

THE EDUCATION OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN, 1917-1918

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ABSTRACT

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The intersection of the international suffrage movement and World War I created a unique opportunity to recast female citizenship. Nearly seven months after the United States officially entered the war, the passage of the New York State suffrage referendum redirected public discourse away from debates over women's suffrage and towards their civic preparedness and citizenship. Analyzing women's civics manuals published in the period after the New York victory, I argue that World War I sharply circumscribed the ways female citizenship could be articulated. Fears of sedition provided ammunition for the critiques of anti-suffragists who conflated radicalism, socialism, pacifism, and feminism with suffrage. In response, the manuals crafted an image of female citizenship which uncoupled feminism and suffrage and framed political participation as a maternal undertaking. Ultimately, the manuals cultivated a traditional female citizen in an effort to mitigate any association or sympathy women might have with radical thought. This thesis provides insight into the external pressures that encouraged women to maintain their pre-suffrage political approach.

To my family

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Introduction:
The Renegotiation of Woman's Citizenship

In early November of 1917, the male electorate of New York State passed the woman's suffrage referendum by a considerable majority, reversing the negative trajectory of recent state-level campaigns.¹ According to *The Woman Citizen*, a national suffrage journal, when news of the results came in, "[s]oldiers in khaki with girls on their arms; wild gangs of election nighters almost stood still in their tracks. Incredulity, interest, but, on the whole, good fellowship, filled the streets." Later that night an exuberant Carrie Chapman Catt greeted the crowd that met at Cooper Union to celebrate the victory with the words: "fellow citizens!"² Indeed, Catt's language was imbued with the sense that, only now, with the full capacity to vote, could a woman be recognized as a real citizen.

Arguments against woman suffrage failed to persuade men that women should remain without the vote. Previous generations maintained universal male suffrage by acknowledging the indirect influence of women, the necessity of coverture, and the inappropriateness of burdening women with political duties. By 1917, suffragists persuaded enough men that the notion of passive citizenship as a viable status for women was out of step with modern American society and the ideological aims the United States was fighting for in Europe. Active citizenship, as defined by enfranchisement, affirmed women's intellectual independence and recognized the economic, educational and social freedoms millions of women, especially those in New York City, experienced on a daily basis. Old suffrage laws did not keep pace with the "new woman" according to supporters of the referendum.³ The victory demanded a new framework of

¹ New York was the only state since 1914 to grant full equal suffrage to all women.

² *The Woman Citizen*, "Stop Press," November 10, 1917.

³ To be sure, there was no one specific "new woman." See Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis, ed., *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fin de Siècle Feminisms* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Martha H. Patterson, *Beyond*

citizenship that fully included women as political actors. At the critical juncture of World War I and the crescendo of the suffrage movement, a renegotiation of women's citizenship occurred. Therefore, World War I's impact on the articulation of women's citizenship is a central component to understanding the development of female political consciousness in twentieth century America.

The success in New York initiated talk even among skeptics about the inevitability of woman's enfranchisement on a national scale. Concerns about women's political ignorance prompted efforts to educate the "new woman voter" in the correct attitude and execution of good citizenship. Fears of disloyalty, made tangible by World War I, dominated critiques of the New York State referendum and the broader suffrage campaign to ratify the Constitution. In light of the claims made by anti-suffragists that women's enfranchisement predicated a radical electorate, the education of the woman citizen became an essential tool capable of defusing criticism and justifying female inclusion through the promotion of a model women citizen. As a result of the charged wartime atmosphere and the Progressive penchant for utilizing education as a strategy for reform, a proliferation of civics manuals geared specifically towards women appeared in 1917 and 1918.

The manuals indoctrinated women in the ways of politics, civics, and governance and defined the obligations and duties of the new woman citizen in specifically female terms heavily influenced by an elite, white perspective. Publications like *The Young Woman Citizen* by Mary Austin, *Preparing Women for Citizenship* by Helen Ring Robinson, *Your Vote and How to Use It* by Gertrude Foster Brown, *The Woman Voter's Manual* by S.E. Forman and Marjorie Shuler,

the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005). For a strictly historical approach see Sandra Adicks, *To Be Young Was Very Heaven: Women in New York Before the First World War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Lynn Dumenil, *The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).

The Woman Citizen by Mary Sumner Boyd, and “*The Woman Voter*” by Charles Willis Thompson revealed specific parameters of good citizenship as understood and expressed at the time. These authors targeted a readership remarkably similar to their own privileged socio-economic background. It seems a cadre of women already politically active in the suffrage movement, in addition to native white women of the middle and upper classes, created the bulk of their intended audience.

Concern for women’s education permeated a variety of institutions. Political groups sponsored educational manuals to foster civic-mindedness and convey the mechanical features of American government. New York State Suffrage Association endorsed Brown’s work, and Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), wrote introductions to manuals by Robinson, Forman and Shuler, Brown, and Boyd. Other social reform organization like the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) was also involved with the education of the woman citizen. In 1918 it published Austin’s manual, *The Young Woman Citizen*. Even *The New York Times*, a conservative and elite newspaper, advocated for women’s education by printing the “The Woman Voter.” Organizational sponsorship of these manuals, in addition to their tone and approach, indicate that the authors understood the reader as a potential reformer of society, not an industrial worker, and certainly not one of the millions of illiterate immigrants who flooded urban centers in the early twentieth century.

The six manuals selected for analysis explained the need for female citizenship training as a stark political necessity. These texts bear the imprint of the New York victory and of World War I in their style and content, and are unique from previous and subsequent manuals. The civics manuals of 1917 and 1918 show how enfranchisement directly complicated the wartime

notion of female citizenship. Moreover, they document a transitional moment in women's history when the discourse of women's political status substantially shifted from suffrage debates to citizenship education. Yet, despite the wealth of information educational manuals possess, the majority of scholarly interest leans towards documenting women's struggle *for* political participation, rather than *how* women's rights and status as citizens were articulated.

Copious scholarship concerning women's suffrage exists as a result of Second Wave feminists who developed women's history as a valuable field of study. Decades of research on the political fight for universal suffrage have not exhausted historical attention. Monographs concerning the political struggle of women in the early twentieth century investigated everything from the rhetoric to the political tactics of the campaign.⁴ The practice of writing biographies of key individuals like Carrie Chapman Catt, Alice Paul and Harriet Stanton Blatch continues in the field and tends to document the national movement.⁵ Recent suffrage histories on regional and state level studies attempt to fill the gap created by previous works centered on elites and the national campaign. Although more state level work should be done, the discussion of local contributions to woman suffrage has added substantially to understanding the difficult road to the Nineteenth Amendment.⁶ Clearly, the topic of woman's enfranchisement continues to be a relevant and ongoing investigation for many scholars.

⁴ Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Sarah Hunter Graham, *Woman Suffrage and the New Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁵ Nate Levin, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Life of Leadership* (Binghamton: New Dialogue Press, 1999); Katherine H. Adams, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007); Ellen DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

⁶ Rebecca J. Mead, *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2004); Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Gayle Gullett, *Becoming Citizens: The Emergence and Development of the California Women's Movement, 1880-1911* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Steven M. Buechler, *The Transformation of the Woman Suffrage Movement: The Case of Illinois, 1850-1920* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986); Nancy A. Hewett, *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880s-1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

Whether the scope of analysis is national or localized, scholarship concerning suffrage inevitably connects women's struggle to the wider reform movement that typified the political culture of the Progressive Era.⁷ Attaining the vote did not change the majority of women's activism. Many carried on just as before full enfranchisement, organizing for labor, education and city reform under the banners of benevolent organizations and women's groups.⁸ Women wanted the vote to advance laws in the interest of women and the family unit not necessarily, as detractors of the movement argued, to take over the political system and upset gender roles.⁹ Moreover, the formal political system itself, from the local party level to federal bureaucracy, failed to incorporate women. Only with the influx of New Deal programs did women attain powerful roles in the federal government and implement fragments of their earlier Progressive agenda. However, the influx of women in government eventually dissipated and leadership reverted back to men after the economic crisis of the 1930s dissipated.¹⁰ Overall, in the period after enfranchisement women voted, but did not lead.

Incremental steps towards full political participation were necessary. Organizations like the NAWSA understood enfranchisement as an element of full citizenship. The right to vote would enable women to dismantle legal distinctions that subverted their claims to equal political

⁷ Indeed, this was a transnational phenomenon. For a great study of the breadth and scope of the international connections of the Progressive movement, although one nearly absent of women, see Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics In a Progressive Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). A good primer on women's reform connections can be found in Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

⁸ Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Maureen Flanagan, *Seeing With Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871-1933* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). Indeed, the nineteenth century was full of political women as noted by Lori Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). For women's political party involvement see Rebecca Edwards, *Angels in the Machinery: Gender in American Party Politics from the Civil War to the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁹ Anne Myra Goodman Benjamin, *A History of the Anti-Suffrage Movement in the United States from 1895 to 1920: Women Against Equality* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991); Susan E. Marshall, *Splinter Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Campaign Against Woman Suffrage* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

¹⁰ Susan Ware, *Beyond Suffrage, Women in the New Deal* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Stanley J. Lemons, *The Woman Citizen; Social Feminism in the 1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973).

status and affirm, especially for white native-born women, their role in maintaining the culture of the United States. Indeed, women's struggle for a place in the political system blossomed alongside heightened immigration and a concern that political deviants from foreign lands threatened the viability of the United States.¹¹ While suffrage laws in the West slowly eliminated gender as a discriminating factor, fears of women's infidelity to the homeland under a foreign, patriarchal household led to the explicit inclusion of gender in citizenship legislation. The Expatriation Act of 1907 codified women's citizenship as derivative and contingent on the husband's status. If the right to vote enabled a woman to be a full citizen, her marriage could nullify it. Under the 1907 law, American women who married non-Americans lost their rights and identities. The law drew the ire of activists and subverted the gains made by suffrage campaigns. As a result, women's groups lobbied for the Cable Act (ultimately passed in 1922) and began the process of constructing independent female citizenship-something not fully reached until the 1930s.¹² To be sure, the socio-political changes of the first third of the twentieth century caused instability and frequent renegotiations of citizenship, especially for women.

World War I complicated the debate over citizenship rights, duties, and women's political inclusion. A common process of wartime enfranchisement of women challenged the existing definition of citizenship in many belligerent countries. In Canada, the Wartime Elections Act bestowed voting rights on women connected to servicemen. While in Britain, Parliament

¹¹ Matthew Fry Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); Louise Michelle Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹² In many ways, the codification of sex terminology harkens back to the conflict over the 14th Amendment that specifically expanded citizenship to males. Nancy F. Cott, *The Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University 2000); Candice Lewis Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage and the Law of Citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Virginia Sapiro, "Women, Citizenship and Nationality" *Immigration and Naturalization Policies in the United States*, *Politics and Society* 13, no. 1 (1984): 1-26; Ann Marie Nicolosi, "'We Do Not Want Our Girls to Marry Foreigners': Gender, Race, and American Citizenship" *NWSA Journal* 13, no. 3 (2001) 1-21.

extended the franchise to property-owning females over thirty. Nicolleta Gullace has argued that World War I emphasized loyalty and service to the state as the most important characteristics of British citizenship. The war undermined gender as a valid discriminatory category of good citizenship since plenty of men were pacifists and draft dodgers. Gullace suggested that citizenship began to shift towards a more gender-neutral definition at this time.¹³ Across the Atlantic, the situation was quite different.

As in Britain, loyalty was a major requisite for good citizenship in the United States. Yet, rather than creating a less gender specific notion of citizenship, the war encouraged a distinctly gendered understanding of citizenship. The war circumscribed women's understanding and expression of citizenship since they could not prove their loyalty by military service. To date, scholarship concerning the development of citizenship in the United States during World War I has focused on the more extreme cases of subversives and the peace movement.¹⁴ Christopher Capozzola recently diverged from this approach to investigate how average people became vigilante citizens who policed the country during the Great War to ensure "correct" behavior within their communities.¹⁵ A study of the civics manuals created for women in 1917 and 1918 continues this trend by seeking to understand the broad implications of World War I on the articulation of loyal citizenship. Fighting for democracy at home and abroad shifted, and then circumscribed the discourse of female citizenship. However, the continuity of women's political activity before and after 1920 belies the profound changes of the period. While institutional reasons for women's continued political exclusion after suffrage victories exist, research into

¹³ Nicolleta Gullace, *"The Blood of Our Sons": Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

¹⁴ Kathleen Kennedy, *Disloyal Mothers and Scurrilous Citizens: Women and Subversion during World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999); Susan Zeiger, "The Schoolhouse vs. the Armory: U.S. Teachers and the Campaign Against Militarism in the Schools, 1914-1918" *Journal of Women's History* 15 no. 2 (2003) 150-179.

¹⁵ Christopher Capozzola. *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

how the war influenced the discussion of women's citizenship illuminates why their pattern of political activity persisted into the 1920s.¹⁶

Numerous scholars have documented the change in American women's citizenship over time.¹⁷ Yet, the transitional period from suffrage to citizenship during World War I has been generally overlooked. The crises experienced during 1917 and 1918 reformulated the definition of citizenship and created much anxiety over women's political inexperience. More importantly, the war presented an opportunity to publicly justify women's inclusion in the body politic. As a result of these factors, civics literature geared towards women flourished and provided lessons as to how citizenship should be expressed and modeled. Because scholars neglected these educational materials, a crucial moment in women's intellectual engagement with citizenship remains murky. Understanding how women were taught to define and to apply their new status as active citizens deepens our appreciation of the tremendous changes produced by the mixture of military and political agendas. Ultimately, this study hopes to shed light on the malleable nature of citizenship and give insight into a formative period of women's political development in the United States.

¹⁶ Cott, *Grounding of Modern Feminism*. She suggests that the various strains of thought within the broad suffrage movement obscures our understanding of the 1920s. According to her, historians created a monolithic bloc and thus false expectations for women's activism. Flanagan also highlights the inability of women to infiltrate politics, but places blame on the male dominated party structure. Ultimately, it seems likely perceptions of citizenship played a part in this situation. Cott and Flanagan both fail to demonstrate the power of women's civic education during the war and the intellectual mindset such indoctrination produced.

¹⁷ Rosemarie Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Nancy Isenberg, *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Linda Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998); Martha Gardener, *Qualities of a Citizen: Women, Immigration and Citizenship, 1870-1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in Twentieth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Kimberly Jenson, *Mobilizing Minerva: American Women in the First World War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

Chapter I
Female Enfranchisement during War:
New York and the International Agitation for Suffrage

Amidst reports about the brutality of trench warfare and of the German state, calls for conscription, and the developing revolution in Russia, a series of influential changes in woman suffrage laws transformed the domestic politics of Canada, Great Britain, and the United States. Between September 1917 and February 1918, select women became fully enfranchised as a result of Canada's Wartime Elections Act, Great Britain's Representation of the People Act of 1918, and the New York State suffrage referendum. The incorporation of a segment of the female population as voting citizens caused major excitement at national and international levels. Suffragists anticipated a sea change in women's political status, and these events supported their predictions.¹⁸ Despite the war, communication within the suffrage movement continued, and the information garnered from newspapers and suffrage publications enabled women to critique and compare their rights to those of women in other regions and nations. Consequently, the enfranchisement of certain women during World War I also provoked increased feelings of discontent since questions concerning the loyalty, patriotism, and citizenship (no matter how passive or derivative) of those women not included emerged in the process.

The collision of the war agenda and the suffrage movement spurred women to reflect on the meaning and limits of their citizenship. Extension of the franchise to select women during war directly complicated the established criteria of female citizenship. While the war forced a renegotiation of the meaning of citizenship for millions around the globe, women experienced the most severe transformation. Indeed, the suffrage changes in Canada, Great Britain, and the United States reveal how selective enfranchisement initiated a new phase in the suffrage

¹⁸ *The Woman Citizen*, "Forty Million women Enfranchised in War Time," May 11, 1918, 465.

movement marked by a wartime understanding of citizenship. To understand the battle over suffrage in New York during 1917 and 1918, then, one must first view it within the international network of suffrage agitation during World War I that challenged accepted gender norms and definitions of citizenship. Although the United States is the focus of this thesis, grounding the discussion of women's suffrage and citizenship in the context of the North Atlantic Triangle helps to reconstruct the intellectual and political connections that buttressed the movement.

Canada's Wartime Election Act, which narrowly predates the New York State suffrage referendum, illustrates how the war agenda initiated debate over women's citizenship. Canada entered World War I in 1914 committed to serving the imperial crown and confident volunteers would help the allies achieve a quick victory. However, Canadian citizens and their government exhibited different levels of enthusiasm. By early 1917, the numbers of men willing to enlist dramatically decreased, and upwards of twenty percent of men did not even return their military registration cards.¹⁹ The inability to support Canadian forces abroad prompted Prime Minister Robert Borden to press for conscription via the Military Service Act. Attempting to ameliorate the controversy that exploded as a result, Borden's Union government immediately proposed the Wartime Elections Act.²⁰ Cabinet minister Arthur Meighen designed the law to "confer votes upon every person who had taken part in active military service" for Canada regardless of sex,

¹⁹ Robert Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 220.

²⁰ Conscription exacerbated serious tensions between Anglo and Francophone Canadians. *The New York Times*, "Soldiers Mobbbed in Lower Canada," July 17, 1917; *The New York Times*, "Peril of Civil Strife Arises Anew in Canada," June 3, 1917; *The London Times*, "Schism in Canada," September 5, 1917. While extreme at times, critiques that Quebec did not contribute enough manpower to the war were based in reality. Margaret Levi cites that the first Canadian contingent of troops only consisted of 3% French-Canadians, despite making up nearly 30% of the total population. Margaret Levi, "The Institution of Conscription," *Social Science History* 20, no. 1 (1996): 133-167.

age or race.²¹ Obviously, the vote meant to take the sting out of male conscription by offering some influence over government policy, but it also gave the vote to female nurses and Native American men serving in the war who otherwise were not guaranteed the vote. The Act extended the franchise beyond previous boundaries and had the unintended consequence of complicating Canadian citizenship.

Military enfranchisement during mobilization and wartime was a way to maintain the rights of those sacrificing for Canada, but the Wartime Election Act also extended suffrage to family members of those in the service. Any “wife, widow, mother, sister or daughter of any person, male or female, living or dead, who is serving or has served ... in the present war” received the vote, as did any person whose son or grandson served in the military.²² Thus the family would, according to Toronto’s *Globe and Mail*, “re-echo the sentiments of their sons, husbands and brothers overseas” or speak for the 30,000 soldiers already killed in combat.²³ Politicians imagined the law would strengthen support for the war. Indeed, the strategy worked and Borden maintained both his government and the conscription policy. However, the Wartime Elections Act further propelled the campaign for female suffrage.

Implementing changes in suffrage policy posed considerable problems and sowed confusion in the minds of women. The process of female enfranchisement in Canada paralleled the west to east pattern seen in the United States, but occurred considerably faster than their more populous neighbor.²⁴ From 1916 to 1917, five provinces (Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Ontario) granted women the vote. Although a series of rapid successes came to Canada, provincial law could not confer federal suffrage as state laws in

²¹*The Globe and Mail*, “Should Non-Resident Soldiers Get Votes?,” August 21, 1917.

²² *Statutes of Canada*, 1917, Ch. 39 33A.(1), and 33B. (2).

²³ *The Globe and Mail*, “Loading Dice for Election,” September 7, 1917.

²⁴ Rebecca Mead, *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

the United States had.²⁵ Thus the Wartime Elections Act exacerbated the struggle over the dominion vote since it granted full suffrage to select women connected to military service regardless of their location, overturning suffrage precedent. Moreover, Parliament rejected an amendment that would have provided full suffrage for the provinces that locally enfranchised women. According to suffragists, Borden suggested in 1912 that, “the Federal franchise depended entirely upon the Provincial franchise.” But, the Wartime Elections Act proved this false and caused one contributor to *Jus Suffragii*, an international suffrage periodical, to evaluate the power structure in Canada. She stated that, “Women, children, and idiots may be told anything; a citizen must be treated with more respect, or they may turn one out of office.”²⁶ The Wartime Elections Act appeared to negate previous promises and stymie suffrage victories, further emphasizing the necessity of women to gain permanent power by becoming full citizens.

Canadian suffragists responded to the Wartime Elections Act with disdain and justified their inclusion in the body politic by citing their racial superiority. In an effort that mirrored similar antagonisms within the U.S. suffrage movement, pro-suffrage Canadian women lamented that “many British-born women would be excluded” while other foreigners would receive the vote.²⁷ How could the loyal and racially superior British women lose out to lesser men and women, especially those in Quebec with questionable loyalty to the Crown? Some Liberals even compared Borden to Paul Kruger, President of the Transvaal Republic in South Africa, whose

²⁵ There are two essential texts in the historiography of the Canadian Suffrage movement. Catherine L. Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950); Caroll Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred?: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983).

²⁶ *Jus Suffragii*, “Women, Children, and Idiots May Be Told Anything,” February 1, 1917, 70. *Jus Suffragii* was founded through the collaboration of Carrie Chapman Catt and Millicent Fawcett and was the voice of the International Woman Suffrage Association (IWSA).

²⁷ *Jus Suffragii*, “War-Time Elections Act,” November 1, 1917, 22. For analysis on the American side of this issues see: Louise Michelle Newman, *White Women’s Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Matthew Fry Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

disfranchisement of Uitlanders helped initiate the Boer War at the turn of the century. The association of Borden with Kruger elicited memories of an oppressive, autocratic government.²⁸ Thus, many women called the Wartime Elections Act a “disfranchise Act” and argued for the recognition of (white British) women as loyal citizens.²⁹ While such barbarism was possible under teutonic leadership in Africa, suffragists argued, unjust treatment for British subjects in the New World disgraced the Dominion of Canada and the British Empire then purportedly fighting to maintain democracy.

Suffrage for certain Canadian women prompted skeptics to frame the Act as a political maneuver more important to Borden’s coalition than winning the war for democracy. Dr. Margaret Gordon, member of the Canadian National Suffrage Association, suggested “It would be direct and at the same time more honest if the bill simply state that all who did not pledge themselves to vote Conservative would be disfranchised.”³⁰ In the eyes of suffragists, the ballot expanded partisan gains, not democracy. Similarly, the Liberals in Parliament, led by passionate speeches from W.A. Buchanan and more tempered arguments from Wilfrid Laurier, protested against Borden’s methods. Liberals argued that the “Government is not so concerned in war measures for national advantage as it is in election measures for party advantage.”³¹ The controversy led *Jus Suffragii* to describe Borden as having “the wisdom of the serpent.”³²

Regardless, women in particular must have felt their role as political players increase, since an

²⁸ *The Globe and Mail*, “Conscription Liberals Voice Earnest Protest Against Borden Franchise Bill,” September 11, 1917. This comparison further solidified the association of Germans and their descents with autocracy.

²⁹ *Jus Suffragii*, “War-Time Elections Act,” November 1, 1917, 22. For an excellent case study of the ethnic tensions that emerged at this time amongst women see Tarah Brookfield, “Divided by the Ballot Box: The Montreal Council of Women and the 1917 Election,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 89, no. 4 (2008): 473-501.

³⁰ *The Globe and Mail*, “Franchise Bill to Win Elections,” September 21, 1917.

³¹ *The Globe and Mail*, “Conscription Liberals Voice Earnest Protest Against Borden Franchise Bill,” September 11, 1917. Laurier’s opposition to conscription continued well into 1918 on the grounds that it did not represent the views of the Canadian people.

³² *Jus Suffragii*, “Canada,” February 1, 1918, 75.

estimated 600,000 women would be added to the voting register.³³ However, lingering doubts over the motivations for enfranchisement mingled with the insinuation that women were political pawns.

Despite the political wrangling during the summer and fall of 1917, the tone of Canadian women's pronouncements, like their British and American counterparts, often signaled sympathy for the government's predicament. In a letter to the editor, suffragist Laura Durand chose to emphasize that women across the country helped the war effort by waiting their turn "cheerfully and loyally" despite their disenfranchisement because it would minimize the influence of "seditious women."³⁴ Other women like Constance E. Hamilton, president of the National Equal Franchise Union, also accepted the legislation in light of the war. She wondered if it was too much "for Canadian women to postpone for a time their full political liberty, that in so doing they may contribute to the world's freedom" while men sacrificed themselves on the battlefield?³⁵ Views such as these initially suggest that war aims trumped suffrage for many women. Yet, even as Durand and Hamilton advocated patience, they aligned woman's political sacrifice with men's physical sacrifice in the war. Hamilton argued, "whosoever would save his own life-be it political or otherwise-must first be willing to lay it down."³⁶ While her approach may be considered conservative, it played on the wartime rhetoric in which loyalty and service to the state conferred full citizenship. From this perspective, a woman's temporary sacrifice would earn recognition after the crisis ended. The Wartime Elections Act emphasized these elements of citizenship, and caused many to question their exclusion.

³³ *New York Times*, "Urge Vote for All Women," September 8, 1917.

³⁴ *The Globe and Mail*, "They Also Serve Who Wait," December 14, 1917.

³⁵ *The Globe and Mail*, "Women and the Franchise," September 20, 1917.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Discourse concerning women and the Wartime Elections Act centered on the definition of citizenship. William Pugsley, a Liberal Member of Parliament and advocate of female suffrage, protested against the Act on the grounds that it disfranchised loyal citizens, and called for “all Canadian women who are British subjects” to be granted the vote.³⁷ As Sonya O. Rose clearly states, subjecthood in the British Empire “denoted primarily a status of obedience and loyalty to the Crown based on a place of birth. It was a passive mode of belonging.”³⁸ Pugsley clearly identified women as subjects, not citizens, yet suggested that the loyalty emanating from such a relationship deserved the vote. His comments illustrated the changing definitions and expectations of subjecthood and citizenship brought on by the war, ones which affected women dramatically.

The Wartime Elections Act initiated a major Parliamentary discussion about women’s legal status and rights and had a long-term effect on Canada. The controversy over the selective enfranchisement of women prompted Borden to promise female suffrage if reelected as Prime Minister. While this fueled more allegations that the Act operated to serve his political needs, it also created a greater expectation that the postwar era would include a redefinition of citizenship. Indeed, under Canadian statutes “person” referred specifically to males until 1929.³⁹ The selectivity of the Wartime Elections Act amplified the debate over who constituted a legal

³⁷ *The Globe and Mail*, “Conscription Liberals Voice Earnest Protest Against Borden Franchise Bill,” September 11, 1917.

³⁸ Sonya O. Rose, “Fit to Fight But Not to Vote? Masculinity and Citizenship in Britain, 1832-1918,” in *Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture*, Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and Anna Clark Eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 133.

³⁹ *The Globe and Mail*, “Liberals Try to Find What Bill Means,” September 12, 1917. Women successfully became a legal person in 1929. The court case that forced recognition of women as legal persons also established the precedent of interpreting the Constitution rather than treating it as a rigid document. See Robert J. Sharpe and Patricia I. McMahon, *The Persons Case: The Origins and Legacy of the Fight for Legal Personhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007). Canada was not alone in the struggle over woman’s legal status. Around this same time the Supreme Court of Massachusetts declared that women were not defined as people. One witty suffragist responded, “Under the construction of the law just what the women of Massachusetts are is left to the imagination. Animals? Angels? Devils?” *National Suffrage News*, “When Women Are Not People,” May, 1917, 13.

“person,” and, thus, over citizenship for all women. In the postwar period, many Canadian women discovered that the war transformed them both through personal loss and political gain.

Like Canada, Great Britain experienced a similar renegotiation of women’s status as citizens occurred in Britain during World War I. For British suffragists across the ideological spectrum, the Representation of the People Act of 1918 was long overdue. Like their American counterparts, a strong British suffrage movement originated in the mid-nineteenth century after suffrage reform extended the vote to greater numbers of white men.⁴⁰ As a result of a long struggle over the most effective route to persuade Parliament to enfranchise all women, the movement divided into two main camps in 1909. Moderate constitutionalists lead by Millicent Fawcett, leader of the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), advocated a tempered and non- antagonistic approach. In stark contrast, the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU) took a more militant stance. The mother and daughter team of Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst initially disrupted campaign speeches and committed other unladylike behaviors, but eventually orchestrated more violent acts. England’s suffrage movement was considerably more vitriolic than the American and, especially, the Canadian counterparts.⁴¹

Indeed, the militant struggle uniquely defined the British suffrage movement and provoked debates over appropriate female behavior and citizenship in the years before World

⁴⁰ From the 1820s to 1840s individual states across the US democratized the vote, destroying property requirements and essentially establishing universal white male suffrage. In England, the 1832 Reform Bill was the first to explicitly exclude women from the franchise. In both cases, the codification of specifically male terminology instigated the early suffrage movement. For good overviews See Chapter 2 in Alexander Keyssar, *The Right To Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Ian Machin, *The Rise of Democracy in Britain, 1830-1918* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2001). Especially in the American context, it is also important to recognize the anger caused by the adoption of the 15th amendment, which granted black men suffrage and divided the nascent suffrage movement. For an argument that race was central to the American feminism, see Newman, *White Women’s Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States*.

⁴¹ While sympathetic to the aims of WSPU, the NUWSS forced its members to promise adherence to lawful tactics in 1909. Sophia A. van Wingerden, *The Women’s Suffrage Movement in Britain, 1866-1928* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 101.

War I.⁴² For example, when Parliament failed to pass the Conciliation Bill in 1912, which would have enfranchised over one million women, all suffragists protested. After Prime Minister Asquith subsequently proposed a Manhood Suffrage Bill, however, tactics diverged and militants responded by breaking shop windows in London causing thousands of pounds worth of damage. The inclusion of women's suffrage in Representation of the People Act of 1918 resulted from the hard work of suffragists, not from the beneficence of male politicians. According to historian Sophia van Wingerden, "Fifty years of suffrage campaigning probably had more to do with the eventual victory than two years of women's war work."⁴³ Framing the acquisition of full suffrage in this light returns agency to all suffragists, regardless of their tactics. Unfortunately, historians have glossed over the conflict created by the selective enfranchisement of women during war, missing its impact on the debate over women's citizenship and how it contributed to the eventual recognition of universal suffrage in 1928.

The architects of the Representation of the People Act of 1918 did not intend to create an inclusive piece of legislature. British conscription of young men, which began in 1916, resulted in their disenfranchisement due to residency laws. Like Canada, franchise reforms became necessary to maintain the government and its legitimacy. The Act lowered the voting age to 21 for males and gave the vote to all soldiers and sailors fighting for the country. Conscientious objectors simultaneously lost Parliamentary and local voting rights for five years after the end of war. In regards to women, the Act gave the vote to females over 30 years of age who were property owners, or married to one, extended the Parliamentary vote to those already "registered

⁴² Laura E. Nym Mayhall, *The Militant Suffrage Movement: Citizenship and Resistance in Britain, 1860-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). In fact, the whole movement is in danger of being remembered exclusively as a militant one. For an investigation of the politics inherent in collecting material for the archives, and thus historical memory see Laura Mayhall, "Creating the "Suffragette Spirit": British Feminism and the Historical Imagination," in Antoinette Burton ed., *Archive Stories: Fact, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University, 2005).

⁴³ van Wingerden, *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain, 1866-1928*, 118-135. The Conciliation Bill was proposed and rejected on three occasions: 1910, 1911 and 1912. For a brief example of the violence see page 137.

as a local government elector” and to any university student at a degree conferring institution. Unlike Canada and the United States, the law maintained property restrictions. Regardless, millions of people received the vote, and further democratized Great Britain.⁴⁴

In an effort to gain some kind of suffrage victory, British suffragists accepted limited enfranchisement. Explaining the outcome in Parliament, Martin Pugh suggests that the Act passed the House of Commons because conservatives saw it is a way to delay women’s full suffrage.⁴⁵ Since women did not receive complete parity with men until 1928, this interpretation seems viable. But this interpretation ignores the many who supported the measure honestly, and the willingness of moderates from NUWSS to accept partial suffrage. Fawcett stated, “I don’t say that everybody will be satisfied, but I think we will get the rest when occasion arises. We certainly do not think of rushing in to ask for more immediately.”⁴⁶ According to Jo Vellacott, suffragists certainly had the potential to ask for more and receive a more equitable law. However, internal rifts within the NUWSS between “patriotic” and “democratic” feminists resulted in the former’s supremacy that quelled pacifists and accepted limited enfranchisement.⁴⁷ Given the responses to the Wartime Elections Act in Canada, it seems odd that more women did not protest the “illogical and unjustifiable” age restriction that eliminated thousands of female munitions workers from the law. After all, according to contemporary rhetoric, they were the

⁴⁴ Representation of the People Act of 1918 [8 Geo. V., c.64.] Part I. 4(1) and (2). See Part I. 5. for military service. See Part I. 9(2) for conscientious objectors.

⁴⁵ Martin Pugh, *Electoral Reform in War and Peace, 1906-1918* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978), 137. For a brief review of much of Pugh’s ideas, see Harold Smith, *The British Women’s Suffrage Campaign, 1866-1928* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998), 68.

⁴⁶ *New York Times*, “Suffrage Near in England,” January 12, 1918.

⁴⁷ Vellacott laments the loss of democratic feminism to the patriotic wing and argues that World War I retarded the movement all together. Jo Vellacott, *Pacifists, Patriots and the Vote: The Erosion of Democratic Suffragism in Britain during the First World War* (New York: Pallgrave Macmillan, 2007). Also see Susan Kingsley Kent, “The Politics of Sexual Difference: World War I and the Demise of British Feminism,” *The Journal of British Studies* 27, no. 3 (1988): 232-253. Additionally, Mayhall asserts that the issues of woman suffrage was “marginal” in importance in comparison to issues concerning the war, proportional representation, military enfranchisement and Ireland. Mayhall, *The Militant Suffrage Movement: Citizenship and Resistance in Britain, 1860-1930*, 134.

reason men agreed to the Representation of the People Act of 1918.⁴⁸ Yet, by 1918 leaders like Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst “embraced a chauvinistic understanding of service to the nation” that placed war aims and the masculine agenda above everything else.⁴⁹ It seems that the war profoundly shifted the vast majority of politically involved women towards a more flexible and conservative approach that lacked the tenacity and rigidity of the pre-war movement.

As many British suffragists shifted away from the more militant feminism of the WSPU, men began to recognize the need for women’s full citizenship. In addition to their service during the war, women would provide essential assistance with the practical concerns of post-war reconstruction. Prime Minister Asquith anticipated the inevitable social transformation of the post-war era. In a motion to the House of Commons in support of the Representation of the People Act of 1918, Asquith argued that reconstruction would bring up “questions which will then necessarily arise in regard to women’s labour and women’s functions and activities in the new order of things-for, do not doubt it, the old order will be changed.” Great Britain’s armed forces suffered significantly more casualties than Canada and the United States. The massive number of casualties and death caused by the war required the extension of suffrage to the widows who became the head of household after the war. Incorporating women as full citizens thus appears a necessity rather than the extension rights in a democracy.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ironically, these are the words of Prime Minister Lloyd George. *Just Suffragii*, “Great Britain: National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies,” May 1, 1917, 116. Nicoletta F. Gullace, *The Blood of Our Sons, Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002). That women who worked did not receive the vote is a central point to Gullace’s monograph. She argues that the vote cannot be interpreted as a “gift.” Instead she suggests that the war shifted the understanding of citizenship from a gendered (masculine) definition to one based on loyalty and patriotism. This rationale partially explains why not all women were not given the vote in England.

⁴⁹ Mayhall, *The Militant Suffrage Movement: Citizenship and Resistance in Britain, 1860-1930*, 121. The Pankhursts even went on trips to Russia and the United States in order to rally support for the war. For a thorough biography of Emmeline Pankhurst see June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

⁵⁰ Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War: Explaining World War I* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 295. The table referenced places British deaths at 702,410 and US deaths at 115,640. The numbers are still subject to change depending on who is included. However, for the purposes of this study, a general comparison of the countries is

Millicent Fawcett, leader of the NUWSS, legitimized the expansion of citizenship to include women by affirming women's traditional gender roles. During a meeting with Prime Minister Lloyd George, she firmly announced her desire to extend the franchise to women on equal terms, but acquiesced to "an imperfect scheme" guaranteed to pass the House of Commons.⁵¹ Almost a year later, and still with no guarantee of passage, Fawcett attempted to minimize fears of female political inadequacy by insisting that traditional female gender norms created good citizens. Fawcett argued that women had been uniquely prepared for active participation by their domestic experience stating, "a mother's love is no bad schooling for the love of country." Thus, by injecting a healthy dose of patriotism, loyalty, and traditional femininity, Fawcett shielded women from any attacks on their right to suffrage and active participation. Though conservative, she advocated a new definition of British citizenship based heavily on service to the homeland and suggested, "There is no possible antagonism between ideals of citizenship in men and women; the ideal for both is based on love and sacrifice." While men and women expressed their "love of country" in different ways, Fawcett believed both were legitimate avenues to full citizenship. Ultimately, her approach attempted to allay the fears of men's political emasculation and the transformation of traditional gender roles.⁵²

Britain's Representation of the People Act of 1918, like the Wartime Elections Act in Canada, stirred up the debate over who deserved enfranchisement and, in the process, helped to undermine the rationale for a gender-based electorate. Great Britain would not extend universal suffrage for another decade, but the mixture of war and suffrage campaigns certainly encouraged discussions about the qualities desired in good citizens. During those ten years, education, age

more important than exact statistics. *Jus Suffragii*, "Great Britain," December 1, 1916, 37. *Jus Suffragii*, "Debate in the House of Commons on Votes for Women," April 1, 1917, 100.

⁵¹ *Jus Suffragii*, "Great Britain," May 1, 1917, 115.

⁵² *The Woman Citizen*, "England is Strengthened," February 16, 1918, 226.

and wealth became the major thresholds for full citizenship, not solely gender. While incremental and certainly not inevitable, the inclusion of women into the British political system illustrates the context of war helped create an environment conducive to changing the structures of society.

While idiosyncratic political institutions in Canada and Great Britain created significant obstacles, in the United States they also hindered a uniform and consistent approach to women's suffrage. Progressives in America desired "municipal housecleaning" and instigated calls for reforms that would further democratization the political system via the initiative, recall, and referendum.⁵³ In response to the activism of the suffragists, individual states conferred partial or full female suffrage creating stark inconsistencies among the 48 states. In 1869, Wyoming became the first equal suffrage state and other Western states slowly followed suit. During the early twentieth century, a divide existed along the Mississippi River; by start of World War I, the coasts were polar opposites in regard to woman suffrage.⁵⁴ However, neither the White House nor Capital Hill wanted to intervene. No consensus existed for extending the vote to women through a national policy. The fear of alienating white Southern constituents who rejected federal intervention because it undermined white hegemony demanded Washington D.C. favor a "states rights" approach.⁵⁵

Like suffrage policies, politically active women in the United States lacked uniformity. The variance of female activism at this time necessitates a clear definitional distinction between suffragists and feminists. According to Nancy Cott, early women's historians wrongly elided political women into a monolithic bloc with one political goal. While the North American

⁵³ Maureen Flanagan, *Seeing With Their Hearts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Edwards, *Angels in the Machinery*.

⁵⁴ Mead, *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914*.

⁵⁵ Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and the radicals in the National Women's Party (NWP) viewed themselves as issue-specific organizations, they emerged from drastically different perspectives. Gaining the vote was their *raison d'être*, yet the NWP developed because the strict equality-based and abrasive tactics proposed by Alice Paul alienated her from the NAWSA's mainstream audience. The social feminism of the NAWSA acknowledged women's different role in society and accepted sex-specific protective laws, the antithesis of Paul's ideology.⁵⁶ Essentially, to be a feminist meant being a suffragist, but not necessarily the other way around. The conflation of the two groups distorts the suffragists' achievements and perpetuates the image that feminism failed after 1920, only to be reborn in the late 1960s. Within all political movements, especially the suffrage movement, it is necessary to recognize the diversity of thought and approach, but it is also important to recognize the connections of the North Atlantic Triangle.⁵⁷

The New York suffrage campaign was infused with the spirit of the international suffrage movement and inspired by British suffragists like the Pankhursts. Harriet Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, embodied these connections and incorporated new suffrage tactics of a distinctly political nature into the repertoire of American suffragists. Although New York State was the birthplace of the woman suffrage movement, Blatch moved for her husband

⁵⁶ Terminology concerning feminism is tricky, especially since the Second Wave left many people with the impression that strict equality as guaranteed by the Equal Rights Amendment was the only expression of feminism. In fact, if we examine the ideology from a historical standpoint, two different strains are present as far back as the Progressive era. Social feminism recognized the fundamental differences between men and women and argued for legislation that honored the unique situations, such as childbearing, that women experience. Essentially, special treatment was necessary for the special circumstances and protective laws were welcomed as liberating rather than limiting women. Social feminism has been a continual thread linking Progressives with the labor movement until the present day. See Dorothy Sue Cobble, *The Other Women's Movement: Workplace Justice and Social rights in Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004). In contrast, equality-feminists in the vein of Alice Paul argued what was perceived at the time as radical. Under this approach, women were to be treated exactly as men.

⁵⁷ Nancy Cott, *The Groundings of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987). For a thorough investigation of Alice Paul and the NWP see Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008). For a description of social feminists in the late 18th century and early 19th century see Maureen Flanagan, *Seeing With Their Hearts*.

and worked for 20 years for suffrage and labor rights in England. As part of the Fabians, a moderate socialist group, Blatch became convinced that wage-earning women needed the vote even more than elites.⁵⁸ She worked alongside Emmeline Pankhurst for two decades, but eventually returned to New York around the turn of the century. According to her biographer Ellen DuBois, Blatch changed American suffrage “by combining the new political energies being generated by municipal reform with the number, militance, and progressivism of the labor movement.”⁵⁹ Previously New York suffragists, especially in the conservative Western region, confined their work to the private setting of parlor rooms because they wanted to maintain gender norms and a non-partisan stance by slowly educating individuals.⁶⁰ However, Blatch’s approach garnered public attention through street corner speeches and suffrage parades.⁶¹ The overt political action overturned gender expectations of the day. Clearly, the demands and tactics of the more militant British suffragists found expression in America through Blatch’s leadership. Connections between both movements were strengthened in 1909 when Harriet Stanton Blatch organized a suffrage tour for Emmeline Pankhurst in the United States.⁶² The success of the tour prompted Carrie Chapman Catt to organize the New York City Woman Suffrage Party in hopes of retaining moderates and mitigating the impact of Pankhurst’s message.

Variety, however, did not necessarily aid New York suffragists. According to DuBois, Catt wanted to consolidate and streamline power as opposed to Blatch’s goals of maintaining autonomy and innovation in the movement. The panoply of women’s clubs and suffrage organizations in New York competed with one another for volunteers and money, but Blatch’s

⁵⁸ Ellen Carol DuBois, *Harriet Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 72-75.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 101-102. Also see Holly J. McCammon, “‘Out of the Parlors and into the Streets’: The Changing Tactical Repertoire of the U.S. Women’s Suffrage Movements,” *Social Forces* 81, no. 3 (2003): 787-818.

⁶² Emmeline Pankhurst made multiple tours to the United States until the war made it impossible. Earlier, Blatch brought Annie Cobden Sanderson, another militant imprisoned in Britain, to speak to New York suffragists.

Women's Political Union (WPU) did not lack either. As a result, the WPU opted not to join Catt's Empire State Campaign Committee, an umbrella organization that wanted to absorb all suffrage groups and their financial strength to promote the suffrage referendum.⁶³ The persistence of factions within the state may have hindered the 1915 suffrage referendum, and they certainly exacerbated the rivalry between the two leaders. In retrospect, Catt's tactics appear cautious and conservative in comparison to Blatch, but necessary for an effective statewide campaign in 1917.⁶⁴

Although Catt and Blatch differed in method, both shared an international perspective that linked them with other politically active women outside the United States. Catt established the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) in 1902 worked as President from 1904 to 1923, which often necessitated collaboration with Millicent Fawcett. Unlike the International Council of Women (ICW) that dealt with all reforms pertaining to women, the IWSA was a single-issue organization determined to acquire suffrage for all women.⁶⁵ The voice piece of the organization, *Jus Suffragii*, linked women across the Atlantic and informed them of the victories and defeats in other national movements. During her hiatus from the presidency of the NAWSA, Catt traveled around the world in 1911 and 1912 with fellow suffragist Aletta Jacobs to rally support for suffrage and plants seeds for the IWSA in England, South Africa, Egypt, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, China, and Japan. For Catt, the trip emphasized the need for women's collaboration beyond the national level. She witnessed slavery, famine, the practice every major religion, and

⁶³ DuBois, *Harriet Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage*, 162.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁶⁵ Patricia Ward D'Itri, *Cross Currents in the International Women's Movement 1848-1948* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1999), 39-40, 93. The ICW was founded in 1888 by Susan B. Anthony, Francis Willard, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, but lacked the focus of the IWSA. However, even IWSA could not escape confronting other reform issues outside of suffrage that affected women.

fully realized how the condition of women across the globe could be improved by their enfranchisement.⁶⁶

In 1915, when Catt replaced Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as President of the NAWSA concern for the international movement had to be balanced with domestic duties. Catt's "Winning Plan" set the organization on a different path by placing leaders from the NAWSA at the head of state campaigns. Such changes resulted in greater standardization and efficiency in broadcasting the suffrage platform. This new direction in organization eventually enabled the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment According to Sarah Hunter Graham, at this point the NAWSA transformed itself into a modern, single-issue pressure group.⁶⁷

In New York, the approach worked quite effectively. As a result of the failure in 1915, pro-suffrage organizations consolidated together and cooperated with the NAWSA extensively.⁶⁸ In 1916, Vera Whitehouse took over the Presidency of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party from Catt and asserted that the second time around women would "lay aside the tactics of amateurs, and work henceforth like professionals."⁶⁹ Suffragists canvassed precincts and enlisted the wives of Tammany bosses into the movement. Even though they had no direct voting power, women campaigned against candidates and swayed public opinion at the neighborhood level, tactics Blatch pioneered.⁷⁰ In this way, suffragists punished politicians if they did not support

⁶⁶ Jacqueline Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1987). Chapter three contains the details of her world tour from 1911-1912. The list referenced above is by no means the comprehensive itinerary of her travels.

⁶⁷ Sarah Hunter Graham, *Woman Suffrage and New Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁶⁸ *New York Times*, "State Suffragists Will Consolidate," November 13, 1915. Again, see McCammon, "'Out of the Parlors and into the Streets': The Changing Tactical Repertoire of the U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements," 810. She argues that, "political defeats, not political opportunities, caused the suffragist to try a new technique in their struggle to win the vote." Such an argument could also be applied to anti-suffragists. According to *The Woman's Protest*, soon after their New York defeat, anti-suffragists also reorganized "along political lines," rather than through women's clubs. *The Woman's Protest*, "The Repeal of Suffrage in New York," February, 1918, 11.

⁶⁹ *New York Times*, "State Suffragists Plan 1917 Fight," November 22, 1916. In retrospect, this seems like a comment pointed at Harriet Stanton Blatch, however that is just my conjecture.

⁷⁰ Despite their mutual antagonism, Catt's organization eventually adopted some of Blatch's strategies. DuBois, *Harriet Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage*, 159-161.

woman's suffrage and thus prevented interference from Democratic leadership New York City. Suffragists, even moderates, abandoned their non-partisan approach of previous elections and clinched a New York suffrage victory.⁷¹ It seems that the marriage of the tactics utilized by Blatch and Catt made the win possible.

Beyond organizational and tactical changes, entrance into World War I fostered the expansion of suffrage in the United States. The pro-war language from war hawks like Theodore Roosevelt increased dramatically during the summer of 1917 and directly connected the state suffrage campaign with the war. In an address to the American Medical Association, Colonel Roosevelt argued that universal suffrage "can only exist in a community when the duty of universal service is accepted." For Roosevelt, service to the country granted the right to full civic participation. He argued, "If there are people who deny their obligation of service, they have not the remotest right to suffrage. The woman who doesn't do her full duty has no more right to the vote than the man who doesn't."⁷² By September, Roosevelt echoed Arthur Meighen and the sentiment behind the Wartime Election Act when he suggested, "the right to vote should be correlated with the performance of full duty toward the State."⁷³ Although women did not participate in combat, they provided necessary war service to the government that, in the mindset of waging a total war against Germany, became as important as fighting. The more liberal definition of war service thus connected women to a deeper tradition of associating full citizenship with military involvement.⁷⁴ War rhetoric prompted women like Harriet Lees Laidlaw, of the Woman Suffragist Party, to describe New York suffragists as "an army,

⁷¹ Graham, *Woman Suffrage and New Democracy*, 112.

⁷² *New York Times*, "Roosevelt Would Ostracize Slacker," June 8, 1917.

⁷³ *New York Times*, "Colonel Would Give Vote To Women Now," September 9, 1917.

⁷⁴ However, other historians have also pointed out the inability of certain groups, such as African Americans from capitalizing on this connection. Clearly, whiteness is the assumed norm for citizenship. See Ronald R. Krebs, *Fighting for Rights: Military Service and the Politics of Citizenship* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

mobilized, disciplined and responsive” to the needs of the homeland.⁷⁵ Suffragists, like many Americans, felt a sincere loyalty and a sense of obligation to the United States. However, it is clear that New York State suffragists capitalized on the war and its accompanying rhetoric to justify their cause.

In fact, Carrie Chapman Catt eschewed any consideration to halt the suffrage campaign on account of the war, and pushed the NAWSA and all state level affiliates to complement their existing political work with war service.⁷⁶ The New York State Woman Suffrage Party was the first to pledge their member’s service to the country. By October of 1917, the suffragists sold 4,000,000 dollars in Liberty Loans, assisted in educating others how to conserve food, and boasted of their enrollment in Red Cross units. This pattern of activity existed across the United States. Thus, when suffrage detractors asked why Maine failed to pass a referendum granting female suffrage weeks before the New York State referendum, suffragists suggested that the women “were too unselfishly busy rendering Government service to find time to work for their own cause of woman suffrage.”⁷⁷ Such an argument justified women’s enfranchisement regardless of Election Day results. Suffragists consciously utilized their contributions to the war effort to contrast themselves with pacifists like the Woman’s Peace Party (WPP) and conscientious objectors making moderate suffragists appear more loyal, responsible, and in line with the government agenda than other politically active women.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ *New York Times*, “Suffragists Opposed to Pickets Help Nation in War Work,” August 19, 1917.

⁷⁶ This outraged pacifists like Jane Addams and caused some to believe that Catt made a “backroom deal” with Wilson, exchanging war work for suffrage support. See Norma Smith, *Jeannette Rankin, America’s Conscientious* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002), 108. For a more in-depth view of pacifism as a movement, see David Patterson *The Search for Negotiated Peace: Women’s Activism and Citizen Diplomacy in World War I* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Kathleen Kennedy, *Disloyal Mothers and Scurrilous Citizens: Women and Subversion During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

⁷⁷ *Outlook*, “The War and Woman Suffrage,” October 10, 1917, 202-203. Claims of who contributed more were contentious. Anti-suffragists argued they signed up earlier and did more for the war than suffragists.

⁷⁸ Kennedy, *Disloyal Mothers and Scurrilous Citizens: Women and Subversion During World War I*, 1-17.

No matter how moderate suffragists projected their image, anti-suffragists attacked the idea of equal voting rights as detrimental to women. The majority of anti-suffragist women came from the upper class and desired to maintain their monopoly of male political connections. Despite their rhetoric about women's appropriate place in society, anti-suffragists really feared a loss of power and influence since universal suffrage would dilute elite women's ability to influence politics. Indeed, one suffragist acknowledged the anti-suffragist perspective and queried, "Why should she want a vote when at the polls she would count for no more than her cook?"⁷⁹ Alice Hill Chittenden, President of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NYSAOWS), revealed her class status and perspective on women's position in society when she counseled women to better manage their servants since these "slackers" countered efforts of "patriotic efficiency" in the home.⁸⁰ For Chittenden and others like her, women contributed to the war effort in a uniquely female way, and should not confuse their roles with men, since this displacement would upset society.

Beyond the class-based arguments posed by Chittenden, anti-suffragists presented women's pursuit of the ballot as an impediment to victory in war. In a speech in New York City, Henry A. Wise Wood claimed that, "our first duty is to remasculinize America; and that to this end we in the State must stand as a wall against the wave of effeminacy which now threatens the semi-emasculatation of our electorate." Wood defined American rights in traditional terms of war, stating: "It is the right of the man to defend a woman; and it is the right of the woman that he should defend her." Acknowledging the different functions of men and women, he implied that successful prosecution of the war would not happen as long as women tried to act like men. In

⁷⁹ Helen Ring Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), 102. Susan E. Marshall, *Splintered Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Campaign Against Woman Suffrage* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

⁸⁰ *New York Times*, "Getting Behind Hoover in the Kitchen," June 17, 1917.

this scenario, women's selfish desires for the vote would derail the country's war aims by challenging accepted gender roles.⁸¹

According to American anti-suffragists, the campaign for the vote not only distracted from the true purpose of the United States, but also hid a more sinister international agenda. Anti-suffrage proponents pointed to Jeannette Rankin's refusal to vote for war as an indictment of women's weakness and pacifist tendencies. Accusations of disloyalty increased in proportion to women's agitation. For example, New York's Collector of Customs described the NWP picketers outside the White House as "a menace to civilization" with a "perverted and diseased ambition."⁸² Deviating from normative gender behavior spurred legal confrontations between women and the state, causing the latter to paint subversive women as dangerous degenerates.⁸³ According to anti-suffragists, NWP banners, especially the one that addressed "Kaiser Wilson," verged on treason, reduced war morale, and highlighted the fractures of society at a time when the United States needed unity.⁸⁴ Such accusations tainted every pro-suffrage organization in the country, but also spurred a debate over the links between loyalty, the vote, and winning the war. Ironically, both pro and anti-suffrage sides buttressed their arguments with similar claims of loyalty to the United States.

The New York State victory on November 6, 1917 immediately changed the national suffrage campaign and intensified attention on a federal suffrage amendment as a war measure. Vera Whitehouse suggested that the New York success meant bypassing the expensive state referendum approach. "We're going to save Pennsylvania the trouble of another State

⁸¹ *New York Times*, "Government a Man's Job," May 3, 1917.

⁸² *New York Times*, "Newton Hits at Pickets," October 4, 1917.

⁸³ Kennedy, *Disloyal Mothers and Scurrilous Citizens: Women and Subversion During World War I*, 11.

⁸⁴ *New York Times*, "Suffragettes Lose Two More Banners," August 12. The banner read: "Kaiser Wilson, have you forgotten how you sympathized with the poor Germans because they were not self-governed? Twenty million American women are not self-governed. Take the beam out of your own eye."

campaign,” she confidently stated. In the celebratory meeting at Cooper Union, New York men and women identified themselves as “voting citizens” and resolved to work for national enfranchisement “thereby releasing the energies of the women of the nation from the struggle for political justice, so that with singleness of purpose we may work for worldwide democracy.” The speakers clearly expressed domestic rights as intimately connected with the aims of World War I. If attendees missed this association, Anna Howard Shaw pledged their “newly won citizenship to the service of the country, earnestly and loyally, in war and in peace.”⁸⁵ While New York women gained suffrage and could claim full citizenship, it did not mean a reprieve from criticism. Consequently, suffragists consistently emphasized their loyalty and the war work it inspired in patriotic women.

The impact of New York State suffrage referendum was profound. Although the twelfth state to pass full universal suffrage, New York was the first major East Coast victory and the most important state in population, symbolic power and political importance.⁸⁶ While the New York win did not change suffrage strategy, it certainly garnered the attention of male politicians and invigorated the NAWSA Congressional Committee in Washington, D.C.⁸⁷ From the perspective of *The Woman Citizen*, the official publication of the NAWSA, woman suffrage in New York “breaks the backbone of the opposition; it forces the blindest reactionary to see the handwriting on the wall; and it insures the speedy passage through Congress of the nation-wide suffrage amendment.”⁸⁸ The New York State referendum victory was a turning point for members of Congress. For example, it convinced Claude Kitchin to schedule the House to vote

⁸⁵ *New York Times*, “Women Citizens Pledge Votes to Nation’s Welfare,” November 8, 1917.

⁸⁶ It must be emphasized that New York granted full suffrage, unlike Rhode Island that granted presidential suffrage or other Midwestern states that provided limited female suffrage. For this reason, New York is especially important. *New York Times*, “Suffrage Campaign in Two States,” August 26, 1917.

⁸⁷ Catt also hoped the Congressional Committee would compete with the NWP and pull back suffragists who left because of the NAWSA lack of interest in a federal amendment. Graham, *Woman Suffrage and New Democracy*, 90-92.

⁸⁸ *The Woman Citizen*, “Our Greatest Victory,” December 10, 1917.

on December 17, the day before a vote on prohibition and barely a month after the New York victory. Maud Wood Park, head of the NAWSA's Congressional Committee, scrambled to delay the vote in order to disassociate suffrage from prohibition and ensure that it did not derail the national suffrage campaign.⁸⁹ For years, many closely associated prohibition with suffrage and therefore rejected female enfranchisement.

Indeed, the temperance crusade had developed alongside calls for female enfranchisement since the nineteenth century, assisting and complicating the movement. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) formed in 1874 and by 1881, under the leadership of Francis Willard, supported woman suffrage. Women associated with the WCTU promoted moral reform of society and argued that their legislative agenda would help protect the home from a traditional standpoint.⁹⁰ Building on religious conviction and concern for the individual, WCTU advocates deviated from suffrage ideology through their emphasis on maternal rights and equality in the home, rather than civil rights in the public sphere. Yet, temperance was essential to the success of the suffrage movement. The campaign, like the suffrage movement, became international in scope, survived in conservative regions, emphasized the relevance suffrage to women otherwise disinterested, and often formed the "backbone" of suffrage campaigns.⁹¹ However, temperance provoked agitation in urban centers full of immigrants and "wet" politicians who associated the two and consequently rejected female suffrage. For example, Ohio's legislature granted suffrage to women only to have a state

⁸⁹ Graham, *Woman Suffrage and New Democracy*, 114.

⁹⁰ Janet Zollinger-Giele, *Two Paths to Women's Equality: Temperance, Suffrage and the Origins of Modern Feminism* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995), 109.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 107. For an examination of the WCTU as an international body, see Ian R. Tyrrell, *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Women's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

referendum heavily supported by liquor interests reinstate a male-only ballot in 1917. Suffragists legitimately feared being connected to temperance in the period around the New York victory.⁹²

Despite the antagonism towards temperance and suffrage, women's activism attained a powerful momentum during the war and transformed the political climate by the end of 1917. By the end of the year, 232 presidential electors came from states granting women suffrage.⁹³ Vera Whitehouse speculated, "If such a condition continues, it cannot fail to engender the greatest bitterness between the two sections of the country...There remains, therefore, only to enfranchise the women of all the country, just as in the last century the country freed all its slaves when it found it could no longer endure half-slave half-free."⁹⁴ How could women be full citizens in one state, then cross an imaginary line and revert to a passive status? While such thoughts preoccupied suffragists, other questions took precedence for anti-suffragists. The introduction of millions of New York women into the electorate initiated speculation concerning their impact on elections-especially if they established a Women's Party.⁹⁵ No person could adequately forecast how women would respond in the next election or if they were even prepared to be good loyal citizens.

In order to overcome the fears instigated by female enfranchisement, suffragists and the now publicly supportive Woodrow Wilson compared the United States to other countries.⁹⁶

⁹² Zollinger-Giele, *Two Paths to Women's Equality: Temperance, Suffrage and the Origins of Modern Feminism*, 154-155. Congress ratified 18th Amendment in 1919, prohibiting alcohol production, distribution, and consumption in the United States. Scholarship regarding Ohio's suffrage movement is scant. To date there is no monograph that exclusively examines the Ohio suffrage movement during this period.

⁹³ Jacqueline Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life*, 147. New York had 45 representatives in the House at this time; a substantial force on its own and essential to passing bills. "House Document No. 108-222, Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774 – 2005" retrieved on December 13, 2009 from <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/serialset/cdocuments/hd108-222/index.html>.

⁹⁴ *Jus Suffragii*, "The Danger of a Divided America," February 1, 1917, 76.

⁹⁵ *Current Opinion*, "Women Capture the Empire State," December, 1917 Vol. LXII No. 6, 363. Anti-suffragists appear to be the most aggressive in promoting fear. For an example, see *New York Times*, "Says Woman's Party Would Mean Sex War," November 12, 1917.

⁹⁶ Wilson claimed to always support woman suffrage, but chose to leave the decision to the state level. This way he avoided the political costs of alienating his Southern constituency who feared federal intervention would reduce

Canada topped the list for Dr. Anna Howard Shaw who suggested that conscription in that country was carried by the female vote.⁹⁷ The contrast between the United States and the world grew dramatically after Russia granted universal suffrage in the fall of 1917. Suddenly “darkest Russia” exceeded democratic expectations and suffragists worried when the United States would “resume its rightful historic place as leader of the world’s democracy.”⁹⁸ Indeed, the sense of being behind permeated many references to woman suffrage. More so than their Canadian or British counterparts, Americans fretted over their image as a leader in democracy, especially since they framed their entrance into the Great War as a democratic mission. On the cover of the June 2 edition of *The Woman Citizen*, an armed Uncle Sam faces a woman who points to an equal suffrage sign. The caption underneath reads: “Uncle Sam, Take the Mock out of Democracy.”⁹⁹ The periodical did not abandon this tactic. Months later *The Woman Citizen* listed the numerous European countries that granted woman suffrage and queried: “Why is America so laggard?”¹⁰⁰ Mirroring this sentiment, Wilson cited “the general disposition among the Allies to recognize the patriotic services of women in the war against Germany,” and justified suffrage in the United States under the guise of maintaining “complete harmony with its allies.” As a result, he emphasized the “civilized” world’s receptivity to woman’s suffrage as

their ability to enforce Jim Crow segregation and white supremacy at the ballot box. This all changed with the victory in New York State. Christine A. Lunardini and Thomas J. Knock, “Woodrow Wilson and Woman Suffrage: A New Look” *Political Science Quarterly* 65, no. 4 (1980-1981): 655-671.

⁹⁷ *New York Times*, “Suffragists Start Drive on Congress,” January 4, 1918. She argued, “If we need a more definite statement of this point, we need only to turn to the last election in Canada, which hinged entirely upon conscription, and was carried in favor of the measure by the votes of Canadian women, without which the Government would have been defeated and conscription would have failed.”

⁹⁸ *National Suffrage News*, “Contrasts United States With Other Lands,” May 4, 1917, 6. NAWSA consolidated this magazine with *The Woman’s Journal* and formed *The Woman Citizen*, as the official voice of the organization.

⁹⁹ *The Woman Citizen*, June 2, 1917. Cover image.

¹⁰⁰ *The Woman Citizen*, “As a War Measure,” December 29, 1918, 85.

another way to differentiate the Allies from the backwardness of German autocracy and affirm the ideological aims of the war.¹⁰¹ By 1918, female full citizenship denoted true democracy.

The Wartime Elections Act, the Representation of the People Act of 1918 and the New York State suffrage referendum each helped to mobilize national suffrage movements and to question the qualifications of full citizenship in their respective countries. Enfranchisement appeared more arbitrary and politically motivated to women during this period since issues of conscription, retaining office, identifying loyal citizens, combating prohibition were often intimately connected to the debate. Suffrage for select women encouraged a questioning of all women's loyalty, service and sacrifice- all of which were part of the wartime definition of citizenship in Canada, Great Britain, and the United States. What made one group more loyal than another? A familial relationship to a serviceman? Age? Race? Arbitrary state lines? These questions were not clearly articulated before the war. In all three cases, the international suffrage network enabled an awareness of the controversies that wartime enfranchisement fomented in other countries. Moreover, this common process seems to have resulted in a common response that empowered women to make stronger arguments for full citizenship based less on gendered traits and more through their dedication to the state. While full independent citizenship remained elusive for some time, the suffrage changes of 1917 and 1918 were a significant turning point in the struggle for female political equality for Canada, Great Britain, and the United States.

In the context of an international suffrage movement and war, women's citizenship across much of the Western world experienced greater scrutiny and renegotiation. It is unfair to assert World War I produced suffrage victories because it omits the early victories of New Zealand in 1893, Australia in 1902, Finland in 1906, and does not account for the relatively late

¹⁰¹ *New York Times* "Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage," January 10, 1918. *New York Times*, "Suffragists Quote Wilson's Support," February 25, 1918.

attainment of the vote in France 1944 and recent victories like Kuwait in 2005. Yet the war did transform the Anglo-American woman's movement for suffrage and full citizenship. The international connections established by women during the Progressive Era and maintained throughout the war enabled national campaigns to draw strength during political setbacks and point out hypocrisies at home and abroad using a language that justified their inclusion.¹⁰² In the United States, the experience of wartime enfranchisement immediately led to a campaign to indoctrinate women in regards to the appropriate definition and implementation of good citizenship. It is to this topic that the thesis now turns.

¹⁰² Unfortunately, no scholar has published a monograph on the Canadian-American connection. However, much work exists on the Anglo-American and International fronts. Patricia Greenwood Harrison, *Connecting Links: The British and American Woman Suffrage Movements, 1900-1914* (London: Greenwood Press, 2000); Christine Bolt, *The Women's Movements in the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1993); Patricia War D'Itri, *Cross Currents in the International Women's Movement, 1848-1948*; Leila J. Rupp, *The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Chapter II
Citizenship Explained:
Crafting Woman's "Public Spirit" in a Time a War

The results the New York State suffrage referendum invigorated both the pro and the anti-suffrage camps. The victory created a sense that a federal suffrage amendment was imminent. Suffragists traveled to Washington to speak with President Wilson, lauded the patriotism and vision of the male voters of New York, and responded to the attacks of anti-suffragists. With the United States fully involved in combat, suffrage debates could not be extricated from anti-German propoganda, fears of radicalism, or the rhetoric of American cultural and political supremacy. Indeed, in the last weeks before the New York referendum and continuing after, accusations of disloyalty echoed back and forth between the two camps. The claims of anti-suffragists, buttressed by international concerns and World War I, forced suffragists to defend women's political right to the vote and to engage the critiques of their opponents.

The divisive setting of 1917 and 1918 colored the definition and explanation of women's suffrage and, thus, of their citizenship. Anti-suffrage rhetoric argued that women's enfranchisement was intimately connected to an increase in radicalism, socialism, pacifism, and feminism. These fears dominated the suffrage debate, especially in New York. As a result, suffragists attempted to dispel anti-suffrage propoganda by outlining the central concepts of full citizenship in manuals geared specifically to women. Their vision of female citizenship uncoupled suffrage and feminism, encouraging readers to understand voting as a useful method to exert influence over traditionally female interests.¹⁰³ Moreover, the education of the woman

¹⁰³ In fact, Carrie Chapman Catt stated that suffrage would not changed women's behavior patterns at all. Women would perform the same tasks with "fewer handicaps when they have the franchise." S.E. Forman and Marjorie Shuler, *The Woman Voter's Manual* (New York: The Century Company, 1918), xvi.

citizen was designed to minimize the allure of radical thought and to glorify the American political system in an effort to create a loyal female citizenry. Suffragists pledged to help foster the “good woman citizen,” and in the process manufactured an idealized version of women citizens tempered by the anxieties resultant from World War I and the Russian Revolution.

Educating women and men about the inequalities of a gender-based voting system was always a concern for organizations like the NAWSA. Yet, educational outreach increased in the last years leading up to ratification, culminating in NAWSA’s transition to the League of Women Voters (LWV).¹⁰⁴ Before the practice of educating women voters became institutionalized in 1919, the NAWSA published suffrage “Blue Books” to train women on the talking points essential to winning arguments against their detractors. In 1916, the NAWSA announced a series of “suffrage schools” to reach out to potential supporters and increase their volunteer force.¹⁰⁵ The following year, a bequest of over one million dollars to Carrie Chapman Catt from Mrs. Frank Leslie guaranteed the execution of such plans and enabled the establishment of the National Bureau of Suffrage Education.¹⁰⁶ Despite the positive outcome of the New York referendum, educational outreach remained a key facet to suffrage advocates who still needed to outmaneuver opponents by illustrating the value of women voters. The new focus of many suffragists, aside from promoting the federal amendment, centered on educating women in civics and defining their rights and duties as good citizens.

¹⁰⁴ Louise M. Young, *In the Public Interest: The League of Women Voters, 1920-1970* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 1-2. The LWV began as an auxiliary to the NAWSA and became an independent entity six months before final ratification.

¹⁰⁵ *New York Times*, “Will Use \$1,000,000 In Suffrage Work,” September 8, 1916; *New York Times*, “Suffragists’ Machine Perfected in All States Under Mrs. Catt’s Rule,” April 29, 1917. The NAWSA’s push in 1917 towards a federal amendment caused one anti-suffragist to sarcastically suggest that the schools would teach women “how to alienate the sympathies of the voters,” and “how street fights between Republican and Democratic women should be conducted.” *New York Times*, “For the Suffrage School,” December 29, 1916.

¹⁰⁶ *New York Times*, “To Spend Leslie Money,” January 30, 1917, 3; *New York Times*, “1,354,389 for Suffrage,” April 26, 1917.

Political campaigns in 1917 capitalized on the war and the rhetoric it produced. The ability to associate one's opponent with anti-American forces proved to be a potent campaign strategy for many causes. In particular, New York City's mayoral race produced intense claims of disloyalty and pro-German sentiment. A few days before the election, the *New York Times* published a cartoon entitled "The New Western Front" that depicted the Kaiser at his desk with a campaign poster for the Socialist Morris Hillquit and the Democrat John Hylan. Intermixed with the Kaiser's papers on the Italian front one labeled the "New York campaign" stands out. The cartoon clearly portrayed the upcoming election as military front essential to the success of Germany. The message was clear, incumbent mayor John P. Mitchel remained the only patriotic choice for Americans in the upcoming election.¹⁰⁷ Hillquit certainly did not promote the war aims of the United States when he forecasted that "a Socialist victory in the city election will be a clear mandate to our Government to open immediate negotiations for peace." Such comments drew the ire of those who supported the war and labeled his support for transnational working class solidarity as disloyal.¹⁰⁸ Meanwhile, Mitchel attacked Hylan and argued that, "Proof piles upon proof that seditious and disloyal influences in this city were behind Judge Hylan two years ago just as they are behind him today...John F. Hylan was then, and is now, sympathetic and friendly to the spread of disloyal, pro-German, anti-American propaganda."¹⁰⁹ Despite the party division and rancor between candidates, all supported the woman suffrage referendum. This, however, did not stop anti-suffragists from associating female enfranchisement with a seditious, pro-German agenda.

¹⁰⁷ *New York Times*, "The New Western Front," November 4, 1917.

¹⁰⁸ *New York Times*, "Hillquit Says His Election Will Force Peace," October 29, 1917. Hillquit's speeches and stance on the war caused some to urge his arrest and charge him with treason. See *New York Times*, "Calls on President to Punish Hillquit," October 30, 1917.

¹⁰⁹ *New York Times*, "Mitchel Quotes German Praise of Hylan's Aid," November 2, 1917.

The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NYSAOWS), led by Alice Hill Chittenden, waged a campaign against the vote that exposed anti-suffragists' concern about full citizenship and the threat of radicalism in a female electorate. Anti-suffragists routinely connected suffrage to radical politics. In October, *The Woman Patriot*, the national anti-suffrage publication, republished an excerpt from an editorial that identified suffragists as being "in the same category as the I.W.W., the anarchists and alien enemies opposed to the Government."¹¹⁰ *The Woman Patriot* also highlighted suffragists' favorable comments towards socialists. Anti-suffragists capitalized on Vera Whitehouse's letter to Max Eastman, the founder and editor of *The Masses*. As a socialist magazine based in New York City and vocal supporter of woman suffrage, *The Masses* connected with lower classes, including immigrants dissatisfied with the economic and political system. The direct connection between radicals and suffrage leaders combined with their common agenda of equal enfranchisement tainted the suffrage campaign.¹¹¹ The socialist supporters of suffrage side-tracked rather than assisted the movement for women's enfranchisement.

Anti-suffragists elided socialism and suffrage thus crafting a potent image of the imminent disaster brought on by woman's suffrage. Chittenden explained the referendum's victory clearly by stating, "when radicalism and socialism prevail, woman suffrage will carry."¹¹² Fellow anti-suffragist Margaret C. Robinson pushed the idea further suggesting, "woman suffrage and socialism go hand in hand."¹¹³ Indeed, Russia enacted universal suffrage in

¹¹⁰ *The Woman's Protest*, "Notes from the States," October 1917, 15. The newspaper was the Lowell, Massachusetts *Sun*.

¹¹¹ *The Woman's Protest*, "A Great Movement Must Be Judged By Its Leaders," January 1918, 10.

¹¹² *New York Times*, "Declares Pacifists Helped Women to Win," November 8, 1917.

¹¹³ *The Woman's Protest*, "Suffrage and Socialism, The Kaiser's Allies," February 1918, 10.

1917, to the initial praise by the IWSA and other suffrage organizations.¹¹⁴ However, subsequent news coverage of female soldiers, known as the “Battalion of Death,” and Bolshevik supremacy in October solidified the connection between woman’s enfranchisement, changing gender roles and socialism for anti-suffragists.¹¹⁵ After the New York referendum, Henry A. Wise Wood blamed New York women suffragists for creating a dangerous situation. He stated:

The turmoil of revolution and violence in Russia will end in the return of autocracy, in my opinion, and where will the Bolsheviki of Russia find a home then? They will come here by the millions, and with them will come their women, who will have the vote. We have let the willful sisterhood set the house on fire. We must put it out. The suffrage party has created a Frankenstein. This creature will not only destroy them but will also destroy us and our country.¹¹⁶

From this perspective, all suffragists were implicated in undermining the United States.

Anti-suffragists also explicitly connected the passage of the New York State suffrage referendum with sedition and support for Germany. In the *Woman’s Protest*, one anti-suffragist wondered if Mitchel’s defeat pleased Berlin. Indeed, anti-suffragists believed the election of Hylan weakened the American war effort.¹¹⁷ *The Woman’s Protest* blamed the alien elements in the city for delivering the suffrage victory and claimed that pro-Germans “were using *socialism* as a shield for *sedition*,” because they wanted to end the war out of sympathy for their homeland. Thus, women’s enfranchisement led back to accusations of pacifism that plagued suffragists throughout the war. For anti-suffragists, the dangerous connection of suffrage and pacifism was clear and “If the Kaiser can get the pacifists, socialists and suffragists to weaken America, as

¹¹⁴ Indeed, early on suffragists celebrated Russia’s enfranchisement, which later exposed them to anti-suffrage attacks. A good example of the positive coverage can be read in *The Woman Citizen*, “Concerning Woman Suffrage in Russia,” June 2, 1917, 12.

¹¹⁵ *The Woman’s Protest*, “The Democracy in Russia Which Suffragists Laud,” October 1917, 6. The “Battalion of Death” was led by Maria Botchkareva. See Jenson, *Mobilizing Minerva: American Women in the First World War*, 62-76.

¹¹⁶ *The Woman’s Protest*, “The Repeal of Suffrage in New York,” February 1918, 11. Wood was a member of the Naval Consulting Board and claimed that the war converted him to man suffrage. See *New York Times*, “Man Suffrage for War,” November 2, 1917.

¹¹⁷ *The Woman’s Protest*, “Anti-Suffragist Not Ashamed,” November 1917, 4. Mitchel lost the mayoral race in New York City to John F. Hylan.

Russia and Italy have been weakened, the cause of America and her Allies will be lost, and an autocrat will rule the world.” Despite being a state level election, international prejudices and suspicion of a pro-German fifth column in the United States punctuated analysis of the referendum.¹¹⁸

If sympathy with Germany and outright sedition could not be pinned on suffragists, opponents argued that suffrage work, at minimum, sidetracked the war effort. The anti-suffrage tactic of juxtaposing enfranchisement and the war created an artificial choice that challenged women and men to claim a side, either against suffrage or against the war, because loyal Americans could not afford to effectively support both. Anti-suffragists believed all issues not pertaining to the war should be dropped during belligerency. Agitating for rights during the crisis was not only selfish, but signaled a profound misunderstanding of good citizenship. As a result of this outlook, *The Woman’s Protest* dedicated much of their columns to the pickets led by Alice Paul’s National Woman’s Party (NWP) and identified suffragists who support them.¹¹⁹ According to one anti-suffragist, “the demand of the Suffragist for the ballot as a reward for their loyalty to the nation in its hour of greatest peril, is the crowning evidence of their failure to appreciate the meaning of government, and their utter unfitness to assume the political burdens they would force upon their unwilling sisters.”¹²⁰ Thus, anti-suffragists were better citizens because of their impeccable loyalty and their understanding of government priorities during wartime. Anti-suffragists painted themselves as fulfilling female obligations, while suffragists

¹¹⁸ *The Woman’s Protest*, “How Pro-Germans and Pacifists Carried Suffrage in New York,” November 1917, 4. Actually, New York City, with a large foreign population, guaranteed woman suffrage by overcoming the conservative sentiment of up-state New York, although not for the reasons described by anti-suffragists. *New York Times*, “Suffragists Lost Up-State by 3,856,” November 27, 1917. Germans were not a monolithic bloc of support for woman suffrage. For a statistical analysis concerning support and opposition to suffrage along religious, political and ethnic lines, see Eileen L. McDonagh and H. Douglas Price, “Woman Suffrage in the Progressive Era: Patterns of Opposition and Support in Referenda Voting, 1910-1918,” *The American Political Science Review* 79, no. 2 (1985): 415-435.

¹¹⁹ *The Woman’s Protest*, “The Pickets,” September 1917, 14.

¹²⁰ *The Woman’s Protest*, “Anti-Suffragism And The War,” September 1917, 6.

demanded rights. In the eyes of anti-suffragists, New York suffragists were unprepared and unwilling to sacrifice for their country-the exact opposite of what the country required during a crisis.

According to anti-suffragists, selfish women who could vote might then further polarize relations between the sexes by establishing a woman's party. Chittenden argued that a sex war would ensue if suffrage groups maintained their organizations. A woman's party would facilitate "the organized spread of a new sort of class consciousness, of women against men."¹²¹ If socialism threatened to divide the country along economic levels, gender could fracture any unity remaining in the United States. Not even the domestic sphere would be harmonious, as political discord would pit husband and wife against each other. Ultimately, a woman's party undermined the strength of the United States in a time of war. "Equality" feminism, as proposed by NWP's amendment guaranteeing strict equality regardless of sex, was a symbol of what a women's party would do if given the chance.¹²² Although anti-suffragists disagreed with moderate, "difference" feminists of the suffrage movement, both agreed on the immutable difference between the sexes and women's need for special legal consideration. Still, anti-suffragists tainted moderates through the radicalism of a minority within the suffrage movement.

While Chittenden admitted that not all women would ascribe to a gender-based party and few were "anxious to be the political pawn of party bosses," enfranchisement brought up educational concerns. The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NYSAOWS), not to be out-publicized by the suffrage organizations, planned an educational program. They desired to assist women to "meet their new duties of citizenship with the voting

¹²¹ *New York Times*, "Says Woman's Party Would Mean Sex War," November 12, 1917.

¹²² The Equal Rights Amendment stated Christine A. Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1912-1928* (New York: New York University Press, 1986). For a study on Paul's contribution to the suffrage campaign see Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

power added, and particularly to put the right spirit into those women who are openly saying that they will vote the way they are told to vote by some one or other because they don't know how to vote themselves."¹²³ The fear of the uneducated, inexperienced, and potentially disloyal voter haunted the NYSAOWS in the days following the New York State suffrage victory. Indeed, anti-suffragists themselves created the archetypal female anti-citizen by conflating suffrage with radicalism, socialism, pacifism, and feminism. After the New York State referendum, anti-suffragists in the state could no longer argue that, "Woman's star of destiny shines far above and beyond the field of politics."¹²⁴ Consequently, they and many other groups attempted to instill the "right spirit" women needed as voting citizens.

A proliferation of education programs and citizenship manuals would have emerged regardless, but the combination of anti-suffrage propaganda and of war led suffragists to see the education of new women voters as paramount to their success. They needed to disprove the accusations of anti-suffragists and to promote their educational agenda to the women of New York and even the nation, for now they were certain that the Susan B. Anthony amendment would be hotly debated in Congress. Indeed, in January 1918, President Wilson publicly supported the federal amendment "as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and of the world."¹²⁵ Preparing women for active citizenship and molding an image of loyal American womanhood became a central component in the battle over women's full citizenship.

¹²³ *New York Times*, "Says Woman's Party Would Mean Sex War," November 12, 1917.

¹²⁴ *The Woman's Protest*, "The Wane of Feminism," October 1917, 3.

¹²⁵ *New York Times*, "Wilson Backs Amendment for Woman Suffrage," January 10, 1918. Wilson voted for suffrage in his home state of New Jersey in 1915, but refused to support anything on a federal level because of the political implications. See Christine A. Lunardini and Thomas J. Knock, "Woodrow Wilson and Woman Suffrage: A New Look," *Political Science Quarterly* 95, no. 4 (1980-1981): 655-671.

Only a few manuals published to guide the new woman voter in the crucial period after the New York referendum defined citizenship and the relationship between women and the state as one explicitly based on rights. In *The Woman Citizen*, Mary Sumner Boyd pointed out three elements of full citizenship: the right to vote, the right to independent citizenship, and the right to jury service. She argued that only when each is guaranteed to all women will they be equal citizens. From this perspective, enfranchisement was only the first step to full citizenship.¹²⁶ Indeed, the general sentiment regarding the vote seems best summarized by Helen Ring Robinson who suggested that the “vote is merely a condition for getting other things that are more fundamental.”¹²⁷ *The Woman Voter’s Manual* similarly described citizenship as two-tiered level of rights. The civil rights of the private individual, as enumerated in the Bill of Rights, are understood as necessary requisites for political rights exercised in the public realm. Civil rights could not be assured even for loyal women if they remained passive citizens viewed by society as mere inhabitants rather than politically active community members.¹²⁸ While passive citizenship was acceptable for some, such as foreigners, according to Boyd, native-born American women deserved political rights.

Many manuals referred to the Fourteenth Amendment’s guidelines for federal citizenship as a starting place for a discussion of woman’s citizenship. After ratification in 1867, some suffragists understood the amendment to confer rights on women, including voting and jury service. This interpretation prompted Susan B. Anthony and other women to vote in New York State in 1872, only to face charges of casting an illegal ballot. Anthony’s approach, termed the

¹²⁶ Mary Sumner Boyd, *The Woman Citizen, A General handbook of Civics With Special Consideration of Women’s Citizenship* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1918) vii-viii.

¹²⁷ Helen Ring Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1918), 9.

¹²⁸ S.E. Forman and Marjorie Shuler, *The Woman Voter’s Manual* (New York: The Century Company, 1918), 8; Boyd, *The Woman Citizen, A General handbook of Civics With Special Consideration of Women’s Citizenship*, 21-23.

“New Departure,” advocated for a broad application of women’s rights justified by their Constitutional recognition as citizens.¹²⁹ Multiple court cases challenged the Fourteenth Amendment, but decisions by the Supreme Court narrowly interpreted the Reconstruction amendments to remedy racial, not gender inequalities. The long-term result was the development of a hierarchy “that stressed the distinction between civil and political rights and made political rights secondary.”¹³⁰ Although the “New Departure” never gained traction, the remnants of this lost opportunity persisted as a source of resentment and a critical reminder for suffrage advocates that although the Constitution did not explicitly cite gender, “the right of women to vote is found in the spirit of the whole document.”¹³¹

In 1917 and 1918, discussion of the Fourteenth Amendment inevitably led authors to examine the inequalities inherent in the citizenship status of married women. Coverture, the legal practice of subsuming of a woman’s personhood into her husband, began to crumble in the nineteenth century with legislation like New York’s Married Woman’s Property Act of 1848. However, the Naturalization Act of 1907 stopped this progress and officially codified derivative citizenship for married women.¹³² Whether they knew it or not, a wife’s status reflected her husband’s citizenship. According to Helen Ring Robinson, author of *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, the law “makes of the married women at best a shadow citizen.”¹³³ In worse scenarios, women became a foreign threat after marriage. The war exacerbated the inherent

¹²⁹ Gretchen Ritter, “Jury Service and Women’s Citizenship Before and After the Nineteenth Amendment,” *Law and History Review* 30, no. 2 (2002): 486.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 489.

¹³¹ Boyd, *The Woman Citizen, A General handbook of Civics With Special Consideration of Women’s Citizenship*, 35.

¹³² The breakdown of coverture by New York’s Married Women’s Property Act of 1848 convinced early some suffragists that the barrier to suffrage no longer existed since women could be property owners, thus tax payers. In this scenario, how could women justifiably remain disfranchised? Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman’s Rights Convention* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 148-154.

¹³³ Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, 28.

problems of the Naturalization Act of 1907 by labeling native-born women married to foreign men as “enemy aliens.”¹³⁴ Janette Rankin brought the issue to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in the House of Representatives on December 13, 1917. She and others representing women’s organizations argued that citizenship and therefore loyalty should be the choice of a woman, and not contingent on her husband’s status. She confronted Congressmen who felt this gave special consideration to women who married foreigners and would “allow the American woman to ‘eat her cake and still have it,’” implying that women could not have protection and independence.¹³⁵ Rankin replied, “No; we submit [that] an American man has the right to citizenship regardless of his marriage, and that the woman has the same right.” After repeating variations of this statement in response to numerous and often outlandish hypothetical questions concerning women’s citizenship, Rankin finally uttered, “Women have never been citizens of this country. We are just beginning to be citizens.”¹³⁶ Clearly, Rankin’s rights-based framework did not accept passivity as a legitimate expression of citizenship for American women. Although the bill never passed, the complications brought on by war validated women’s claims for independent status and reminded officials that loyal women suffered from their legislation.¹³⁷

Unlike the recognition of independent citizenship, jury service varied by state. The lack of consistency concerning this final element of full citizenship troubled suffragists. Mary Sumner

¹³⁴ Boyd, *The Woman Citizen, A General handbook of Civics With Special Consideration of Women’s Citizenship*, 18. This topic is thoroughly addressed by Candice Lewis Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

¹³⁵ The law served to prevent racial miscegenation, especially with Asian men. Ann Marie Nicolosi, “‘We Do Not Want our Girls to Marry Foreigners’: Gender, Race, and American Citizenship,” *NWSA Journal* 13, no. 3 (2001): 1-21.

¹³⁶ *Citizenship of American Women Married to Foreigners* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), 5, 53.

¹³⁷ In addition to Bredbenner’s *A Nationality of Her Own*, several texts provided illumination on the subject. Virginia Sapiro, “Women, Citizenship, and Nationality: Immigration and Naturalization Policies in the United States,” *Politics and Society* 13, no. 1 (1984): 1-26; Nancy F. Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000). The 1922 Cable Act made strides towards independent status, but it would not be until 1934 that women achieved independent citizenship.

Boyd pointed out that Illinois, Wyoming and Oregon women once served on juries, but eventually these states retracted their rights due to the “defect” of their sex.¹³⁸ Even in states that enfranchised women, there was no guarantee of a jury trial of peers. According to Gertrude Foster Brown, author of *Your Vote and How to Use It*, a trial by jury “is a right guaranteed by the constitutions of both the State and the nation,” yet New York refused female participation.¹³⁹ Immediately following the New York referendum women’s groups lobbied heavily for a jury bill that incorporated women.¹⁴⁰ According to Boyd, exclusion after enfranchisement was a shock since “[m]ost people have assumed that in equal suffrage states jurors’ names were chosen from the poll lists without regard to sex.”¹⁴¹ Suggesting that some cases would benefit from women’s involvement, especially concerning children or women accused of murder, Brown argued that, “Sentimental considerations would not influence them [women] as they do men in such cases.”¹⁴² Such a statement flipped the stereotypical association of sentimentality with females and suggested that sometimes being a woman was exactly what a healthy government needed.¹⁴³

From the perspective of suffrage advocates, the right to active female citizenship would strengthen the country. The manuals attempted to teach, inform, and guide women down the “right path.” However, it seems that an approach utilizing a rhetoric based on natural rights and the Constitution to justify active citizenship did not effectively galvanize support or subdue critics. Suffrage arguments became more effective in persuading men by emphasizing female

¹³⁸ Boyd, *The Woman Citizen, A General handbook of Civics With Special Consideration of Women’s Citizenship*, 181-185.

¹³⁹ Gertrude Foster Brown, *Your Vote and How To Use It* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1918), 143-144.

¹⁴⁰ *The New York Times*, “Women to Demand Place On Juries,” November 14, 1917.

¹⁴¹ Boyd, *The Woman Citizen, A General handbook of Civics With Special Consideration of Women’s Citizenship*, 181.

¹⁴² Brown, *Your Vote and How To Use It*, 143-144.

¹⁴³ Like independent citizenship, women’s jury service took a long time to settle. The Supreme Court ruled in again 1994 that gender was not an acceptable criterion for jury selection. Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Rights to Be Ladies: Women and Obligations of Citizenship* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998); Gretchen Ritter, “Jury Service and Women’s Citizenship Before and After the Nineteenth Amendment,” *Law and History Review* 30, no. 2 (2002): 479-515.

duty, an especially patriotic and powerful tool during any war. Suffragists staved off the attacks of anti-suffragist detractors by explaining their obligations to society and women's positive contributions to the political sphere. As described in the manuals, women's obligations to the United States far outweighed the rights due to them. In the midst of World War I, this should not be surprising. Obligations, both explicit and implicit, directed women away from radical political thought, promoted the war effort, helped improve the country, and ensured women would not become radical feminists.¹⁴⁴ Overall, the manuals instilled pride in the democratic system and parried the accusations of anti-suffragists who claimed radicalism, socialism, pacifism, and feminism developed from female enfranchisement and full citizenship.

The authors believed women would take their status as active citizens seriously and showed disdain for the way the United States conferred citizenship in the past. Entrance into World War I amplified the tension between the rights and the obligations of citizens in the United States. The debate prompted Mary Austin to claim that previous approaches to citizenship lacked an educational component necessary for good citizenship. In *The Young Woman Citizen* she argued that, as a country we "take citizenship in a lump" at age 21 without the necessary training.¹⁴⁵ Immigrants posed an even larger problem to Austin because they were "swathed hundreds of years deep in ignorance," and took the benefits of the United States for granted without knowing how to contribute their share.¹⁴⁶ Carrie Chapman Catt echoed a similar annoyance in her foreword to *Your Vote and How To Use It* when she suggested that citizenship had been "lightly regarded," and even "bought and sold." Luckily, Catt saw in women's

¹⁴⁴ Indeed, historian Linda K. Kerber pointed out the preponderance of a similar expectation in the era of the American Revolution that she termed "Republican Motherhood." It seems that a variation of this female role extended into World War I era. Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1986).

¹⁴⁵ Mary Austin, *The Young Woman Citizen* (New York: The Womans Press, 1918), 47.

¹⁴⁶ Austin, *The Young Woman Citizen*, 9

enfranchisement the chance to elevate standards and infuse “a new dignity” into American citizenship.¹⁴⁷ Although not perfect, Mary Sumner Boyd believed that women brought “a full conscience ready for full citizenship” which would improve and strengthen the United States.¹⁴⁸ According to these manuals, women would help ensure democracy by becoming educated and active, and by bringing a uniquely female sensibility to government. Since women deliberately fought for their rights, they revered democracy. As a result, deviant ideas and behavior would not develop from a woman’s enfranchisement.

In particular, the citizenship manuals of 1917 and 1918 deflected anti-suffragist accusations of radicalism and attempted to promote a sense of loyalty and political moderation in women. Austin advised women not to wed themselves to one newspaper. Reading an “honest socialist paper” was acceptable, but only if tempered by other viewpoints because she suggested “the truth is somewhere at the intersection.”¹⁴⁹ Other manuals were less supportive and declared the importance of maintaining the existing democratic structure of society. Brown argued that, “We are apt to magnify the evils of democracy at home, and to forget the magnificent heritage of liberty that belongs to us.”¹⁵⁰ Ultimately, no reason existed to justify forsaking all the advantages of the United States. Indeed, Brown believed that “most of us have not personally been conscious of any overwhelming injustices, and those that we have heard of have been far enough away not to be disturbing.”¹⁵¹ In this way, the manuals discredited the socio-economic problems minority groups faced, lauded the benefits of the United States and minimized the allure of radical ideology.

¹⁴⁷ Brown, *Your Vote and How To Use It*, forward.

¹⁴⁸ Boyd, *The Woman Citizen, A General handbook of Civics With Special Consideration of Women’s Citizenship*, 7.

¹⁴⁹ Austin, *The Young Woman Citizen*, 39.

¹⁵⁰ Brown, *Your Vote and How To Use It*, 248.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 244. Clearly, the writers and expected readership consisted of white affluent women, since such comments would not find traction in an African-American or immigrant demographic.

Radicalism was further reduced as a viable option by appealing to the divinely led democratic traditions in the United States. Charles Willis Thompson's "*The Woman Voter*," a fictional story with the intent to teach the fundamentals of civics serialized in the *New York Times*, emphasized the supremacy of the United States. In fact, the story implied that American democratic progress followed a godly path. During a dinner party, one character expounded, "That we have so good a Constitution as we have is a proof of the watchfulness of Providence, not of any care exercised by the voters."¹⁵² Since divine guidance enabled democracy to flourish in the United States, the system should be protected. Thompson later used a metaphor of building a house to explain the trajectory of the American political system. A dinner guest declared, "The house will never be a finished form: it will always be undergoing change. But hitherto the changes have always been made in one direction: story has been built on story, addition has been made to addition."¹⁵³ In other words, American democracy evolved over time and was adaptable to social and economic changes, as the New York referendum clearly proved. Through this example, the democratic flexibility of the United States contrasted sharply with the autocracy of Germany and infused readers with pride for their country.

Suffragists' patriotism and support for the war effort undermined anti-suffrage claims of pacifism and pro-German sentiment within the movement. Brown argued that a major privilege of citizenship was a person's "obligation to defend the government."¹⁵⁴ As citizens, women mobilized and guarded the country against those who would destroy it by working in munitions factories, rationing food, working for the Red Cross as volunteers, and policing others in the

¹⁵² *The New York Times*, "The Woman Voter," January 28, 1918.

¹⁵³ *The New York Times*, "The Woman Voter," January 30, 1918.

¹⁵⁴ Brown, *Your Vote and How To Use It*, 250.

community.¹⁵⁵ Suffragists had long claimed that the vote should be viewed as a war measure. In fact, Boyd argued that the women of the Midwest and South yearned for the vote in order to counteract the alien men who lacked the patriotic fervor essential to winning the war. Moreover, it was women's "real desire to protect the interests of their sons and husbands at the front from possible domination by a hostile spirit at home" that justified woman suffrage. In the end, Boyd forcefully argued that the vote was not for "ammunition-making women," but the mothers of America who were personally invested in the victory of the United States that deserved a voice in government.¹⁵⁶ The manuals promoted a patriotic motherhood as a way to justify women's civic participation. Paramount to this description was a mother's willingness to offer her son(s) on the altar of war and not withhold his service to the country out of selfish love.¹⁵⁷ Suffragists highlighted this service by publishing a letter from the 71st New York infantry that castigated the Man Suffrage Association Opposed to Votes for Women. The letter emphasized the sacrifice of mothers and asserted their willingness "to entrust at least an equal share of the destiny of these United States into the hands of the women who gave us birth, reared us, and gave us to THEIR country for YOUR protection."¹⁵⁸ Manuals like Mary Sumner Boyd's affirmed this message. Suffrage meant giving the vote to patriotic mothers, not pacifists, who would ensure successful prosecution of the war against Germany.

Emphasizing the maternal aspects of suffrage enabled manuals to capitalize on the image of Germany as an overly masculine state that mistreated women. Unlike the United States, Germans revered the "Fatherland" and built their state on masculine principles. According to

¹⁵⁵ Christopher Capazzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁵⁶ Boyd, *The Woman Citizen, A General handbook of Civics With Special Consideration of Women's Citizenship*, 8-9.

¹⁵⁷ Susan Zeiger, "She Didn't Raise Her boy to Be a Slacker: Motherhood, Conscription, and the Culture of the First World War" *Feminist Studies* 22, no. 1 (1996): 7-39.

¹⁵⁸ *The Woman Citizen*, "What New York Soldiers Think of Woman Suffrage," November 10, 1917, 462.

Austin, “The unregenerate masculinity of the German people makes it possible for them to discard the spiritual elements of motherhood, and produce population for the sole purpose of Germanizing the world.” Thus, the belligerency of Germany resulted from a lack of balance between the genders. This mindset also led soldiers to attack women in the conquered countries. Indeed, the “rape of Belgium” became a rally point in the politics of raising and supporting an army. Propaganda that German soldiers raped women indiscriminately encouraged men and women to join the war effort.¹⁵⁹ Emphasizing the dichotomy between Germany and the United States, suffragists hoped that Americans would rather extend suffrage than be compared to Germany and its malicious all-male political system.

According to the manual authors, although attacking women in occupied countries was despicable, German “kulture” also abused German women. Robinson explained, “the world will not forget that a nation where women were harnessed to the plow and the cook stove and kept as rigorously as possible from other forms of expression is the nation which must bear to all times the stark blame for the most monstrous war of the ages.”¹⁶⁰ She connected autocracy and war to the oppression of women. Suffragists utilized women’s treatment in society as a tool to differentiate the United States from Germany. According to Mary Austin, the United States joined the war “not only to fight German arms, but German thinking.”¹⁶¹ How could any woman support Germany if this was how their society treated women? Exposure to German “kulture” thus reassured many that women’s self-interest and loyalty resided with the United States. Suffrage and war aims merged because both would stop female abuse abroad, and guarantee the safety of women domestically. Ultimately, Germany served as a warning to the United States.

¹⁵⁹ Austin, *The Young Woman Citizen*, 106-107. Discussion of the “rape of Belgium” can be found in multiple works, especially Nicoletta Gullace, *“The Blood of Our Sons”*: Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 17-33.

¹⁶⁰ Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, 73.

¹⁶¹ Austin, *The Young Woman Citizen*, 115.

The Kaiser's rule provided a frightening example of what could happen if the masculine dominated rather than cooperated with the feminine interests of society.¹⁶²

In contrast to the terror of the German state, the manuals emphasized the greatness of the American political system. Boyd referred to political parties as the “unofficial government” that animated the Constitution and “educates and organizes public opinion by discussion of public questions.”¹⁶³ Indeed, it was “the best type of political organization in the world.”¹⁶⁴ Such a definition glossed over the seedier aspects of the past and demonstrated an idealized view of the American political party system. While patronage and poll manipulations persisted, Boyd asserted that the system had become considerably less violent. Pork barrel politics contributed to corruption, but new reforms recognizing political parties enabled regulation and the curtailment of party power.¹⁶⁵ Brown, the most concise author and one who attempted to maintain objectivity suggested that, “the individual voter, or group of voters, is helpless to change conditions or to elect a man. It is only through the organization of many men who want the same thing that they become effective.”¹⁶⁶ Certainly the system and institutions were not to blame for problems; only people willing to cooperate can implement change. Whether a person joined the Republican, Democrat, Prohibition, or Socialist Party appeared immaterial to these authors since each existed to make change and would be balanced out by government regulations and opposing

¹⁶² Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 81-94. The Progressives were quite concerned about the relationship between the sexes. This can be seen in their reform attempts concerning alcohol, prostitution and divorce which were painted in term of spousal abuse.

¹⁶³ Boyd, *The Woman Citizen, A General handbook of Civics With Special Consideration of Women's Citizenship*, 137-138.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 142.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 147-148.

¹⁶⁶ Brown, *Your Vote and How To Use It*, 84.

parties.¹⁶⁷ In fact, the manuals suggest that toleration for different parties set the United States apart from the autocracy of Germany.

Although the manuals acknowledged the pluralism of American politics, most focused on defining and promoting the two major parties. In particular, great time was spent explaining that the difference between Republican and Democrats did not simply derive from the issue of tariffs. In “The Woman Voter” a man counseled the women “not to heed the man who tells you that the tariff deeply divides the people of the country, or that it behooves you to make your choice of evils and pin a party badge on yourselves accordingly for all time.”¹⁶⁸ Clearly, the voter who was ignorantly tied to one party regardless of the legislation was not a good citizen. Even though the dinner guests learned that “the difference between the Republicans and the Democrats is a state of mind,” people eventually must pick a side. The ex-Congressman bluntly stated, “You may not join either party, but you’ll have to belong to one in spirit, even if unconsciously...if you think at all, you can’t help thinking on one side of the line or the other.”¹⁶⁹ According to this logic, a person can operate independently, but will always associate within one of the two mainstream parties in American politics: Republicans or Democrats.

To illustrate the difference between the autocracy of Germany with the freedom of the United States, Charles Willis Thompson’s *New York Times* series stressed the power of individuals working together for a common good. The Politician in his series suggested, “Whenever the plain people are real worked up enough about the good young hero’s bill, the Boss won’t stand in its way. If he does, his days as Boss are numbered.”¹⁷⁰ Ultimately, even a

¹⁶⁷ Ironically, the period after 1900 witnessed a tremendous drop in political participation. It seems that women’s access to politics occurred at the moment when the nation as a whole moved away from party politics. See Michael McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865-1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

¹⁶⁸ *New York Times*, “The Woman Voter,” January 4, 1918.

¹⁶⁹ *New York Times*, “The Woman Voter,” January 5, 1918.

¹⁷⁰ *New York Times*, “The Woman Voter,” January 7, 1918.

boss must take the people into account since individuals can nominate people during primaries. According to Robinson, this was the reason to be affiliated with one of the major parties. During primaries and the period before Election Day “all questions of the party candidates are settled, all members of the party committees are named, and, directly or indirectly, questions of party policy are settled.”¹⁷¹ As with Progressives from the Democratic or Republican Party who supported Theodore Roosevelt in 1912, small groups could influence elections, but breaking from the typical voting pattern was “a whole lot more corrective than the third party” in Thompson’s opinion.¹⁷² Pushing for change within the boundaries of a party was not only easier, but also more effective. These ideas led the College Woman in “The Woman Voter” to assert “that it is very distinctly my own fault if I’m not governed the way I like.”¹⁷³ Indeed, eliciting such a response from the audience appears to be a major objective of the manual.

Yet, not all authors highlighted the advantages of American political parties. Austin’s *The Young Woman Citizen* conveyed disappointment in regards to men’s behavior in political parties and tried to guide women away from them. Austin echoed the claims of many anti-suffragists when she stated that parties expressed the “masculine temperament” whose constant fight for political supremacy made them unfit for women.¹⁷⁴ Building from the works of Émile Durkheim and Sigmund Freud, Austin described political parties as filling a social need for the male community, often turning “orgiastic” during campaign time.¹⁷⁵ Wrapped up in a mob mentality, men were unable to decipher a politician’s personality from the social good. Consequently, she argued they “surrender to a dominant personality” regardless of the political philosophy or

¹⁷¹ Robinson, *Preparing Woman for Citizenship*, 52.

¹⁷² *New York Times*, “The Woman Voter,” January 27, 1918. Indeed, the Roosevelt’s Progressive “Bull Moose” Party split the Republican Party and ensured Woodrow Wilson’s election in 1912.

¹⁷³ *New York Times*, “The Woman Voter,” January 30, 1918.

¹⁷⁴ Austin, *The Young Woman Citizen*, 74.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 78. Austin’s language and references indicated a strong influence of sociology. In particular, her reference to the “totemic cult” seems derived from Freud’s *Taboo and Totem: Resemblances Between the Psychic Lives of Savages and Neurotics*.

platform.¹⁷⁶ The masculine character appeared very flawed, if not dangerous under this interpretation since essential reforms can be subverted by a charismatic political persona. Luckily, *The Young Woman Citizen* alleged that ideas for change and improvement incubated outside the boundaries of political parties. Thanks to progressive reforms, women could influence government without parties thanks to reforms like the initiative, recall, and referendum. According to Austin, these institutional changes signaled both the decline of the party system and an increase in women's future power.¹⁷⁷

The move away from political parties as an effective means of change was further echoed in Robinson's *Preparing Women for Citizenship*. Although not as antagonistic to political parties as *The Young Woman Citizen*, Robinson counseled women to maintain their club organizations. Indeed, the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) was the mainstay of politically active women for decades before enfranchisement and this kind of organizing continued well after the Nineteenth Amendment.¹⁷⁸ Robinson suggested women join a civic organization, a "Power Company" in her words, in order to influence elected officials. She believed that women should "become a stockholder in a Power Company" if they wanted to be a good citizen and manifest change. Operating as a cohort of concerned citizens, women could "get things done by accelerating and direction public opinion."¹⁷⁹ While an important duty of active citizens, Robinson recognized that voting by itself would not be the panacea for a suffering community. The situation could change, however, if women exercised their civic duties on Election Day *and* throughout the year. On a broader scale, Robinson's approach to activism coincided with the

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 87.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 88-89.

¹⁷⁸ Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

¹⁷⁹ Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, 29-31.

national trend of organizing in interest groups rather than political parties to lobby for change.¹⁸⁰ For suffragists, the approach of working within an interest group, or “Power Company,” maintained the validity of pre-suffrage civic engagement, did not challenge the gender norms of society, and dissuaded women from the idea of forming their own political party.

Unlike the claims of anti-suffragists, not one of the manuals surveyed endorsed the National Woman’s Party (NWP). In fact, several completely ignored its existence. Robinson suggested that the flood of women coming to the polls in the next election would be a powerful force. She imagined that “the draft from that opening door is striking the politicians full in their faces.”¹⁸¹ Female enfranchisement dictated that male politicians respond to women. Therefore, joining the NWP or a similar woman-only party was counterproductive. Robinson wrote, “If a Woman’s Party were formed it would have to declare its opposition to the fundamental principle for which suffragist have for seventy years been battling...The work of a Woman’s Party would be to reestablish a sex-line at the ballot box.”¹⁸² In the eyes of mainstream suffragists, the NWP was the antithesis of their hard work. In fact, *The Woman Citizen*, the voice piece for the NAWSA, argued that giving women the vote reduced rather than produced sex antagonism stating, “Where women don’t vote, the “solidarity of womanhood” has meaning and application.” In contrast, enfranchising women fostered political unity between the sexes and eliminated the need for a woman’s party. The editorial argued that the people “stand or fall together, where women vote.”¹⁸³ Robinson clearly agreed with such a perspective and explained that since “women are no more like-minded than are men” they posed no threat after

¹⁸⁰ Michael McGerr, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865-1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Elisabeth S. Clemens, *The People’s Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

¹⁸¹ Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, 11.

¹⁸² Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, 60.

¹⁸³ *The Woman Citizen*, “Editorial Revelations,” January 1917, 2.

enfranchisement and would gladly work for the common good of the community.¹⁸⁴ Ultimately, the derision expressed for the NWP and its absence in many manuals reveal both the divide within the suffrage movement, and the success of the anti-suffragist campaign in establishing the bounds of the debate over women's civic involvement.

The NWP appears truly radical in the context described by the manuals. It made sense why moderate suffragists sought to disassociate themselves from the "equality" feminist perspective. The fears of complete legal equality clearly scared the majority of men and women. Robinson recognized the misconceptions of suffrage and stated, "Sometimes I meet a new woman voter with an ultra-enfranchised look who thinks that equality at the ballot-box implies sex equality. She will know better when she learns by experience the things that the vote will not do as well as the things it will do."¹⁸⁵ Separating suffrage and feminism appears to be a major facet of the authors' educational agenda. The manuals demystified the vote and suggested that granting suffrage simply enabled a woman to continue doing her business in a more effective manner. Regardless of their differences, these manuals molded an image of the woman citizen that did not overturn the fundamental gender roles of society although she was politically active, a fear articulated as far back as the Enlightenment.¹⁸⁶ In many ways, it seemed that the goal was to maintain the status quo in regards to gender norms and expectations.

The lessons taught by the six manuals responded to the major claims of the anti-suffragists. In many ways, anti-suffragists set the parameters of the debate; suffragists could only respond with claims that radicalism, socialism, pacifism, and feminism did not represent the

¹⁸⁴ Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, 60.

¹⁸⁵ Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, 41.

¹⁸⁶ Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*, 26. The Enlightenment's intellectual and philosophical advances did not transform gender relations or expectations. Despite discussion of citizenship and a person's relation to the state, writers like Rousseau articulated a traditional female role that scorned women's political participation and feared "masculine" women. Clearly, this argument remained potent into the twentieth century.

intentions of politically active woman. Suffragists padded their arguments by instilling patriotism into the manuals and drawing on their war assistance, both physical and psychological, in order to counteract the image painted by anti-suffragists.¹⁸⁷ Claiming suffragists destroyed the traditional gender roles of society, Mrs. James W. Wadsworth argued that, “In the rebirth of the world there will be no place for a masculinized womanhood and an effeminized manhood.”¹⁸⁸ In actuality, neither suffragists nor anti-suffragists desired an upheaval in gender. The vast majority of suffragists and anti-suffragist sought to promote protective legislation for women and to reaffirm women’s specific interests in family and community health. In the process of combating anti-suffragists and molding good citizens, suffragists created a political agenda for women that often promoted a maternal approach to all things political. The investigation of how those manuals conveyed this agenda is the focus of the next chapter.

¹⁸⁷ In fact, this struggle over who was more patriotic and loyal might have resulted in the name change of *The Woman’s Protest*, which was updated in the winter of 1918 to *The Woman Patriot*.

¹⁸⁸ *The Woman’s Protest*, “The Wane of Feminism,” October 1917, 3.

Chapter III Applying Women's Citizenship

The enfranchisement of women on equal terms with men did not create a gender-neutral understanding of citizenship. In fact, the inclusion of women often reaffirmed a highly gendered definition of citizenship. The manuals described women's approach to politics in specifically gendered terminology consistent with the traditional goals of women's social and political behavior. Each author approached their subject uniquely, varying in both form and content. Yet, as a collection, the manuals highlight the difficult transition from an exclusively masculine understanding of civic participation to one that also recognized female expression as a valid and necessary complement. Indeed, Mary Austin contended that "[t]rying to produce civilization as we have been doing it, is like attempting to put together a picture puzzle with the most important piece lost."¹⁸⁹ To her, the inclusion of women as full citizens did not upset the natural socio-political order; it restored balance to society. Enfranchisement simply enabled the maternal objectives of women to reach beyond their immediate family and into the community. Through an emphasis on the maternal origins of political action, suffrage and women's subsequent political participation appeared less intimidating to men and women. In sum, the definition and the promotion of a female-oriented citizenship directed women to follow a political agenda that emphasized social reform—a channel already well-worn by women's Progressive-era activism.

Manuals created for new women voters during World War I employed a variety of methods to define citizenship and convey the importance of civic duty. The diversity of approaches to woman's citizenship ranged from lessons on the mechanical operations of

¹⁸⁹ Austin, *The Young Woman Citizen*, 19.

government to the ideological agenda of politically active women. The first group of manuals, S.E. Forman and Marjorie Shuler's *The Woman Voter's Manual* and Charles Willis Thompson's "The Woman Voter," provided a male-oriented, mechanical view of government and civic participation. The next set of manuals, Mary Sumer Boyd's *The Woman Citizen* and Gertrude Foster Brown's *Your Vote and How Use It*, illustrated how women functioned within the structures of the American political system. Finally, Mary Austin's *The Young Woman Citizen* and Helen Ring Robinson's *Preparing Women for Citizenship* represented the desire to inform and promoted a uniquely female attitude towards government. Together the manuals represent distinct methods used to reach out to newly enfranchised women and define the modern woman citizen in terms palatable to a society in great flux.

S.E. Forman and Marjorie Shuler's *The Woman Voter's Manual* stands out from the other texts because of its insistence on maintaining traditional masculine understanding of government and citizenship. They approached educating the new woman voter by simply tacking on a forward from Carrie Chapman Catt to previously written material. Shuler did not intend deceit, and readily admitting that the majority of the text derived from a book written by S.E. Forman entitled *The American Republic*.¹⁹⁰ Consequently, their manual did not suggest that men and women experienced the political system in profoundly different ways and represented a snapshot of the values and lessons men were supposed to learn as citizens. More important, *The Woman Voter's Manual* suggested that masculine citizenship was still the norm to which women would have to adapt. Whether the book simply attempted to capitalize on a new market, or was an earnest hope to help educate women, matters little. Regardless of its intentions and despite

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., author's note. S.E. Forman, *The American Republic* (New York: The Century Company, 1911).

Marjorie Shuler's recognition as second author, the manual expressed a male gendered understanding of citizenship.¹⁹¹

Unlike the other texts, *The Woman Voter's Manual* made few concessions to women readers in regards to the content material. Forman and Shuler took a straightforward approach seen in standard civics manuals. They relayed the basic functioning of the American political system and were predominantly concerned with educating women in the fundamentals connected with voting. In a detached and scholarly manner that would certainly bore the average reader, the manual discussed the basics of citizenship, the three tiers of government, the court system, and party organization. Additionally, *The Woman Voter's Manual* dedicated significant space to financial concerns. Forman and Shuler deemed understanding the business field an integral lesson in American citizenship since they dedicated four chapters to public finance, money, commerce, and corporations.¹⁹² Although women were entering the business world in greater numbers at this time, for the majority of women this type of education might appear less relevant.¹⁹³ Therefore, this manual seemed to reveal the values and preoccupations of men, as good citizenship was intimately tied to understanding the business world. According to the authors, women needed to be educated in this "public sphere" immediately.

Forman and Shuler's manual conveyed the dominant masculine view of citizenship and government. Although they targeted women in the title of their book, Forman and Shuler did not deal with women specifically in the chapters themselves. Consequently, the text encouraged women to expect political leadership and governance from men. If nothing else, women should

¹⁹¹ Her contribution to the manual is undefined and, in my opinion, quite dubious since the work simply appears to be an edited version of Forman's *The American Republic*.

¹⁹² These are the basis of Chapters 16-19.

¹⁹³ Angel Kwolek Folland, *Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office, 1870-1930* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); Angel Kwolek Folland, *Incorporating Women: A History of Women and Business in the United States* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998).

mimic men's political activities. Forman and Shuler described a good citizen as "an intelligent man" who would "learn something about the character and fitness of the men for whom he votes," and "vote only for honest men for office."¹⁹⁴ Since the model and political participants were men, the manual did not encourage women to envision themselves as distinct political actors.

While *The Woman Voter's Manual* provided facts about the structures of government, it neglected to relate them to women's position in society. For example, in discussing suffrage, Forman and Shuler reveled in the uniformity of state laws and suggested it was "due in part to [a] democratic spirit of equality, and in part to the provisions of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments." While the manual referenced racial equality and universal male suffrage, it failed to acknowledge women's exclusion. In subsequent passages, Forman and Shuler indicated that "lunatics, idiots, paupers and convict criminals" lacked the privilege of voting, but again ignored women as a disfranchised class.¹⁹⁵ It was as if women did not exist in the political sphere; the current suffrage movement had no impact on women's political rights. Certainly, the content of the manual negated women's past political experiences and contributions, and maintained a masculine vision of citizenship.

Forman and Shuler further erased women and their unique political situation by retaining masculine language throughout the text. Specifically, *The Woman Voter's Manual* stands out for its continued usage of exclusively masculine pronouns. Since the manual did not consider relating to their target audience, the entire presentation must have lacked resonance with women. Despite the recent referendum in New York and the millions of women voters across other equal

¹⁹⁴ Forman and Shuler, *The Woman Voter's Manual*, 16

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

and partial suffrage states, voters were described in strictly masculine terms. The manual suggested:

The American voter should regard himself as an officer of government. He is one of the members of the *electorate*, that vast governing body which consists of all the voters, and which possesses supreme political power, controlling all the governments, federal and State and local...When, therefore, the voter takes his place in this governing body, this is when he enters the polling-booth and presumes to participate in the business of government, he assumes serious responsibilities.¹⁹⁶

The activities of a citizen were the activities of men who act as “officers,” take control of the state, and direct the country’s business. Although “he” as a pronoun can be construed as a universal term denoting all of humanity, the language and metaphors surely alienated women. *The Woman Voter’s Manual* neglected to relate civic participation specifically to the female audience through inclusive language. Ultimately, *The Woman Voter’s Manual* simply grafted women onto the existing political structure, with no acknowledgement of women’s unique socio-political standing.

Similarly, Thompson’s “The Woman Voter” chose to leave out all of the controversial issues concerning women’s secondary political status. The manual did not mention or discuss citizenship anywhere in the text, nor did it acknowledge women’s struggle for full citizenship. Unlike other manuals, Thompson did not suggest topics of concern that women should address as voting citizens. Instead, the manual predominately served as a guide to the mechanics of voting. Any lesson on government existed only in relation to the act of voting. Therefore, much space was dedicated to political parties and the functioning of campaigns from the primary to Election Day. As a result, a woman’s political education, and by default her political *identity*, consisted only of marking a ballot and not the more expansive notion of full citizenship proposed by the NAWSA which included independent citizenship and jury service.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 15.

Despite the lack of attention to women's broader citizenship, Thompson's guide promoted a new understanding of women's nature. At the beginning of the series, women were described as more conscientious than men, suggesting that politics would improve with their inclusion. "They won't be so neglectful of their duties as the men," argued the ladies. The men at the dinner table flatly rejected this perspective with one claiming that "what I tell you is true of women voters as well as men voters."¹⁹⁷ Such a bold statement countered old arguments that explained women's moral superiority as justification for their political exclusion. That nineteenth century perspective posited that women's spiritual temperaments required protection from crass politics. Enfranchisement negated this interpretation of women's character. Indirectly, perhaps unconsciously, Thompson legitimized a vision of equality in human character that "equity feminists" in the suffrage movement supported.¹⁹⁸ While "The Woman Voter" illustrated a shift in the gendered discourse of voting and citizenship, this transformation was unevenly accepted across society. Regardless, the articulation of this idea in such a prominent, conservative newspaper emphasized the tandem renegotiation of women's image and their citizenship that occurred during World War I.

The concept of equity between the sexes, if only in stark political terms, disturbed the existing power structures in the United States. In early 1918, exactly how women's entrance into the voting demographics would transform New York campaigns and party politics could only be imagined.¹⁹⁹ In this way, suffrage was a wake-up call to politically apathetic men who dreaded a loss of power and female dominance. Thompson encouraged men to reassert their dominance

¹⁹⁷ *The New York Times*, "The Woman Voter," January 8, 1918.

¹⁹⁸ *The New York Times* certainly did not support the NWP or Alice Paul's actions and were generally tepid on suffrage itself.

¹⁹⁹ Doubling the electorate was supposedly going to increase the cost local governments incurred on Election Day. As a result, The NAWSA was forced to publicize that this did not happen. In reality, women were involved in political campaigns throughout the nineteenth century. See Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*; Edwards, *Angels in the Machinery*.

since men and women were now equals and rivals for power. Thompson reinforced this fear through Tom's character- with his ignorance of government. Tom confessed that his wife's questions about government "awakened my interest...I began to think that I'd like to find out some of the things I don't know."²⁰⁰ As a symbol of the elite man, Tom represented the possibility of obsolescence in the new political structure. When characters referenced the apathy of the people in politics, they specifically targeted "slackers" like Tom and urged their participation. Therefore, while "The Woman Voter" served as a crash course in basic voting for women, it also operated as rallying point for men to continue the maintenance and control of good government as model citizens.²⁰¹

"The Woman Voter" also trained women to preserve a traditional mentality about their place in society that reinforced the wartime commitment to the state. According to Thompson, women had a duty and an obligation to be involved, not a right. Since the people ultimately ruled the United States, women needed to honor and accept democratically made decisions which had improved government during the recent period of reform. As a result, a trust in the honesty and good intentions of the country's elected officials was expected. Finally, as a new voter, women should be proud of their connection to the United States. Each characteristic highlighted in the manual promoted the domestic wartime agenda: duty, acceptance, trust, and pride. The series fostered women's cooperative relationship with, and positive attitude toward, a government that conscripted their husbands and sons, enforced the Espionage Act, and severely circumscribed

²⁰⁰ *The New York Times*, "The Woman Voter," January 3, 1918.

²⁰¹ Here I have built my argument on a portion of Liette Gidlow's *The Big Vote*. An aspect of her monograph argued that the late 1920s "Get Out the Vote" campaigns targeted middle class and elite whites thereby minimizing those groups most deficient in the polling stations and ensuring the existing power structure. In the case of Thompson's "The Woman Voter" I see a similar theme of reaching out to the dominant group (men) in an attempt to retain power. Liette Gidlow, *The Big Vote: Gender, Consumer Culture, and the Politics of Exclusion, 1890s-1920s* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

business's economic rights through the War Industries Board and Lever Act.²⁰² Metaphorically, the series expected women to be submissive wives to Uncle Sam.

If women internalized the message of "The Woman Voter," they would support Wilson and accommodate all government demands to guarantee victory. After multiple lessons about good citizenship as maintained through voting, one character proudly announced: "That is what I would say to the American Bolsheviki."²⁰³ Interestingly, the acknowledged threat did not come from Germany or the Kaiser, but from within the United States. Thus, the goal of the series was to discredit domestic insurgents who sought to weaken the country in a time of war. No doubt, the perception that women's political sympathies resided with socialism and pacifism drove the creation of this manual. From this perspective, the series embodied effective war propaganda. Ironically, while perhaps assisting individual women, "The Woman Voter" served more intensely to promote both the hegemonic male and the national war agenda.

In contrast, Boyd's *The Woman Citizen* pushed a distinctly female-oriented education. Unlike the authors of *The Woman Voter's Manual* and "The Woman Voter," she integrated women into the explanations of civics thoroughly. Boyd dedicated the entire first half of the manual to explicitly defining women's political status through an examination of their political and civil rights, something the other two manuals failed to address. *The Woman Citizen* explained the "idiosyncrasies of woman's status in respect to civic and political citizenship," and therefore directly addressed the shortcomings of the American system that did not grant citizenship to native-born women in the same manner as men.²⁰⁴ Her historically minded

²⁰² Robert Zieger, *America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience* (Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2000).

²⁰³ *The New York Times*, "The Woman Voter," January 30, 1918.

²⁰⁴ Boyd, *The Woman Citizen*, vi. According to Boyd, citizenship was often "erroneously" explained as equal between the sexes even though men possessed political rights of men and women only had civil rights. Boyd, *The Woman Citizen*, 26. Gidlow, *The Big Vote*.

approach presented evidence of women's struggle for full citizenship since the nineteenth century and placed the suffrage movement in the context of constitutional evolution. Boyd also analyzed suffrage qualification laws state by state. Consequently, women in any state could readily understand their rank in the political hierarchy. More than any other manual reviewed, *The Woman Voter* utilized statistics and hard data to illustrate the inequality of gender-based suffrage.²⁰⁵

After Boyd irrefutably outlined women's secondary political status, *The Woman Voter* focused on how women could apply their citizenship. Boyd's manual paralleled the "nuts and bolts" approach to civics that *The Woman Voter's Manual* and "The Woman Voter" utilized. She asserted, "I have not tried to give advice to the woman voter as to what she should seek to accomplish with her vote."²⁰⁶ And, although she was less inclined than other authors to promote a specific agenda, the second half of the text gave clues as to what women should be concerned about as voting citizens. Boyd emphasized the election and role of key officials in government, spotlighting reforms that made government more efficient and democratic.²⁰⁷ In reality, the major social concerns were relevant to both men and women in the Progressive movement. While other social issues like the Pure Food Law and child labor were mentioned, Boyd refused to provide a specifically female agenda beyond attaining full citizenship.²⁰⁸

Gertrude Foster Brown's *Your Vote and How To Use It* further outlined the major issues pertinent to women and portrayed "politics as having an intimate relation" to their daily routine as wives and mothers. Although understanding the structures of government and citizenship was

²⁰⁵ *The Woman Citizen* benefited from the author's connection to NAWSA's information resources and Boyd's position as chairman of the Research Department of the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education.

²⁰⁶ Boyd, *The Woman Citizen*, viii.

²⁰⁷ Boyd, *The Woman Citizen*, 121-125. This section provides examples of reform such as streamlining government and raising the standards for state legislators by increasing their pay and how government corruption could be eliminated. Robert Wiebe, *A Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

²⁰⁸ Boyd, *The Woman Citizen*, 174-175. As stated in Ch. 2, Boyd argued three elements were necessary for woman's full citizenship: equal voting rights, independent citizenship, and jury service.

central to the manual, the avenues of women's work were clearly delineated in the text. Brown suggested that women had previously "not realized that government has a direct effect on the comfort and happiness of the family in the home, on the successful upbringing of children, and on the health and safety of men and women workers."²⁰⁹ From this perspective, political activity was an outgrowth of the innate desire of women to create and sustain a positive home environment on a larger scale. How could anti-suffragists argue against enabling woman's natural urge to care for her community? Unlike *The Woman Voter's Manual*, "The Woman Voter," and *The Woman Citizen, Your Vote and How To Use It* spent time on public education, health and recreation, issues related to children, and charities. These concerns surpassed the mere functioning of government and relayed the appropriate fields women should understand and reform.

Besides the traditional fields of women's interest, *Your Vote and How To Use It* showed specific concern for women's labor. Brown asserted that, Even though the women of New York State worked in great numbers outside the home, "The war has brought a revolution in woman's work."²¹⁰ Indeed, workingwomen were pulled into higher paid, typically male jobs as a result of the war. While some protective legislation existed for women, the laws did not expand into these new realms of industry. Additionally, Brown feared the continuation of war and suspected that labor laws would be suspended in the future. For Brown, the crisis of war simultaneously exacerbated the need for women's labor and justified laws to protect them. Suffragists stressed women's volunteer work as patriotic service that proved their loyalty and fitness for full citizenship, but Brown targeted women who had to work. *Your Vote and How To Use It* boldly utilized the war to advocate equal pay for women. Addressing such an issue of industrial

²⁰⁹ Brown, *Your Vote and How To Use It*, 1.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 221.

citizenship during war effectively pointed out how much the country relied on the labor of women.²¹¹

Neither the concern for economic parity nor the direct language Brown used in regards to women's industrial participation carried over into her discussion of political engagement. *Your Vote and How To Use It* did not project a complete political equality between the sexes. She declared, "the right to vote for the man who is to represent you, who is to make the law for you and to enforce that law, is the most sacred right of a free country." Although women were described as voters, such an explanation placed them in a state of passivity not wholly different from the pre-suffrage era where men represented and protected the interests of women. Yet, Brown continued to argue that, "The success or failure of government in the United States, and in every political division of the State, rests with the men and women who have the power of the vote."²¹² While men held government positions, ultimate authority rested with the voters themselves. To modern eyes, these statements appear inconsistent in regards to women's political activities, but one must remember the tremendous social and political changes enfranchisement produced in the United States. Although some women immediately equated the vote with holding office, Carrie Chapman Catt noticed that, "the female of the species has proved herself rather fundamentally averse to office-seeking." Suffrage gave women the right to vote, but did not automatically prompt them to run as political candidates or radically change

²¹¹ Ibid., 222, 227-230. It must be emphasized that the women who worked in war industries were, for the most part, already working women. World War I and World War II pulled women into new and higher wage positions, but did not substantially increase the number of employed women. Zieger, *America's Great War*; 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); Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Dorothy Sue Cobble, *The Other Women's Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).

²¹² Brown, *Your Vote and How To Use It*, 72.

their behavior.²¹³ The analysis of Brown's manual suggests that suffrage equality did not necessarily change women's political expectations.

Mary Austin attempted to allay the fears that suffrage would create a profound change in women. In fact, *The Young Woman Citizen* asked women to capitalize on their unique experience as women. Austin explained, "The long necessity for proving our fitness for citizenship in men's terms has given to women a certain distrust of the woman's way of doing things." The standard of masculinity in all things political should make women consider if "she is coming to her new obligation as another, less experienced man, or whether she has anything to contribute as a woman."²¹⁴ Austin proposed women's viewpoint was valid: "Civilization as we have it now is one-eyed and one handed." In a sense, the war represented all that could go wrong with an all-male political system. Thus, Austin emphasized the benefit of bringing a uniquely female perspective to government as a way to provide balance and to improve society. This could happen only if women approached governance from their special position- in which the justification for women's political involvement emanated from their ability to see the world in a different way.²¹⁵ Catt encapsulated this idea when she argued, "If there is truth in the theory that men and women are different, it clinches the absolute need for women in political life."²¹⁶ Utilizing this approach shut down any critique levied against women's right to full citizenship built on ideas that women lost their femininity once they entered politics. Quite the contrary, political rights required them to think and act as women.

²¹³ Forman and Shuler, *The Woman Voter's Manual*, xv. However, such a statement concerning women's disinterest should be tempered by the recognition of institutional barriers within political parties that systematically denied women from running for office. Flanagan, *Seeing With Their Hearts*.

²¹⁴ Austin, *The Young Woman Citizen*, 16.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 17, 19.

²¹⁶ S.E. Forman and Marjorie Shuler, *The Woman Voter's Manual* (New York: The Century Company, 1918), xii.

Austin maintained that the paramount difference between men and women was woman's ability to base her actions on "life values."²¹⁷ Ever the source of nurturing, women were more concerned about maintaining life than anything else. In her opinion, woman suffrage affirmed that "womanhood and motherhood have definite, geometric values" to society.²¹⁸ In retaining the traditional roles of women, Austin also drew from earlier imagery that portrayed women as highly spiritual beings. She suggested that "[w]hat we want of woman is the beam from her own orb of spiritual perception, the definite light thrown on our general problem from her high specialization."²¹⁹ Again, this approach highlighted the differences between men and women as a positive good. Women approached problems from a completely different perspective, a perspective that would help reform society. Furthermore, women would not have to fundamentally change when they were granted full-citizenship. Austin explained, "The only difference between a trained nurse and a pitying female is a difference of training; mastery over the conditions of sickness takes the place of an emotion about it."²²⁰ When women were educated and expected to be full citizens, their urge to help would not change, although their methods and usefulness would. This explanation offered a very unthreatening vision of politically active women and promoted women's citizenship as maternal citizenship.

Rather than focus on the mechanics of government, Austin placed all emphasis on the female approach and attitude requisite for good citizenship. The manual reads more like an extended editorial piece than any of the previous civics manuals. Austin did not mention any government structures, voting procedures, or clearly defined explanation of citizenship. She relayed the need for political education, global awareness, and labor issues, but failed to outline

²¹⁷ Austin, *The Young Woman Citizen*, 22.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 86.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

key concepts in a didactic manner. Ultimately, she suggested the government should be organized around four major social causes: food, housing, clothing, and transportation.²²¹

Although never explicitly stated, Mary Austin's *The Young Woman Citizen* explained enfranchisement as simply expanding the mothering instinct beyond a woman's household. She suggested that all the big problems of the world could be dealt with, if women only changed their scale of application.²²²

Austin magnified the importance of women's unique approach to government by utilizing a language that demystified politics and valued women's approach to solving problems. She explained that, "[g]overnment is the frame and form by which we function citizenly, the furniture of our social house, we can arrange at our convenience."²²³ According to this viewpoint, government and political activism were simple household duties. Austin even cloaked the message of political activism in very traditional terms that would not alienate her audience. And, unlike Forman and Shuler's *The Woman Voter's Manual* or Thompson's "The Woman Voter," she devalued the authority of man's political vision and the stereotypical male perspective by describing it as "man-thinking." According to Austin, men always considered the financial aspects first. Milk, for example, was a commodity that children did not always get as a result of businessmen seeking the largest profit.²²⁴ Women could not possibly accept this practice since it was inefficient, unjust, and hurt the public good. No woman needed to know the mechanics of government; she only had to apply what she already knew.²²⁵

²²¹ Ibid., 91.

²²² Ibid., 167-168. Flanagan, *Seeing With Their Hearts*; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*.

²²³ Austin, *The Young Woman Citizen*, 14.

²²⁴ Ibid., 21-22.

²²⁵ Flanagan, *Seeing With Their Hearts*; Edwards, *Angels in the Machinery*; Paula Baker, "Domestication of Politics," *The American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (1984): 620-647.

Robinson's method in *Preparing Women for Citizenship* mirrored that of Austin. The manual abandoned nearly all discussions of government structure in order to promote women's vision of reform. According to Robinson, other texts focused on how the political world functioned, whereas *Preparing Women for Citizenship* discussed what should be done. In fact, her manual was the only one to promote unabashedly a female legislative agenda. As Robinson described it, women's history of political exclusion in the United States lent itself to an investigation of ideas rather than the methods utilized. Since, "our inheritance of political methods has always been through the male line- and the male method," civic education has focused on "political machinery rather than on public needs." As women entered the political world as full citizens, they would learn about the mechanics of government. But Robinson suggested that such knowledge was secondary to their vision of progress and improvement. In fact, women possessed a clear view of reform even before their enfranchisement when "there was no machinery to get in the way." Women provided selfless public service during this time without any hope of political advantage. Retention of their pre-suffrage mentality was thus an essential task during the transition to women's full citizenship.²²⁶ Robinson emphasized the continuity in women's attitudes and actions regardless of their political status. In doing so, she endowed political activity with traditionally female attributes and made those activities acceptable to a broad audience.

Robinson encouraged women to disregard the notion that woman's sphere could not include political action. Throughout the previous century, justification for men's political dominance was explained in part by their natural temperament and by the contrast with women's influence over the domestic sphere. Thus, the ideal woman stayed out of public and political

²²⁶ Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, 17-19. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*; Baker, "The Domestication of Politics."

arenas. However, such absolutes did not occur in real life. By the turn of the century, Progressive reforms had propelled women and traditionally female concerns into the center of the political sphere. Robinson declared that these spheres no longer existed.²²⁷ She advocated for the continuation of “putting the family in the center of politics, rather than the boss or the political office or the dollar mark.”²²⁸ The interests of women in promoting the social welfare would be the fulcrum on which political decisions would be made in the future. Essentially, the domestic sphere had become the political sphere.²²⁹

Robinson argued that women’s political work mirrored the fundamental work women have always done. In particular, the “Three D’s”- dependents, defectives and delinquents- had traditionally been the concern of women, and, therefore, should be on women’s political agenda for the future.²³⁰ According to Robinson, government intervened and took over the work of many benevolent organizations that provided assistance to these groups, thereby cutting women off from their previous work. Therefore, she explained, “When a mayor or governor or board of county commissioners appoints a woman on one of these boards his is simply calling her to her old historic work in a new form.”²³¹ Robinson thus argued for the consistency of women’s behavior over time. Only the scope of women’s assistance changed with enfranchisement and full citizenship. After all, if women could be counted on during the war to run efficient

²²⁷ Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, 126-127. Much scholarship exists concerning this topic. Of course, arguments about “Women’s Sphere” specifically target elite white women since they themselves had the luxury of not having to work. Initial studies drew hard lines between men and women’s work, but as the historiography of women’s history developed, this approach has been tempered. Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: “Woman’s Sphere” in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-century United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Edwards, *Angels in the Machinery*.

²²⁸ Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, 6.

²²⁹ Paula Baker, “Domestication of Politics.”

²³⁰ Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, 74.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 76.

households, what would keep them from applying such lessons to government in the post-war period?²³²

Drawing from the history of her home state of Colorado, Robinson suggested that both pioneer days and the war had produced a similar democratic spirit in people.²³³ An egalitarian society developed in the West because women who accompanied men on the frontier shared the same hardships as their partners. Difficult times resulted in equality. When elites from the South and East established state constitutions, only then were women left out politically. Robinson, who worked in the Colorado state legislature, suggested the state's decision to grant suffrage to women was "a little piece of unfinished business left over from pioneer day[s]."²³⁴ Robinson connected the past to the current war and suggested, "When we talk about Reconstruction Days that are coming we are talking about Pioneer Land."²³⁵ This was a powerful metaphor that harkened back to the expansion of American democracy and emphasized a return to how society used to be. Just as men needed women to survive on the fringes of white civilization, women were needed during and after the war. In fact, World War I transformed many wealthy "ladies" accustomed to servants back to their natural state as "women" willing to serve rather than be served.²³⁶ The experience was transformative for Americans in both situations since the frontier and the war each required collaboration and unity in the face of opposition. By connecting World War I to a pristine democratic frontier, she created an opportunity to promote women's full citizenship.

²³² Ibid., 47-50. In this way she echoed Austin's claim that ordinary practices in the home transcended into societal reforms.

²³³ Charles Tilly ed., *Citizenship, Identity and Social History* (Cambridge; NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

²³⁴ Robinson, *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, 125-127.

²³⁵ Ibid., 129.

²³⁶ Ibid., 102. Indeed, wealthy women were targeted during the war for their lavish and wasteful spending habits. *The New York Times*, "Types of Feminine Slackers in New York," July 21, 1918.

The confluence of World War I and the suffrage movement created an environment that complicated the understanding and expression of women's citizenship.

The war punctuated certain characteristics of good citizenship such as loyalty and provided traction for arguments that women's radicalism emanated from their desire to participate on equal terms with men. With the New York suffrage victory in November of 1917, the education of new women voters became an essential facet to the suffrage movement. The renegotiation of women's citizenship did not occur immediately, nor did it follow a linear trajectory. Rather, the evolution of women's identity as citizens forced women to reconcile existing norms with their new political status. Consequently, a variety of approaches to citizenship developed, from the strictly masculine to the overtly feminine. Citizenship in the post-suffrage era would not be gender neutral.

The civics manuals published after the New York State suffrage referendum did not represent a monolithic vision of women's citizenship. Three distinct methods for educating women as citizens emerged. The two manuals written by men, *The Woman Voter's Manual* and "The Woman Voter," emphasized the mechanics and functioning of the political system in a way that failed to incorporate women's experience and perspective. While manuals like *The Woman Citizen* and *Your Vote and How To Use It* also stressed the structure of the American political system, they explicitly incorporated women into their explanations of good citizenship. They presented women's political status as a direct result of the policies of an all-male government. Therefore, women required a thorough understanding of the mechanical features of government in order to fully free themselves and extend the traditional interests of women into the political sphere. The manuals expected and trained women to execute their civic duty through the

perspective of motherhood. Conveying the ideological rather than the practical application of civic participation, *The Young Woman Voter* and *Preparing Women for Citizenship* fostered a female-oriented citizenship that accentuated the continuity of women's political goals and agenda from the pre-suffrage era. The variety of scope, content, and style in the manuals indicate the ongoing contest over the definition of American citizenship.

Conclusion

Years ago, Nancy Cott proposed in *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* that women's political activism continued into the 1920s in the same vein as the pre-suffrage era. Her argument attacked the practice of conflating suffragists with feminists. According to Cott, historians failed to understand that the period between the Nineteenth Amendment and the Second Wave of the feminist movement denoted the origins of feminism, not the collapse of the ideology. Feminists were a minority within the suffrage movement, and just because women could vote, it did not automatically convert them to feminism. The vast majority of women did not change their approach to understanding female citizenship or their civic participation. Ultimately, she argued for the continuity of women's political behavior.²³⁷

Absent from Cott's intellectual history of the suffrage movement was an explanation for women's political behavior that addressed the influence of World War I on the suffrage movement. My thesis illustrates the impact of society's concern over wartime radicalism on the education of the new woman voter. The propaganda and fear which permeated the United States during World War I minimized change and guided women down a path that encouraged an understanding of citizenship that was highly gendered and traditional in approach. This study attempts to pinpoint when and why such continuity of thought and action, as described by Cott, remained the only viable avenue for women.

World War I profoundly changed the international suffrage movement. The Wartime Elections Act, the Representation of the People Act of 1918, and the New York State suffrage referendum each enabled national suffrage movements to question the qualifications of full citizenship in their respective countries. Extension of the franchise to select women during war directly complicated the established criteria of female citizenship. The suffrage changes in

²³⁷ Cott, *Grounding of Modern Feminism*.

Canada, Great Britain, and the United States initiated a paradigm shift in the suffrage movement characterized by a wartime understanding of citizenship. In the context of war, suffrage became closely linked to loyalty and served as an indicator of one's dedication to the state. Advocates of woman suffrage argued that successful prosecution of the war against Germany necessitated the extension of the vote to a broader swath of the country. However, under these new suffrage laws, the enfranchisement of a select group of women often appeared arbitrary and politically motivated. Consequently, domestic changes resulted from international conflict and initiated a crisis in women's civic identity.

The renegotiation of women's citizenship in the United States did not occur in isolation. Indeed, the Progressive Era was a transnational phenomenon that reached across the Atlantic.²³⁸ Despite the war, intellectual and political connections maintained between women in the North Atlantic Triangle informed and sustained domestic suffrage movements. The common process of wartime enfranchisement seems to have resulted in a common response that enabled women to make arguments for full citizenship based on their dedication to the state. In the context of an international suffrage movement and war, women's citizenship across much of the Western world, especially the United States, experienced greater scrutiny and renegotiation.

The weeks before and immediately after the New York State suffrage referendum produced a barrage of critiques against the suffragists. Anti-suffragists questioned the loyalty of those who continued to agitate for women's right to vote in spite of the ongoing war. They elided radicalism, socialism, pacifism, and feminism in their description of women suffragists in order to discredit the movement and prevent further enfranchisement. The claims of anti-suffragists, inspired and legitimized by international concerns emanating from World War I, forced suffragists to defend women's political right to the vote and to engage the critiques of their

²³⁸ Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*.

opponents. Since anti-suffrage rhetoric ultimately controlled the parameters of the debate over women's citizenship, civics manuals produced specifically for women during this contentious period were colored by fears of women's radicalism.

Educating women and men about the inequalities of a gender-based voting system was always a concern for suffragists, but once women were enfranchised they also had to illustrate how women voters would serve the interests of the state. They attempted to indoctrinate women in regards to the appropriate definition and implementation of good citizenship. The manuals created a model of female citizenship profoundly influenced by World War I and the Russian Revolution. In particular, the education of the woman citizen was designed to minimize the allure of radical thought and to glorify the American political system in an effort to create a loyal female citizenry unable to be seduced by the claims of socialists or the allure of pacifists. Additionally, good women citizens were not feminists according to the manuals. They emphasized the difference between suffrage and feminism, thereby demystifying the vote. The manuals presented suffrage as a tool that enabled women to continue their traditional business in a more effective manner. Regardless of their differences, these manuals fostered an image of the woman citizen that did not overturn the fundamental gender roles of society although she was politically active.

The manuals promoted a political agenda for women that often promoted a maternal approach to all things political and explained citizenship in gendered terms. Clearly, the entrance of women into the political world as voting citizens did not create a gender-neutral approach to understanding or expressing one's citizenship. The renegotiation of women's citizenship occurred over a substantial period of time and through a variety of approaches. In particular, three distinct methods emerged from this study. The first emphasized the mechanics of

government and attempted to retain masculine citizenship as the dominant political perspective. The second group designed their manuals with women in mind, but continued to teach the basics of the American political system. Finally, the last group of manuals promoted a female education which conveyed the right attitude and ideological approach to being a good citizen. Together these manuals reveal the growing pains of incorporating women into the electorate and the impact of World War I on how American women were trained to understand their rights and obligations as enfranchised citizens.

The confluence of World War I and the suffrage movement created an environment that complicated the understanding and expression of women's citizenship. World War I clearly circumscribed the articulation of women's citizenship. However, the struggle to define who female citizens were and how they should act became even more extreme in the immediate post-war era. In 1919, the Red Scare dominated the domestic politics of the United States. The Palmer Raids, labor strikes, and the fear of a highly radicalized society further guaranteed that American citizens, especially women awaiting the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, would continue to be educated in a way that reinforced the lessons taught during World War I.

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