eleanor Roosevelt further pressured Dewson, the DNC vice-chairman

suddenly changed her rationale. She now told the White House that a resolution passed by the Women's Division would not "weigh heavily" with Congress. This was an odd argument for a woman who previously made the Women's Division a prominent advocate for the New Deal. It also demonstrated Dewson's deep ambivalence about the direction of the second Roosevelt administration's domestic policy. Eleanor Roosevelt did not further press Dewson on the issue, but the situation naturally created tensions. For the first time the Women's Division did not support the primary item of the New Deal's domestic agenda. It also presented an opportunity for Miller to demonstrate her loyalty to the President.⁶¹

Dewson's credibility within the Women's Division further declined because of President Roosevelt's sudden refusal to advocate repeal of Section 213 of the 1932 National Economy Act. Section 213 had prohibited married couples from simultaneously working for the federal government. Since men's jobs received primary consideration, approximately 1,600 women federal employees lost their jobs by 1937. Dewson privately agreed with Miller's claim that Section 213 constituted gender discrimination. She apparently secured a promise from Franklin D. Roosevelt before the 1936 Democratic National Convention to seek repeal of Section 213. Dewson repeated this promise to her Women's Division colleagues. But in April 1937, the President reneged on his promise. Eleanor Roosevelt informed Dewson that the "President will take no interest in Section 213" because it represented "a matter of minor legislation." Miller and her allies now could claim that the DNC vice-chairman was untrustworthy. In addition, they began to publicize Dewson's equivocation over the Court bill.⁶²

While Dewson had always felt unfeigned affection and respect for Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, her response to her close friend's disclosure showed a barely concealed anger toward both the President and her chief rival, Miller. The letter also indicated fatigue from five years of national leadership. (Dewson, in fact, would soon leave the Women's Division for a position on the newly created Social Security Board.) Dewson declared that the President had "let her down," but tempered her criticism by stating that his decision was "embarrassing but not fatal." She reserved her scorn for Miller. Claiming that a fellow DNC official had called the Guffeys "pirates sailing the seas in golden galleons," Dewson added that she received no help from her fellow DNC male officials, who refused to tell Miller to "confine herself to Penn." Claiming that her rival was now "hot on my trail," Dewson asserted that Miller expressed criticism of Dewson's public silence on the President's court

plan, gathered DNC women for a celebration of prominent activist Daisy Harriman without inviting her, and asserted that honorary DNC women did not receive any veto over Dewson's promotion to head of the Women's Division in October 1933. "I've done all that in me to nominate, elect, and re-elect Franklin," Dewson concluded. "1931-1937 is enough to give a cause." While expressing sympathy for Dewson's plight, Eleanor Roosevelt pointedly added, "My days of organization work in the party are over." Thus she quietly signaled that the Women's Division's problems no longer constituted a top priority on her schedule. She also refused to continue to be a buffer between the White House and Dewson on the Supreme Court plan. When James Roosevelt again spoke to his mother about the issue, she referred him to Dewson, stating in a letter to her protégé, "I told him in all probability you don't think democratic [sic] women are for it but I don't know."⁶³

With this apparent coolness between Eleanor Roosevelt and Dewson, the time now seemed advantageous for Miller to renew her struggle with Dewson over control of the Women's Division. But Miller's political acumen did not include the art of subtle persuasion. Instead of quietly building support within the Division, she decided to seek help from Eleanor Roosevelt directly. Writing Roosevelt in July 1937, Miller spared no criticism of Dewson. Not only had Dewson failed to appoint women to party jobs and ignored the WNDP, she claimed, the Women's Division leader had unfairly received the DNC vice-chairmanship the year before.⁶⁴

Miller's missive constituted a major blunder, for while Eleanor Roosevelt may have felt disappointment in Dewson's equivocation over the Court bill, she still cherished her friend. Roosevelt also believed that Dewson had accomplished their goals for the Women's Division, and did not agree with Miller's support for the ERA. Eleanor Roosevelt remained a supporter of social justice feminism from her days as the woman leader of New York's Democratic party, when she forged a permanent partnership between the WJLC and her party. In a 1930 letter, moreover, she had declared, "I have always been very much opposed to [the NWP's] program." For these reasons Roosevelt remained sympathetic to Dewson.⁶⁵

Even with her support for both Dewson and social justice feminism, Roosevelt could not simply ignore Miller. By 1938, as two journalists noted in a special profile for the *Saturday Evening Post*, Joseph Guffey had become "one of the two or three most powerful men in American politics."⁶⁶ This power resulted from his unswerving commitment to the New Deal including

the Supreme Court program; his control of patronage in Pennsylvania, one of the states essential for Democratic success in any presidential election; and particularly his courting of Pennsylvania's African Americans, who overwhelmingly voted for President Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936. Any disrespect to Miller might mean a corresponding decline in trust and loyalty from her brother.⁶⁷

Fully aware of the political complexities, Eleanor Roosevelt's reply to Miller sent a polite but implicitly subtle message of support for Dewson. She skirted the issue of whether the DNC validly voted Dewson to her vice-chairmanship. "On that point," Roosevelt declared, "not being present, I have nothing whatsoever to say." She urged Miller to accept Dewson's position because the party hierarchy recognized Dewson's prominence, and because Dewson's contributions to the Democratic party warranted the vice-chairmanship. "Molly has had a conception of work for the Women's Division which I consider very valuable," Roosevelt continued, "namely, she has put education first." She also pointed out Dewson's need to compromise with party officials and government bureaucrats. Roosevelt then gave Miller a gentle, but unmistakable, reproof:

One of the blessed things about being more or less free, as you have been, is that you can fight for the things you believe in, in the way you wish to, because you do not have the responsibility of the bigger picture constantly before you.⁶⁸

With this language, Eleanor Roosevelt informed Miller that she considered the Pennsylvania Democrat a political renegade, free to criticize Dewson's decisions without needing to carry out policy positions. Roosevelt's support for Dewson could not have been clearer.

Miller did not reply to Eleanor Roosevelt's letter. She apparently realized, however, that further, overt resistance to Dewson's leadership could jeopardize her power within the Democratic party. She therefore withdrew her direct opposition to Dewson. But Miller remained too wily a political tactician, and too fervent a supporter of the ERA, to change her attitude toward Dewson and her social justice feminist successors in the Women's Division.

It is unfortunate that Miller and Dewson continued to fight with each other over the feminist vision for the Democratic party. Contemporaries with educations at fine women's colleges, the two women shared a passion for politics, a devotion to the New Deal, and a commitment to the national

Democratic party. But differing feminist visions and sharp political ambitions resulted in a continuing battle, a battle that eventually led to a decline in the Women's Division's prominence.

The Battle Continues During the New Deal's Decline

The conflict between social justice feminists and equal rights supporters occurred at the worst time for both the New Deal and the Women's Division. In June 1937 the Court bill quietly died when the U.S. Senate sent the measure to committee for "further consideration." The Roosevelt administration thus suffered its first significant legislative defeat. A coalition of southern Democrats and conservative Republicans then formed in Congress. Suddenly other measures proposed by the Roosevelt administration, including the Fair Labor Standards Act, appeared endangered. Although federal minimum wage legislation did pass Congress in June 1938, Franklin Roosevelt's seemingly weary response when signing the bill—"That's that"—unwittingly signaled the end of the New Deal. When the Republicans doubled their seats in the House of Representatives and defeated eight Democratic incumbents in the Senate in the 1938 national elections, the fate of domestic reform substantially dimmed. No significant domestic legislation passed Congress between 1939 and 1941.⁶⁹

The Democratic party suffered extensive losses in Pennsylvania in the 1938 elections. Governor George Earle's "Little New Deal" was overshadowed by his administration's scandals. The violence of labor-management clashes in the previous summer alienated some voters. With these advantageous issues, Republicans gained control of both the state legislature and the commonwealth's congressional delegation. Even with the support of labor leader John L. Lewis, Democratic gubernatorial candidate Thomas Kennedy lost by almost half a million votes. While Joseph Guffey did not face his first re-election campaign until 1940, and Miller retained her committeewoman position, neither could take comfort in the sudden turn in fortune for their Republican rivals.⁷⁰

As the New Deal declined in the late 1930s, the battle between Dewson and Miller over control of the Women's Division sapped the Division's strength. Their last direct conflict occurred in the disastrous year of 1938. When Dewson had resigned as director of the Women's Division in June 1934 to become chairman of the Division's advisory committee, Carolyn Wolfe, a quiet, unassuming Utah Democrat, succeeded her. Wolfe administered the

Division for the next four years while Dewson oversaw its operations. But by October 1937 Dewson's seemingly endless vitality diminished due to age and ill-health. Wolfe, moreover, wanted to retire. Dewson turned to one of her protégés, Dorothy McAllister, to succeed Wolfe as director. Both Eleanor Roosevelt and James Farley agreed to her appointment, much to Miller's frustration.⁷¹

Now thirty-eight years old, McAllister had attracted Dewson's attention as Michigan's Democratic vice-chairman from 1932 through 1936. She came to Washington in 1937 as the wife of the new assistant to the U.S. Attorney General, and established herself as one of the key officials in the Women's Division. But she proved no match for the wily Miller because, as a relative newcomer, McAllister did not enjoy a close relationship with Eleanor Roosevelt. In addition, Miller still exerted great influence within the Democratic party, particularly when she appeared as the leading witness for the ERA before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Thus Eleanor Roosevelt listened to Miller's complaints when they met in February 1938.⁷²

Miller bluntly told the First Lady that McAllister had been "brusque and rude" to other Women's Division officials, and that the new Women's Division director's loyalty to the Democratic party appeared suspect because of her previous membership in the Republican party. Perhaps more bemused than alarmed, Roosevelt asked Dewson to make sure her protégé was a "little more careful" in the future. But Dewson did not take the criticism lightly, continually vouching for McAllister's loyalty. She eventually convinced Eleanor Roosevelt to meet her protégé. But the continuing conflict between social justice feminists and equal rights supporters proved detrimental to the Women's Division's efforts. State and local Democratic activists found little support from the organization. The situation proved so desperate that Division officials asked Dewson to request Eleanor Roosevelt's attendance at a 1939 Young Democrats national convention.⁷³

Conclusion

On November 10, 1940, five days after Franklin D. Roosevelt's election to a third term, Molly Dewson wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt from her retirement home in Castine, Maine. She wanted the Women's Division to continue the "extraordinary opportunity" of the New Deal. Roosevelt firmly agreed with Dewson's argument, declaring, in a series of articles celebrating the twentieth

anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment's ratification, that women could continue the gains made during the 1930s. Praising the political contributions of women such as Dewson, Roosevelt concluded that the major achievement of women in the past twenty years centered on the national interest in what she termed "social questions." The U.S. government now participated in areas such as housing and care for the handicapped. Implicitly noting that women in the Democratic party remained split over the Equal Rights Amendment, Roosevelt continued, "I think it is safe to say that something historically important will happen." Thus both Dewson and Roosevelt hoped that the achievements of social justice feminism under the New Deal could continue, even in the midst of a looming world war.⁷⁴

These hopes soon collapsed in the wake of overseas developments and political realities. "Remember back when we had only the depression on our minds, and thought we were in trouble?" the *New Republic* noted in August 1940. "Nobody can plan his life a year or six months ahead." The nation's involvement in World War II, and then Republican political gains in the 1946 congressional elections, soon swept discussions of social justice from political discourse in the U.S. Liberal feminism did continue on the state level throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s; Genevieve Blatt, for example, cofounded the Americans for Democratic Action in 1947, and as Secretary of Internal Affairs in the 1950s, helped Pennsylvania governors George Leader and David L. Lawrence to develop their progressive policies. But until the Montgomery bus boycott focused attention on the burgeoning civil rights movement in the South, national discussions of social justice remained subordinate to the fears of domestic Communism, Soviet domination, and atomic annihilation.⁷⁵

Miller continued her battle to include the ERA in the Democratic party agenda. In 1944 she became a member of the party's platform committee. Wielding a somewhat equivocal letter from Eleanor Roosevelt, who stated that she "would mak[e] no statement on the Equal Rights Amendment," Miller convinced the committee to endorse its inclusion in the party platform. But the victory proved bittersweet, for Miller failed to convince any ensuing Democratic presidents or presidential candidates to support the ERA's passage in Congress. Her failure can be partially attributed to the general decline of the political fortunes of the Guffey family. Joseph Guffey lost his U.S. Senate seat in 1946, and he died in 1959 at the age of eighty-eight. But Miller remained a steady presence in both Pennsylvania politics and the equal rights movement. Nicknamed the "Old Gray Mare" by her fellow state

politicos, she served as a Democratic national committeeperson from Pennsylvania between 1932 and 1970, a record thirty-eight years. She also became the NWP's chairman in 1960, a position she held for five years until becoming the Party's lifetime president.⁷⁶

One might assume that with age and time Miller and Dewson would soften toward each other, particularly after the latter retired to her home in Maine after the 1940 presidential election. But Miller still retained a bitterness toward Dewson for defeating her for the vice-chairmanship of the DNC, although she always denied this feeling publicly. When Bess Furman, a noted political columnist, published an account of the Miller-Dewson imbroglio in her 1951 book about national politics in the 1930s, an affronted Miller quickly wrote to express her displeasure. Noting that Furman could "easily have contacted me as I was living in Washington [in the 1930s]," Miller told her correspondent the "true story" of her stunted campaign for the vice-chairmanship position in 1936.⁷⁷

According to Miller, she consented to becoming Nellie Tayloe Ross's replacement just before the national convention, but destroyed her petition for the position when informed of Eleanor Roosevelt's opposition. The Pennsylvanian thus tried to portray the disappointing result as a noble sacrifice on her part for party unity. Miller's true feelings about her loss to Dewson, however, became clear in her description of her rival's contributions in the 1930s. While conceding that the Women's Division leader proved a "splendid organizer" in Democratic party campaigns, Miller added that Dewson did not possess long-time party experience and was often "abrupt, unsympathetic, and irritating" to congressmen. Thus Miller revealed her continuing animosity toward the woman who prevented her from leading the Women's Division during, and after, the 1936 presidential campaign.⁷⁸

Dewson evidently heard of Miller's displeasure from Furman, for she wrote a brief letter to her old rival. Apparently willing to forget old animosities, the retired political leader asked Miller to keep their old dispute in perspective. The United States now found itself embroiled in a conflict in Korea, and the shadow of atomic warfare complicated the world situation. In essence, Dewson stated that worrying about the world seemed more important than worrying about a past national convention. The papers of Miller and Dewson reveal no response to this letter, and the two evidently never corresponded again throughout their long lifetimes, which ended for Dewson at the age of eighty-eight in 1962 and for Miller at the age of ninety-five at 1970.⁷⁹

Dewson and Miller, with competing feminist visions and personal ambitions, vied for national political power during the 1930s. Dewson, as the protégé of Florence Kelley, promoted social justice feminism as a solution to the nation's industrial and social problems. Kelley had devised a strategy of securing labor legislation for working women as an entering wedge for the eventual passage of laws protecting all workers. Kelley's strategy eventually came to fruition in the 1930s, after her death, with such statutes as the Social Security Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act. The feminist vision of the Equal Rights Amendment, on the other hand, inspired Pennsylvania's most prominent woman politician, Emma Guffey Miller, to oppose Dewson for control of the Women's Division of the DNC. Miller believed that only with the ERA's ratification could true justice, a justice not based on gender, be established for women. Her efforts yielded mixed results, as Miller reached a pinnacle of success unmatched by any other Pennsylvania woman in her generation, but lost her fight with Dewson, witnessed the resulting decline of the Women's Division's strength after 1936, and failed to accomplish the ratification of the ERA. In the labyrinth of the American political system, with its incessant jousting of opposing interests, only equivocal results for both visions could be accomplished.

NOTES

1. The author would like to thank the following persons: Paul Beers, Thomas Dublin, Melvyn Dubofsky, Robert Hueston, and Kathryn Kish Sklar. This article is dedicated to the late Genevieve Blatt, whom the author met as a James A. Finnegan Fellow in the summer of 1987.
2. Letter from Emma Guffey Miller to Eleanor Roosevelt, July 12, 1937, in Emma Guffey Miller Papers, Microfilm Edition, 1833, 1884–1972, Women's Studies Manuscript Collections, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Cambridge, MA, Microfilm Edition, Series L: Women in National Parties, Part A: Democrats [hereafter Miller Papers, SL], reel 7.
3. The term "social justice feminism" originally comes from the preface to *Social Justice Feminists in the United States and Germany: A Dialogue in Documents, 1885–1933*, ed. Kathryn Kish Sklar, Anja Schuler, and Susan Strasser (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 5–11. I will argue in my overall project on the Women's Division of the DNC during the 1930s that the term not only describes the labor legislative feminist movement more accurately than previous descriptions such as social feminism, but that it also avoids the splitting of proponents and opponents into left-wing and right-wing movements. See discussion of this problem in June Melby Benowitz, *Days of Discontent: American Women and Right-Wing Politics, 1933–1945* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002), 4.
4. Paul B. Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics Today and Yesterday: The Tolerable Accommodation* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), discusses women in the commonwealth's political

- history such as Emma Guffey Miller and Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, but only in brief biographical sketches. The historiography concerning other women in the same time period is quite extensive. See, for example, Blanche Wiesen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume I, 1884–1933* (New York: Viking, 1992) and *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume II, 1933–1938* (New York: Viking, 1999); Martha H. Swain, *Ellen S. Woodward: New Deal Advocate for Women* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1995); Susan Ware, *Partner and I: Molly Dewson, Feminism, and New Deal Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); and George Martin, *Madam Secretary: Frances Perkins* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1976).
5. Melvyn Dubofsky, *Industrialism and the American Worker, 1865–1920*, 3d ed. (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1996), 2–3. See also Pauline Maier et al., *Inventing America: A History of the United States* (New York: Norton, 2003), 2: 608–9.
 6. Thomas C. Corhan, *Pennsylvania: A Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton, 1978), 124, 131–37; Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 17; and Joseph Frazier Wall, *Andrew Carnegie* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970; reprint, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), 307, 765–93.
 7. Corhan, *Pennsylvania: A Bicentennial History*, 162, 165–66.
 8. Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order: 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), xiii.
 9. For Felix Frankfurter's relationship with Florence Kelley, see John Thomas McGuire, "A Catalyst for Reform: The Women's Joint Legislative Conference (WJLC) and Its Fight for Labor Legislation in New York State, 1918–1933" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, 2001), 163–78. For Frankfurter's later evaluation of Kelley, see Josephine Goldmark, *Impatient Crusader: Florence Kelley's Life Story* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953), v. Kelley describes her visit to the Pennsylvania factory in "My Philadelphia," *Survey Graphic* 57 (October 1, 1926), 7–11, 50–57. For William Kelley's background, see Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830–1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 8–13, 37–43.
 10. Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political History, 1780–1920," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984): 638.
 11. Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew* (New York: Viking, 1946; reprint, New York: Harper Colophon, 1965), 10; Kathryn Kish Sklar, ed., *Women's Rights Emerges within the Anti-Slavery Movement 1830–1870: A Brief History With Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), 4–5, 77; Sklar, *Florence Kelley*, 15–26.
 12. Sklar, *Florence Kelley*, 101–5, 168–72.
 13. Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers," *Signs* 10 (1985): 665–66; and Jane Addams, *Twenty Years of Hull House, With Autobiographical Notes* (New York: Macmillan, 1910; reprint, University of Illinois Press, 1990), 77.
 14. For the early history of the National Consumers' League, see Maud Nathan, *The Story of an Epoch-Making Movement* (New York: Knopf, 1926; reprint, London: Garland Publishing, 1986) and Landon R.Y. Storrs, *Civilizing Capitalism: The National Consumers' League, Women's Activism, and Labor Standards in the New Deal Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 13–40. For the historical context concerning social justice, see Sklar et al., *Social Justice Feminists*, 5–11.
 15. Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Two Political Cultures in the Progressive Era: The National Consumers' League and the American Association for Labor Legislation," in *U.S. History as Women's History*:

TWO FEMINIST VISIONS: SOCIAL JUSTICE FEMINISM

- New Feminist Essays*, ed. Linda Kerber, Alice-Kessler Harris, and Kathryn Kish Sklar (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 51; and Felix Frankfurter, "Hours of Labor and Realism in Constitutional Law," *Harvard Law Review* 29 (February 1916), 367 (emphasis in original).
16. See McGuire, "Catalyst for Reform," 195–236, 265–314.
 17. "Extracts from Address By Miss Rose Schneiderman Before the Women's Industrial Conference . . . Jan. 20, 1926: The Right to Citizenship," Mary van Kleeck Papers, Smith College, Northampton, MA, box 71, folder 1171, and "Address at Testimonial Luncheon in [Frances Perkins'] Honor" typed copy in Frances Perkins Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, Butler Library, Columbia University, box 44, "Speeches, 1929–1930."
 18. For the background to *Adkins*, see McGuire, "Catalyst for Reform," 160–80. Quotation from letter from Florence Kelley to Felix Frankfurter, May 26, 1923, Felix Frankfurter Papers, Library of Congress, Microfilm Edition, reel 100.
 19. Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 147. This brief biographical sketch has been supplanted by Keith Melder, "Emma Guffey Miller," in *Notable American Women, The Modern Period: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Barbara Sicherman and Carol Hurd Green (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), 476–78; and Martha H. Swain, "Emma Guffey Miller," in *American National Biography*, ed. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 15: 481–82. Beers's sketch, however, gives a clearer picture of Miller's contributions to Pennsylvania politics. No major biography exists of either Emma Guffey Miller or her brother, Joseph Guffey.
 20. Melder, "Emma Guffey Miller," 476; and Swain, "Emma Guffey Miller," 481. Joseph Guffey quoted in Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 147.
 21. Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 28.
 22. Melder, "Emma Guffey Miller," 476; Barbara Blumberg, "Joseph F. Guffey," in *American National Biography*, 9: 699.
 23. Swain, "Emma Guffey Miller," 481–82.
 24. Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 110. See also Emily Newell Blair, "Why I Am Discouraged About Women in Politics," reprinted in *Major Problems in American Women's History, Documents and Essays*, ed. Mary Beth Norton (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1989), 326–27.
 25. Melder, "Emma Guffey Miller," 477.
 26. Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 71, 87, 101.
 27. Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 118; Philip S. Klein, *A History of Pennsylvania*, 2d ed. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), 455.
 28. Klein, *History of Pennsylvania*, 455; Blumberg, "Joseph F. Guffey," 700; Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 250–69. See also "'First Lady' of Politics Bids Adieu," *Harrisburg Patriot News*, June 29, 1993, n.p.
 29. Melder, "Emma Guffey Miller," 477.
 30. Lynn M. O'Leary Archer, "The Contentious Community: The Impact of Internecine Conflict on the National Woman's Party, 1920–1947" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California at Los Angeles, 1988), 18, 19, 22; and Nancy F. Cott, "Feminist Politics in the 1920s: The National Woman's Party," *Journal of American History* 71 (1984): 44.

31. O'Leary Archer, "The Contentious Community," 27; and Cott, "Feminist Politics," 44. See also National Executive Committee, National Woman's Party, minutes, July 9, 1920, in National Woman's Party [NWP] Papers, 1913–1974, Microfilm Edition, reel 114, part A, series 2. See letter from Hazel Hunkins from Mrs. Bessie Papandre, February 14, 1918, and letter from Florence Kelley to Mrs. John F. Brennan, December 29, 1920, in NWP Papers, Part 2: The Suffrage Years, 1913–1920, Microfilm Edition, Series 1, Section C, 1917–1940, in reels 56 and 84, respectively.
32. Letter from Alice Paul to Jane Norman Smith, November 29, 1921, in Jane Norman Smith Papers, Schlesinger Library, box 5, folder 110. Cott, "Feminist Politics," 57, 59. See also "Conference on So-Called 'Equal Rights' Amendment by the National Woman's Party," copy in New York Women's Trade Union League Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 2, and "Conference Held December 4, 1921," typescript, in NWP Papers, 1913–1974, reel 116, part L, series 2.
33. Quotation from Emma Guffey Miller, "Equal Rights: A Debate," *New York Times Magazine*, May 7, 1944. The best source for Sue Shelton White remains her entry in *Notable American Women, 1607–1950, A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 3:590–92. For White's break with the NWP, see her letter to "Member of Women's Party," November 20, 1928, in Sue Shelton White Papers, Women's Studies Manuscript Collections, Schlesinger Library, Microfilm Edition, Series L: Women in National Parties, Part A: Democrats [hereafter White Papers, SL]. See also John Thomas McGuire, "Caught in the Middle: Sue Shelton White and the Conflict Between Social Justice Feminism and Equal Rights in New Deal Politics," forthcoming in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*. For Alice Paul's drifting away from the NWP in the 1930s, see her entry in *Notable American Women*, rev. ed. (New York: Smithmark Publishers, 1996), 478.
34. For a discussion of how the leadership of social justice feminism passed from Kelley to her protégés in the late 1920s, see Vivien Hart, *Bound by Our Constitution: Women Workers and the Minimum Wage* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 133. Letter from Florence Kelley to Eleanor Roosevelt, [December?] 1929, Eleanor Roosevelt Correspondence, 1928–1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY, box 7, "Consumers' League."
35. Quotation from Goldmark, *Impatient Crusader*, 60.
36. The Democratic National Committee [DNC] came into existence in 1848. Originally consisting of one committeeman from each state and territory, the DNC doubled its size after 1920 to admit committeewomen on an equal basis. Douglas B. Craig, *After Wilson: The Struggle for the Democratic Party, 1920–1934* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 76.
37. Eleanor Roosevelt, "Women Must Learn to Play the Game Like Men Do," *Red Book* 50 (April 1928): 78–79, 141–43; and "Mary W. Dewson's Notes for Her Kentucky Speech to Democratic Woman's Clubs, April 1933," copy in Mary (Molly) Williams Papers, 1893–1962, Women's Studies Manuscript Collections, Schlesinger Library, Microfilm Edition, Series L: Women in National Parties, Part A: Democrats [hereafter Dewson Papers, SL], reel 3.
38. For Eleanor Roosevelt's participation in the 1920 presidential campaign and her ensuing political activities in the 1920s, see Blanche Wiesen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume 1*, 265–87. See also John Thomas McGuire, "Making the Democratic Party a Partner: Eleanor Roosevelt, the Women's Joint Legislative Conference, and the Women's Division of the New York State Democratic Party, 1921–1927," *The Hudson Valley Regional Review* 18 (September 2001): 29–49; and Abigail McCarthy,

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- "Democratic Party," in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Encyclopedia*, ed. Maurine H. Beasley, Holly C. Shulman, and Henry R. Beasley (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 129.
39. Ware, *Partner and I*, 1–47, remains the best source for Dewson's early life. McGuire, "Catalyst for Reform," 162–80, 276–313, examines Dewson's public service career from her participation in the NCL legal network through her presidency of the Consumers' League of New York in the late 1920s and early 1930s.
 40. Letter from Florence Kelley to Molly Dewson, February 17, 1924, in Dewson Papers, SL, reel 3, folder 29 (emphasis in original).
 41. For Dewson's first encounter with Eleanor Roosevelt, see Dewson's autobiography, "An Aid to the End," 1:5, in Dewson Papers, SL, reel 3. The two-volume autobiography, written by Dewson from 1949 to 1952, remains an excellent source for Dewson's political career though, like all memoirs, it should be used with caution. For an example of correspondence between Dewson and Roosevelt, see letter from Roosevelt to Dewson, c. December 1926, with covering note, in Mary (Molly) Williams Papers, container 26, "Dewson Papers—Correspondence, M-Roosevelt E," Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park.
 42. Molly Dewson, "An Aid to the End," 1: 1–63, in Dewson Papers, SL, reel 3.
 43. See letters from Dessamond Nelson to Molly Dewson, February 23, 1933; Lillyan G. Robinson to Molly Dewson, February 27, 1933; Molly Dewson to Eleanor Roosevelt, April 29, 1933; and Sue Shelton White to Molly Dewson, March 21, 1933, all in the Papers of Eleanor Roosevelt, 1933–1945, Research Collections in Women's Studies, Microfilm Edition, University Publications of America, 1997 [hereafter Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition], reel 6. Dewson forwarded these letters, along with many other missives, to Eleanor Roosevelt throughout the 1930s.
 44. McCarthy, "Democratic Party," 129. The working relationship between Eleanor Roosevelt and Molly Dewson can be clearly seen in the Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition. Dewson often forwarded letters addressed to her with comments to Roosevelt scribbled in the margin. Roosevelt often did not respond by letter, but apparently spoke to Dewson either personally or by telephone. See Dewson, "An Aid to the End," 1:2, in Dewson Papers, SL, reel 3, about being invited to dinner at the White House.
 45. See Dewson, "An Aid to the End," 1: 69, in Dewson Papers, SL, reel 3; and letter from Molly Dewson to Franklin D. Roosevelt, December 18, 1934, in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 6.
 46. McGuire, "Catalyst for Reform," 162–67, 276–313. Quotation from "Basis of Talk Given by Mary W. Dewson . . . during Jan.-March 1936 [throughout the Far West]," 1, in Dewson Papers, SL, reel 3.
 47. Annual Message to the Congress, January 4, 1935," in *The Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt, With A Special Introduction and Explanatory Notes by President Roosevelt, Volume IV: The Court Disapproves, 1935* (New York: Random House, 1935), 15–17.
 48. "What the Women Could and Should Do for the Democratic Party," DNC pamphlet, January 1935, "Basis of Talk Given By Mary W. Dewson," p. 4, and "Women's Interest in the Nation's Interest in Politics," copy of article published in the 1936 Democratic Campaign yearbook, all in Dewson Papers, SL, reel 3. The approval of equal gender representation can be found in Dewson, "An Aid to the End," 2: 127, Dewson Papers, SL, reel 3. For more information on the adoption of the "50–50 plan," particularly in California, see Jacqueline R. Braitman, "Legislated Parity: Mandating Integration of Women into California Political Parties, 1930s–1950s," in *We Have Come To Stay:*

- American Women and Political Parties, 1880–1960*, ed. Melanie Gustafson, Kristie Miller, and Elisabeth I. Perry (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 175–86.
49. For a discussion of how equal rights supporters tried to differentiate their support of the ERA from opposition to all labor legislation, see Wendy Sarvasy, "Beyond the Difference versus Equality Policy Debate: Postsuffrage Feminism, Citizenship, and the Quest for a Feminist Welfare State," *Signs* 17 (1992): 335. For Dewson's friendship with White, see letter from Dewson to White, September 25, 1928, as well as letter from White to Eleanor Roosevelt, same date, both in White Papers, SL, reel 12. See letter from Molly Dewson to Franklin D. Roosevelt, October 21, 1933, with attached list of fifteen women to be appointed to government positions, in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 6. White's viewpoint on women's solidarity can be found in "Women Unfit to Organize Party," *Washington Star*, August 27, 1931, n.p., copy in White Papers, SL, reel 12. Dewson, "An Aid to the End," 1: 163, in Dewson Papers, SL, reel 3, describes White's reaction to Dewson's plans. For White's leaving for the National Recovery Administration, see "Sue Shelton White," *Notable American Women* 3: 592. For Dewson's continuing friendship with White, see her letter dated August 24, 1937, in White Papers, SL, reel 12.
 50. See letter from Jane Norman Smith to Sue Brobst, November 21, 1932, in Jane Norman Smith Papers, Schlesinger Library, box 3, folder 81. See also letters from Molly Dewson to Emma Guffey Miller, March 11, 1935 and April 12, 1935, in Miller Papers, SL, reel 7. Dewson's description of Miller can be found in Swain, "Emma Guffey Miller," 482.
 51. For Miller's support of the ERA and the Inter-American Peace Conference imbroglio, see Swain, "Emma Guffey Miller," 481–82. Dewson's observation can be found in "An Aid to the End," 1: 46, Dewson Papers, SL, reel 3. Miller's complaint about Dewson's tactics can be found in letter from Miller to Roosevelt, July 12, 1937, Miller Papers, SL, reel 7.
 52. For the conflict over the *Digest*, see Jewell Frenzi, "Democratic Digest," in *Eleanor Roosevelt Encyclopedia*, 125–26. Miller's club background can be found in Melder, "Emma Guffey Miller," 476–77.
 53. Letter from Eleanor Roosevelt to Emma Guffey Miller, July 15, 1937, in Miller Papers, SL, reel 7.
 54. Letter from Eleanor Roosevelt to Molly Dewson, May 2, 1936, in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7.
 55. "Mrs. Miller Urged for Vice-Chairman," *Philadelphia Record*, June 27, 1936, n.p., copy in Miller Papers, SL, reel 7.
 56. Dewson, "An Aid to the End," 2: 151–52, in Dewson Papers, SL, reel 3; and letter from Miller to Furman, September 5, 1951, in Miller Papers, SL, reel 7.
 57. See letter from Miller to Furman, September 5, 1951, for Miller's continuing bitterness on the subject. For Dewson's and Miller's post-Convention correspondence, see letters from Molly Dewson to Emma Guffey Miller, June 28, 1936 and draft and copy of final letter from Emma Guffey Miller to Molly Dewson, July 6, 1936, in Miller Papers, SL, reel 7.
 58. Dewson, "An Aid to the End," 2: 131, in Dewson Papers, SL, reel 3. (The fliers are attached to Dewson's autobiography.)
 59. Quotation from Roosevelt's second inaugural address from James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York: Harcourt and Brace, 1956; reprint, Orlando, FL: Harcourt and Brace, 1984), 292. Letter from Molly Dewson to Arthur Altmeyer, August 25, 1935, quoted in Susan Ware, *Beyond Suffrage* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 42.

60. William E. Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 145, 231–39.
61. Memorandum from Eleanor Roosevelt to Molly Dewson, May 18, 1937, and letter from Molly Dewson to James Roosevelt, June 4, 1937, both in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7.
62. Letter from Molly Dewson to Eleanor Roosevelt, April 17, 1937, in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7. For a discussion of Section 213 and Dewson's reaction, see Ware, *Beyond Suffrage*, 79.
63. For Dewson's reactions to both the President's reversal and Emma Guffey Miller, and the reply from Eleanor Roosevelt, see letters from Eleanor Roosevelt to Molly Dewson, April 8, 1937, Dewson to Roosevelt, April 17, 1937, response from Eleanor Roosevelt to Molly Dewson, April 20, 1937, in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7. For Roosevelt's referral of her son to Molly Dewson directly, see her letter to Dewson, May 18, 1937, also in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7.
64. Letter from Miller to Roosevelt, July 12, 1937, Miller Papers, SL, reel 7.
65. For Eleanor Roosevelt's opposition to the ERA, see her letter to Nellie Tayloe Ross, March 28, 1930, in White Papers, SL, reel 12.
66. Quotation from Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner, "The Guffey: Biography of a Boss, New Style," *Saturday Evening Post*, March 26, 1938, 5–7, 98–104.
67. Blumberg, "Joseph F. Guffey," 700.
68. Letter from Eleanor Roosevelt to Emma Guffey Miller, July 15, 1937, Miller Papers, SL, reel 7.
69. James T. Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1967), 160–62. For Roosevelt's comment and the results of the 1938 elections, see David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 345, 349.
70. Kenneth J. Heineman, *A Catholic New Deal: Religion and Reform in Depression Pittsburgh* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 172.
71. Letter from Molly Dewson to James A. Farley, September 22, 1937, in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7. For Dewson's previous approval of McAllister, see her handwritten comments on letter from Dorothy McAllister to Carolyn Wolfe, November 15, 1934, and letter from Dewson to Eleanor Roosevelt, May 18, 1937, both in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7. A short biography of McAllister can be found in Ware, *Beyond Suffrage*, 148–49.
72. For Miller's ERA testimony, see "Women Urging Equal Rights Act Are Heard," *New York Herald-Tribune*, February 10, 1938, 1, copy in Miller Papers, SL, reel 5.
73. For Miller's complaints about McAllister, see letter from Eleanor Roosevelt to Molly Dewson, February 15, 1938, in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7. For Dewson's lobbying for McAllister, see letters from Molly Dewson to Eleanor Roosevelt, February 24 and 25, 1938, as well as response from Eleanor Roosevelt to Molly Dewson, May 2, 1938, in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7. For the Young Democrats convention, see letter from Molly Dewson to Eleanor Roosevelt, July 29, 1939, in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7.
74. Letter from Molly Dewson to Eleanor Roosevelt, November 10, 1940, in Roosevelt Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7. Eleanor Roosevelt, "Women in Politics," originally published as a series of articles in *Good Housekeeping* in January, March, and April 1940, reprinted in *Courage in a Dangerous World: The Political Writings of Eleanor Roosevelt*, ed. Allida M. Black (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 61–70.

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75. For a recent, interesting perspective on the postwar feminist situation, see Landon R.Y. Storrs, "Red Scare Politics and the Suppression of Popular Front Feminism: The Loyalty Investigation of Mary Dublin Keyserling," *Journal of American History* 90 (2003): 491–524; and Allida M. Black, *Casting Her Own Shadow: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Shaping of Postwar Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). For more on Genevieve Blatt's postwar liberalism, see Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 267–70, and "'First Lady' of Politics Bids Adieu," n.p.
76. Melder, "Emma Guffey Miller," 477; Blumberg, "Joseph F. Guffey," 700; Beers, *Pennsylvania Politics*, 147; Swain, "Emma Guffey Miller," 482.
77. Letter from Miller to Furman, September 5, 1951, Miller Papers, SL, reel 7.
78. Ibid.
79. Letter from Molly Dewson to Emma Guffey Miller, November 14, 1951, in Miller Papers, SL, reel 7.