REFORM AS A MEANS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Theodore Roosevelt and Women's Suffrage

by Eliane Leslau Silverman

The women's suffrage amendment to the American constitution, the Nineteenth Amendment ratified by the states in 1921, became federal law because men with power approved women's right to vote. The reform represented a potent tool for these men when they came to believe that it would help them control the forces that were threatening their society. Avid suffragists had been arguing for at least three decades before the amendment's passage that women's votes would bring the political millenium closer, but agitation for the franchise became effective only when suffragists were able to convince senators, congressmen and state legislators that the measure was congruent with and necessary for achieving their own visions of the ideal American political and social structure. The goal which had once been part of a radical programme for women's rights became a narrow reform, yet another tool of social and political control in the hands of middle class males.

The assumptions underlying the suffragists arguments were more pervasive and had a wider appeal than a simple "vote yes" or "vote no" could convey. The men who acquiesced in granting women the vote did so because they understood that their personal needs and the country's needs meshed, and that those needs could come closer to being fulfilled if women were part of the political system. Part of their need was, first of all and most obviously, the perpetuation of their own power and that of people like themselves. The less obvious aspect of their need was for a return to the world of their youth, the golden age of their childhoods, in which middle

Theodore Roosevelt, 1907.
Courtesy of the Public Archives of Canada

class men had wielded incontrovertible power in towns and small cities, unthreatened by the assault from above of the great new industrialists and from below by masses of immigrants in growing urban centers. In that world fathers had been powerful and mothers had been moral. Restore the order of that world and the new powers might be negated. The middle class might continue to reign; social order might be restored, chaos averted. Men with power came to understand that women could contribute to that restoration and that control could be theirs again.

The example of Theodore Roosevelt provides a striking insight into the manner whereby men came to accommodate voting women into their scheme of future, healthier American politics in which they need not fear losing control. As New York's governor in 1900 he was opposed to granting women the vote; he espoused the cause mildly in 1912 and heartily by 1919. The reason for his shift bears close examination, for it elucidates the way suffrage fitted into his vision of the future, based on his nostalgic understanding of the past. While believing he was marching firmly forward, Roosevelt in fact looked fixedly backward to his childhood and especially at the models for behaviour and sexual roles provided by his mother and father.(1) He matured in the period when the Woman Question, the issue of the correct relationship between the sexes, became more pressing, but he returned in his ideology and his behaviour to those past models, thus relying on patterns useful for himself and his generation but painfully restrictive for the twentieth century.

The suffrage issue perhaps elucidates best Roosevelt's view of the American system. Through his journey toward approval of votes for women he indicated the intensity of his commitment to a sexually polarized world in which masculinity was aggressiveness, license, and independence, femininity submissiveness, order, and dependence. The one extreme, he felt, needed the balance of the other. An excess of masculinity could produce chaos, which might mean the end of the society in which he had grown up and which he wished to perpetuate. Obedience and discipline, feminine characteristics, must be introduced into politics and society to reimpose order. Masculine and feminine qualities together, he believed, would restore virtuous America.

Throughout his life Roosevelt was fascinated with explicitly masculine subjects. Admiring the manly individualism of cowboys, soldiers, hunters, and ranchers, he returned in speeches and books and in his own life to the theme of the lone man in a society without women, always evoking for himself and his audience vividly masculine images. The viril-

ity of the man on his own must provide America's forceful thrust; the mythical loners were the best Americans in their independence. In 1888, shortly after his three year sojourn in the Dakotas, he wrote, "The hunter is the archetype of freedom. His well-being rests in no man's hands save his own."(2) He recalled that period of his life with joy: "in that land we led a free and hardy life, with horse and with rifle."(3) The independence he admired among cowboys was intensified by his reading about and experience among soldiers. A nation like an individual could evince its strength in the bearing of arms; if the individuals of the nation proved manly, the country would be virile. The convenience and comforts of an industrial civilization must never excuse Americans from "admiring and practicing the heroic and warlike virtues," he wrote in his autobiography.(4) Himself a soldier in the Spanish-American war he later reflected that the charge up San Juan Hill had given him most satisfaction during that war, a charge notoriously mismanaged and in which his unit, the Rough Riders, took the highest casualty rate of any American unit.(5) Indeed, his only unpleasant reminiscence of the campaign, he wrote to his son Kermit, was "a touch of Cuban fever."(6) The carnage seemed merely great fun, and Roosevelt's experiences afforded him joyous memories of soldiering. The kind of dying Stephen Crane documented with such

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt
in the field

sensitivity was for Roosevelt part of the great adventure. He reserved his greatest contempt for pacifists--people opposed to American entrance into World War I--whom he described as the sort of man "who would not even resent his wife's face being slapped by a ruffian or his daughter being kidnapped by a white slaver."(7) They had lost every quality of manhood, he wrote in his volume on preparedness.(8) Roosevelt's passion for big game hunting was another manifestation of his exuberance in the sense of masculinity he derived from the act of killing,

> The chase is among the best of all national pastimes; it cultivates that vigorous manliness for the lack of which in a nation, as in an individual, the possession of no other qualities can possibly atone.(9)

The doctrine of individualism which lay behind his admiration of cowboys, soldiers, and hunters kept alive "that virile vigor" indispensable to the nation.(10) In the chaotic gilded age of early 20th century America, Roosevelt came to believe that a firm application of feminine qualities was necessary to preserve the social fabric to which he was committed.

For Roosevelt the social importance of women was enormous. Women meant marriage; marriage meant the restraint of men and the training of future generations. In 1910, speaking at a girls' school, Roosevelt said that girls should learn to run a household that "will keep the husband there" rather than elsewhere.(11) A wife's duty was to keep her husband moral. Only cowardly and vacuous women would shirk their duty as good wives and mothers: good, that is, because they kept men on the straight and narrow--a difficult task, admitted Roosevelt, but in doing it a woman would know the "highest and holiest joy known to mankind. . . ."(12) Women must raise the children and make the home sufficiently attractive that future generations would choose the same path as their parents, the path of national duty; his parents had done that for him. When men were selfish the blame lay on:

> the lack of strength of character, the lack of wisdom, the lack of genuine love on the part of that woman in not bringing her boy up to be unselfish and thoughtful of others, so that he might live decently in his own household and do his work well in the world at large.(13)

Women were capable of this task because the qualities innate to their sex were sweetness, gentleness, unselfishness, tenderness, and the strength to endure.(14) Loving self-abnegation was the mark of motherhood; associations with the very word rendered it "holy in any society fit to exist."(15) In

1918 he made explicit his conviction that women would always continue to be moral guides and teachers in a letter to Harriet Stanton Blatch, the daughter of Elizabeth Stanton and herself a suffragist. The "best women" when aroused, he wrote, offered the surest means of resisting the "unhealthy softening" of materialism in the nation as well as in the family. The country would become ever greater so long as women showed evidence of the same "iron resolution" which had characterized the women of the Revolution and the Civil War. Interestingly, he was unconsciously comparing the present time, a year after American entrance into World War I, with previous periods of national trauma. The nation now needed the service of women who must have the same chance to contribute as men had.(16) When civilization itself was under attack women would come to its rescue.
At the core of Roosevelt's political programme was the masculine-feminine organizing principle, the need for strong institutions representing the family writ large in the state and able to resist primitive impulses which Roosevelt sensed in himself and ascribed to other men. The Progressive candidate came finally to call for help in the reorganization of American society--from women. In 1912 he advocated women's suffrage, endorsing the Progressive Party's plank because he construed the measure as congruent with his explicit ideology and his unspoken needs. Women's suffrage for Roosevelt did not imply a revolution in women's roles; nor did it suggest simply a reduplication of the electorate. Rather, it meant that women would vote for and participate in progressive reforms, would be better able to teach men and boys morality, better able to help men resist the siren chaos. Women would contribute to the restoration of the social order and the reform of the industrial machine that the progressive movement, the Progressive Party, and Roosevelt himself wanted to effect. He was certain that women would concur in his aims, for he had confidently defined them as civilizing agents. From women and the institution in which they were important, the family, he had learned to be a social being. Extrapolating from his experiences he concluded that the creation of a female constituency would restore America to its mythic order.

Theodore Roosevelt reached his approval of women's suffrage at a slow crawl, as he came throughout his political career to recognize the difficulty of maintaining the power of the middle class. A sporadic, half-hearted interest began in 1899 when as governor of New York he called for limited suffrage.(17) He explained his position in a letter that year to Helen K. Johnson who opposed women's suffrage. The core of his argument rested on the state-

ment that the "sane advocates of women's rights" wanted to help women better to perform their duties. Limited suffrage would assure women a voice in areas that concerned them and their children. Suffragists who claimed more than that for the cause were "as undesirable a class of people" as the United States had ever seen, having warped minds and combining disinterested zeal with the immorality of fighting not only the laws of man but the laws of nature.(18)

Despite the limited approval he expressed that year, Roosevelt's interest in women's suffrage remained sporadic until 1912. At a celebration of Colorado's twenty-fifth anniversary as a state in 1901 he made no mention in his speech of its 1893 amendment granting women the vote.(19) When celebrating Susan B. Anthony's eighty-fourth birthday in 1904, delegates of the National American Women's Suffrage Association called at the White House. He gave them a non-committal answer when they asked his support for a federal amendment.(20) Addressing the American Federation of Labor in 1906, Roosevelt made no mention of women, by then over twenty per cent of the working force.(21) In 1908 he wrote to suffragist Harriet Taylor Upton that he would not mention the subject in his annual message because he did not consider it a "live issue;" no good would come of talking about it just then. Not an enthusiastic advocate of federal enfranchisement, he did not consider it an important matter. He was unable to see any improvement in the position of women in the western states where they could vote compared with those states in which they could not. Certain that when women as a whole wanted the vote they would have it, he believed most women to be unenthusiastic. His two sisters were strongly against it, his wife halfheartedly in favour. The real usefulness of women lay in their role as mothers of families, where they would find the "full and perfect life, the life of highest happiness and of highest usefulness to the State. . . ." (22) He was not yet defining women's votes as a vote for morality.

The subject stayed on his mind; ten days after his letter to Mrs. Upton he wrote to his son Theodore that women's suffrage did not warrant much interest. He repeated that he and Mrs. Roosevelt were "lukewarmly" in favour of it, while his sisters Anna and Corinne were against it.(23) Later that year the National American Women's Suffrage Association asked the President whether one million signatures would encourage him to recommend the reform to the Congress; he replied that a petition would move neither him nor the Congress. When the deputation he was receiving asked him what they should do to effect the suffrage, he answered that they should, "Go, get another State."(24) He was responding at an objective political level, not seeing it as a pressing national ques-

tion.

He maintained as late as 1911 that he would favour enfranchising women if they wanted to vote, although he did not consider it as important for women or for the state as the other tasks that women could and should do.(25) The inconsistency of his position was frustratingly apparent to the suffragists: a million signatures were not proof to him that women wanted the franchise. Not until the Progressives endorsed women's suffrage in 1912, the year they most acutely feared the loss of middle class morality and their own power in politics, did Roosevelt actively urge others to adopt the measure at the national level. Before that year he still believed that women's needs and duties were only indirectly connected with politics.(26)

In fact, Roosevelt never became a sexual egalitarian. Protection of women remained one of his personal and political needs. But he came to think that women could help him further the moral reconstruction of American life. If Roosevelt's kind of progressivism was founded on the ideological and personal hope of reintroducing a familiar moral order, it began to seem reasonable to him that women as the key to the most fundamental institution, the family, should enter the political scene. He was impressed with the size of California's Progressive vote in 1911, with women in the electorate. "Both the size of the vote and the overwhelming victory for right" gratified progressives who believed in "helping out American policies."(27) In a lively letter early in 1912 to Florence Kelley, social worker and suffragist, he wrote that women like men must militate against "vice, and frivolity, and cold selfishness, and timid shrinking from necessary risk and effort. . . ."(28) If convinced that "women will take an effective stand against sexual viciousness, which of course means especially against male sexual viciousness," as they had done in Seattle by outlawing prostitution, he would become a fervent believer in the suffrage.(29)

Roosevelt began examining Progressive victories in the states and seeing the influence of women doing their duty on behalf of better government. All the while he still stressed women's duties above women's rights.

> I have always told my friends that it seemed to me that no man was worth his salt who did not think very deeply of women's rights and that no woman was worth her salt who did not think more of her duties than of her rights. . . . I favor it [women's suffrage] tepidly, because I am infinitely more interested in other things.(30)

Women must continue to understand that their great work must be done in the home,

> that the ideal woman of the future, just like the ideal woman of the past, must be the good wife, the good mother, the mother who is able to bear, and to rear, a number of healthy children.(31)

He was convinced that the best woman would always be the wife and mother like his own who performed "the most important of all social duties with wisdom, courage, and efficiency."(32) He reiterated, "I believe in woman's rights. I believe even more earnestly in the performance of duty by both men and women. . . ."(33) When he construed women's duties to extend beyond the home into the political sphere he began to argue more forcefully for women's suffrage.

In 1912 Roosevelt allegedly wrote the Progressive Party's original plank supporting women's suffrage. It pledged the party to support the electoral reform only when the question had been submitted to a referendum of the women of the United States. He was then persuaded, probably by suffragists, of the insult of testing women in this fashion; men had never been polled on the subject of their franchise. A new plank was substituted.

> The Progressive Party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.(34)

Roosevelt publicly described his conversion to the suffrage cause in this fashion:

> I grew to believe in Woman Suffrage, not because of associating with women whose chief interest was in Woman Suffrage, but because of finding out that the women from whom I received most aid in endeavoring to grapple with the social and industrial problems of the day were themselves believers in Woman Suffrage.(35)

These women were politically effective but more than that he conceived them to be women brought up like him and the women he knew most intimately. They would present no threat to Roosevelt's feelings about himself and his relations with women. In short, when approving women's suffrage Roosevelt was advocating the restoration of government by his own class and seeking renewal of social control by people like himself.

"His own class" is not a phrase to be understood merely in economic terms. Rather, it refers to a weltanschauung which he felt was shared by certain people who had been brought up to respect the same values as he, or who had learned to do so, and who would perpetuate them in the political order. His view of relations between people formed his conception of soci-

ety. Some people had to protect other people. In his own life, his father had protected his mother. He himself had felt highly protective of his first wife. As President he felt he had to protect the American social and economic order from unruly persons. When he came to believe that some woemn shared this view of the world, and would help him in its continuation, he agreed that women could participate in politics. He frequently said that only exceptional women would be able to act outside the home. Since he felt that the women he knew best and those with whom he worked were exceptional, he probably assumed that women who did not share his morality would not be a political force. The women he knew would call forth the best in Americans, making the nation purer and stronger.

Some of the women he envisioned in political life after 1912 were the social workers who were endeavouring to ameliorate American conditions. He said that women like Florence Kellor, Florence Kelley, and Jane Addams had the same zeal for reform as men. They knew about working girls' conditions, for instance, and therefore could help change them. Women were deeply concerned with prevention of accidents and industrial diseases, unemployment, overwork, wages, workers' compensation and the eight-hour day for women. They could also reform "certain dreadful evils of our social life."(36)

In advocating the suffrage for women, he said that politics would become a method of applying ethics to public life; this application concerned women as much as men.(37) When he insisted that Progressivism really represented the people, he meant that it represented the right kind of people who construed the world in his own male-female terms. The mother's nurturing role would be extended to protect women and other child-like people, the lower class, to regulate ethics; and to reform social and industrial conditions. If Americans were not oppressed by vile working conditions they could return to their homes at the end of the day to be good and energetic fathers and mothers. Those who worked to effect these goals should be granted full political rights, as should the women he knew intimately and respected like his wife and his sisters. Comfortable with these women, he believed they were the "highest type," serene, gracious, and receptive.(38)

And so, Roosevelt relied on the middle class women he trusted to be the moral guides of future American politics. They shared his view of the world, he believed, and agreed with his view of the relations between men and women; they understood his desire for his own ethics and his own needs to become the ethics of all. "A vote is like a rifle," he wrote; "its usefulness depends upon the character of the user."(39) Middle class women would use it well.

Roosevelt still insisted in 1912 as he had in 1899 that the suffrage movement included another kind of women, those he called extremists or fanatics. These women discredited themselves and their sex by their disorderly antics in public. They assailed "the foundations of private and public morality in their endeavor . . . to lower the sense of moral duty in women."(40) He was probably referring to women of the Congressional Union, the left wing of the suffrage movement, many of whom had learned activism from the English suffrage movement which had a stronger alliance with the working class than had the National American Women's Suffrage Association. They used radical tactics--pickets, parades, strikes, public bonfires fueled by President Wilson's speeches--taught them in England. Roosevelt believed that their actions inspired antipathy to the reform. He attacked them in 1912, accusing them of associating the suffrage movement "with disorderly conduct in public and with thoroughly degrading and vicious assault upon the morality and the duty of women within and without marriage." They behaved in an unseemly fashion in public, like striking workers rather than genteel ladies. Even worse, Roosevelt thought them to be advocating reforms like late marriage (this was traditionally a form of birth control) which he stated went against the facts of psychology and sexuality, encouraging male immorality and female prostitution. Suffrage enthusiasts would have to persevere in adherence to the justice of the cause when assaulted daily by the "unnatural, unfeminine, almost inhuman blindness" of some of its advocates.(41)
Once Roosevelt had convinced himself that such women were distinctly in the minority, he advocated women's suffrage. The extremists of the movement could not negate the value of a reform from which the nation would gain immeasurably not only from women's morality but also through their knowledge of certain issues like labour legislation with which social workers were familiar.(42) Even so, in a collection of twenty of his 1912 campaign speeches he included only one reference to the subject.(43) He may have been right, politically, to minimize the issue, since national interest in women's suffrage did not run high that year.(44)

Early in 1913 after his defeat Roosevelt once again explicitly linked his support of women's suffrage with Progressive hopes when he wired Wisconsin's governor that Progressives should support the suffrage amendment. He said that America should lead the way in this reform which had already had success in the Pacific and Rocky Mountain states. "I have worked for social justice and industrial reform with women exactly as with men and there is no difference between the work of the best women and the best men."(45) In fact, he had worked so little with women that his statement

was probably founded rather on the assumption that the best women would behave as he hoped they would.

Later that year he gave a public address in New York entitled "Women Suffrage Demanded in the Interests of Good Government."(46) He argued that when women had qualifications useful for the service of the state it was wasteful that they not benefit the nation. If a woman like Ida Tarbell was capable of teaching Roosevelt something about how he should vote on certain issues, she was certainly competent to vote herself. Civics teachers were women teaching boys; they could as well vote themselves. The benefits of women's suffrage would accrue not only to women but to the nation, for where women already voted, the underworld had less power. There were fewer redlight districts where women entered politics. The underworld, he said, was a world controlled by men; women's influence could only be opposed by people with a financial stake in the "continuation of conditions of infamy."

By 1914 he had so convinced himself of the justice of his position that he could state that half a century hence people would marvel that Americans had ever denied women the suffrage and an education equal with men's.(47) He pressed for the seating of women at the 1915 New York Constitutional Convention, arguing that the new laws there enacted would apply to women as much as to men. In matters most intimately concerning "ordinary people," he wrote in the Outlook, women should have an exceptionally strong voice.(48) Earlier, in 1908, he had said that the really important issues in life were not those which public men discussed but rather the "intimate things of the home, the things that have to do with the character of the individual man or woman."(49) Reforms in labour and education concerned women as much as men, and the schools should prepare both sexes to be better citizens, developing not only women's capacities to be housewives and mothers, but their desires to work outside the home if they wished.(50)

In 1915 he stated unequivocally in a private letter that if women could be sovereigns no reason could be given against their right of sovereignty in a democracy so that they could decide "how their intimate concerns shall be managed."(51) A year later the Progressive Party platform stated again that women, sharing men's burden of government in peace and sacrifice in war, must have the vote, and that the reform must be achieved by state and federal action.(52) Roosevelt himself told a delegation from the Congressional Union for Women's Suffrage that he favoured a federal amendment to the Constitution for women's suffrage.(53) All the evidence offered by Roosevelt after this time indicated his complete agreement that women should be made part of the political process, both the nation and women themselves benefiting

from the change. Every woman must get her full rights "in connection with the performance by her as wife and mother of these indispensable duties which make her the one absolutely indispensable citizen of this Republic."(54) To Will Hays he wrote in 1918 that the nation needed women, in New York for instance, where "old-style politicians" were unable to cope with new problems.(55) He acknowledged that women, out of their deep knowledge of what was right, had supported the soldiers; men in turn must see women as workers for a common cause.(56)

As the Congress came to the time of voting for the national amendment, Roosevelt began to petition fellow Republicans to support women's suffrage. He had come to believe in the measure wholeheartedly; he came to associate it with the party with which he had so long allied himself. Republican leaders in the Congress, he wrote to Joseph Medill McCormick, had resolutely stood for the measure in which he said, "I now believe, and have always believed with all my heart and soul."(57) Remembering selectively, he had quite forgotten his earlier recalcitrance. The Republican Party must urge its Congressional representatives to vote for the amendment. Women must get the suffrage as a matter of justice and common sense. A woman from every suffrage state should sit on the Republican National Committee.(58) And finally, on 3 January 1919, two days before his death, Roosevelt wrote to Senator Moses of New Hampshire,

> I earnestly hope you will see your way clear to support the National Amendment. It is coming anyhow and it ought to come. When states like New York and Illinois adopt it, it can't be called a wild-cat experiment.(59)

On 21 May 1919, the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution passed the House, with thirty-four votes to spare, by a vote of 304 to 89; it passed the Senate on 4 June 66 to 30.

This certainly was not a wild-cat experiment. The admission of women to the electorate, as construed by Roosevelt, had become not a means of introducing new solutions to new problems, but rather of reintroducing traditional morality. As women in the home had always restrained men when they wandered too far, women in politics, he thought, would keep America orderly and righteous. As a politician, Roosevelt attempted to reproduce familial patterns in the world at large. Order must overcome the shattering potential of democratic individualism. And since women represented order, men disorder, women would hold together American society. The imaginary golden age of his childhood might yet return and social control be restored.

NOTES

1. For a fuller explication of his childhood, see Eliane Leslau Silverman, "Theodore Roosevelt and Women: The Inner Conflict of a President and Its Impact on his Ideology," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1973.

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4. Ibid., p. 231.

5. Virgil C. Jones, Roosevelt's Rough Riders (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1971), p. 6.

6. TR to Kermit Roosevelt, 24 October 1903, in Joseph Bucklin Bishop (ed.), Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1923), p. 71.

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9. TR, The Wilderness Hunter, in Works, Vol. 2, p. xxix.

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11. 8 October 1910, speech at Berry School, Rome, Georgia, Speech File, TR LC.

12. TR, "The Successful Mother," Ladies Home Journal, 25 (June 1908), p. 11.

13. TR, "The American Woman as Mother," Ladies Home Journal, 22 (July 1905), p. 4.

14. 2 November 1910, speech at Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland, p. 9, Speech File, TR LC.

15. TR, "The American Woman as Mother," p. 4.

16. TR to Harriet Stanton Blatch, 15 April 1918, TR LC.

17. TR, State Papers as Governor and President, 1899-1909, in Works, Vol. 15, p. 211. There is earlier evidence of his interest in the subject in his Harvard senior essay, "Practicability of Equalizing Men and Women Before the Law," 30 June 1880; but the arguments therein are ambiguous and reflect rather his sense of himself before that time than intimations of his position after.

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21. 21 March 1906, Speech File 5A, TR LC.

22. TR to Harriet Taylor Upton, 10 November 1908, in Letters, Vol. 6, pp. 1341-1342.

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24. Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1923), p. 235.

25. TR, Literary Essays, 1913, in Works, Vol. 12, p. 193.

26. TR to Mary Ellen Lyon Swift, 7 March 1900, in Letters, Vol. 7, p. 240.

27. TR to Charles Dwight Willard, 28 October 1900, in ibid., p. 428.

28. TR to Florence Kelley, 9 January 1912, in Letters, Vol. 7, p. 475.

29. Ibid.

30. TR, Realizable Ideals, 1912, in Works, vol. 13, pp. 634-635.

31. Ibid., p. 635.

32. TR, American Problems, 1912, in Works, Vol. 16, p. 217.

33. Ibid., p. 208.

34. Catt and Shuler, p. 239.

35. 30 August 1912, speech on suffrage in St. Johnsbury, Vermont, p. 4, in the National American Women's Suffrage Association Collection, Box 73, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

36. Ibid., pp. 1 and 7.

37. Ibid., p. 3.

38. TR, American Problems, 1912, in Works, Vol. 16, p. 218.

39. TR, Autobiography, 1913, in Works, Vol. 20, p. 168.

40. TR, American Problems, 1912, in Works, Vol. 16, p. 211.

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JUNE BRINGS CIRCLES

Circles make sense.
Time is logged on one.
Food is eaten from another.
The sun, day, as you know,
Is very round.
The moon, night, is too.
Growth is round, full,
Apples, pumpkins, pregnant.
Barrel hoops hold water and fish
And are circles always.
Brands are often circles
On horses and cows.
Eyes have them.
So do navels.
Rings are round
Go round and round
And back again.
Circles make sense.
People can dance in them.
Circle round.
You circle me.
And back again.

Lynne Sharman