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Stephanie L. Durnford
The University of Montana

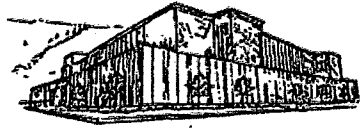
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“WE SHALL FIGHT FOR THE THINGS WE HAVE ALWAYS HELD NEAREST
OUR HEARTS”: RHETORICAL STRATEGIES IN THE U.S. WOMAN SUFFRAGE
MOVEMENT

by

Stephanie L. Durnford

B.A. Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, 2003

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

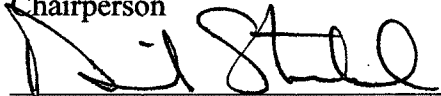
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“We shall fight for the things we have always held nearest our hearts”: Rhetorical Strategies in the U.S. Woman Suffrage Movement

Chairperson: Sara E. Hayden *SEH*

This study looks at two U.S. suffrage organizations, the National American Woman Suffrage Association [NAWSA] and the National Woman’s Party [NWP], during a six-month period in 1917. Given the rhetorical constraints the organizations faced, I examined the rhetorical strategies employed by both. Using Burke’s (1984) dramatisitic theory and McGee’s (1980) ideographic theory, I found that the two organizations approached the idea of <citizenship> differently. Further, they approached the existing status quo, the Order, in dissimilar ways. NAWSA saw <citizenship> as a process where women would accomplish tasks that gave them the skills and ability to prove that they could be responsible <citizens>. They did not challenge contemporary ideologies about women or women’s roles. The NWP, on the other hand, saw <citizenship> through a constitutional lens, challenging contemporary ideas about women and women’s roles. They did not see female <citizens> having separate roles than that of male <citizens>. Given these findings, I argue that it is possible to see these two organizations as working for the same material goal, while ideologically working within separate social movements.

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I have a hard time deciding where I acquired my geeky love of Communication Studies, but I know that it started at Juniata. Without the support and passion of my professors there, I would not have had the motivation to come to Montana. Here, I found a supportive, challenging, and compassionate faculty. My gratitude especially goes out to my committee: Dr. Sara Hayden, my advisor, for her patience, her enthusiasm, and her belief in my work (and for reminding me the light at the end of the tunnel really wasn't a train); Dr. Anya Jabour, who first introduced me to these suffrage women I so love and whose support was incredible; and Dr. Shiv Ganesh, who challenged me in so many ways, in and out of class. Thank you all for your insights and your patience during this process. You all model the type of professor I want to be when I grow up.

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I lovingly dedicated this to my nieces, Megan and Sydney. May you both find the fire of passion, something which drives you. I know you each have the strength to make your dreams become reality.

Finally, with gratitude and admiration, I dedicate this scholarship to the spirited women who have come before me. I will constantly be in awe of your courage.

*The words of the womyn before shelter me like an igloo
Sometimes I shiver in their dimension – but at least I know from my herstory
That the courage of chattering teeth demands attention
Alix Olson, "Womyn Before" (used with permission)*

Chapter One

Introduction

With the close 2000 presidential race and the controversy it sparked, the 2004 presidential election year put the right to, and use of, full American enfranchisement on the minds of many citizens. In fact, Faler (2004) commented that the election turnout for 2004 “was the highest in 36 years,” with a 59.6 percent turnout rate (para. 1-2). Furthermore, with the recent influx of discourse on the previously less well-known suffrage organization, the National Woman’s Party [NWP],¹ it seemed apropos that a rhetorical study of the two U.S. national woman suffrage organizations during a pivotal year (1917) came during such a presidential campaign year. Additionally, given the perceived differences in rhetorical choices made by the two organizations that I studied, contemporary social movement theory may be informed in how different forms of activism may be beneficial toward similar material goals.

For my thesis, I conducted a study that looked at both the National American Woman Suffrage Association [NAWSA] and the National Woman’s Party [NWP] during a six month period of 1917 (June to December). “The final push” for woman suffrage began in 1917 and is often defined as the last few years of woman suffrage activity before the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.² During the final push, suffragists faced unique political scenarios and utilized new strategies, namely America’s entrance into World War I and the heightened political protest activities of NWP. To analyze these unusual rhetorical exigencies, I used a Burkean dramatisitic framework (Burke, 1984; Griffin, 1969) to see how each organization perceived themselves and their role vis-à-vis

the status quo. Further, I explore how each group's messages affected how they were able to act as agents of change within the particular constraints their rhetorical choices created.

As a subject matter, a study of the woman suffrage movement can inform both contemporary social movements and the ways in which scholars use movements in their research. For the former, contemporary social movements can utilize this study because organizations are still split by particular tactical choices. These rhetorical choices may reflect differing beliefs about what social changes may be made. Consequently, rhetorical choices that were previously seen only as non-productive agitation and confrontation (e.g., Bowers, Ochs, & Jensen, 1971/1993) may be understood as rhetorical choices that are as valid as more conservative methods of activism (e.g., DeLuca, 1999; Short, 1991). Groups who utilize such tactics, such as the environmental organization Earth First!, are seen primarily as radical factions of their social movement (e.g., Cooper, 1996; DeLuca, 1999; Short, 1991). Scholars have traditionally defined such groups' rhetoric as agitative and only recently have begun to look to these radical tactics as potential places of rhetorical inquiry.³ Further, actions taken by groups seen as "radical" are not understood as legitimate. Potential places of social change may be overlooked if their actions and reasoning are not fully understood. When groups' tactical choices are places of disagreement, groups may spend important time and energy arguing over the validity of each type of rhetoric, rather than working toward a common goal. Consequently, group energies are split because the groups battle *each other* instead of the social constructs that surround the common interest. Conversely, these same splits may prove to be productive in different ways, dependent upon the ways in which scholars define the ultimate goals and how success might be construed within the social movement. Studies such as this one

can use tactics of the past, as well as the ways in which those tactics functioned, to further inform what rhetorical choices might be made by contemporary groups. This work may also inform the ways that a variety of rhetorical choices may prove to be productive, rather than destructive; they may also be understood as sites of productivity in both long and short term ways.

This study also can inform the ways in which scholars use social movement theory within their research. Given that scholars have found many difficulties in social movement studies, which I explore later in this chapter, research such as this can help show how examining a variety of rhetorical choices may further enhance how we study social movements. Each organization brings different understandings of the status quo; thus, while one organization's rhetorical choices may seem "radical" to another, it may further explain how groups see the process of social change.

Scholars have given much attention to the early woman's rights movement, and the resulting suffrage activity.* Much of the communication scholarship focuses on the early portion of the woman's rights movement, whose demands after the Civil War began to center around female enfranchisement (e.g., Campbell, 1989; Conrad, 1981; Slagell, 2001; Zaeske, 1995). While these studies illuminate the ways women worked within their limitations to further the suffrage cause, women in "the final push" faced different constraints. Some of the limitations that women in the late nineteenth century faced had been overcome; new ones had arisen (e.g., Hayden, 1999). Further, the suffrage organizations, NAWSA and the NWP, have not yet been studied rhetorically for their combined contributions in the years preceding the passage of the federal suffrage amendment. Thus, taken *together*, the rhetorical choices of NAWSA and the NWP can be

examined holistically as part of the larger social movement push for woman suffrage in early twentieth century America.

Given prior investigations of both late nineteenth/early twentieth century women's rhetoric and social movement criticism, which I explore in more depth in the next chapter, I believe that my research of NAWSA and the NWP has potential offerings communication research. My goal in this study was to compare the public strategies used by two national suffrage organizations to push forward the ballot. Specifically, this study looks at the ways in which an organization presents its *orientation* to the status quo. I specifically examined the ways in which discourse centered on the key identity of a "citizen" to determine the ways that each organization approached the status quo. By looking at two organizations which employed different tactics at a crucial moment in the movement's history, I answer the following research questions.

First, and most generally, what rhetorical strategies did each organization use to frame their push for suffrage? Using the key term <citizen> allowed me to see how each group articulated their perceived role within the status quo. Who a "citizen" was ultimately helped guide me toward answering my second research question: how did each organization's strategies articulate their view of the ballot? The way they approached suffrage and the ballot articulated the ways in which they described their own goals.

My final research question was, what do their respective rhetorical strategies tell us about how the group saw and understood "success" within the contemporary social order.

In this chapter, I first explain the artifacts that I have chosen to study, *The Woman Citizen* and *The Suffragist*, and the merit of studying the organizations' weekly

newspapers. Next, I give a brief history of the woman's rights campaign, focusing on the ways that the arguments and tactics took major turns from 1848 to the early 1900s.

Within the history, I also present the rhetorical constraints that women had in their role as suffragists. After, I give a more focused history (1912 to 1920) of the tactics and choices made by the two organizations I examine in this study, NAWSA and the NWP, respectively. I then articulate how NAWSA and the NWP fit into a Burkean dramatic framework (Burke, 1984). Further, I discuss how ideographs (McGee, 1980a) can inform a Burkean dramatic social movement framework (Griffin, 1969), some of the constraints in social movement rhetorical theory, and some of the possibilities that scholars have found in studying social movements. I end this chapter with a brief outline of the remaining thesis chapters.

I begin with a discussion of the significance of *The Woman Citizen* and *The Suffragist*, their importance within the suffrage movement, and the importance of weekly newspaper publications at this point in history.

The Woman Citizen and The Suffragist

The Woman Citizen and *The Suffragist* were the weekly newspapers published by NAWSA and the NWP, respectively. *The Woman's Journal*, NAWSA's official organ, changed its name in June, 1917 to *The Woman Citizen*, to point to the burgeoning political interests and needs of women ("The Woman Citizen," June 9, p. 38).⁵ The weeklies' audiences were the members and supporters of the organization who subscribed to them. It can be assumed that the majority of the readership of *The Woman Citizen* and *The Suffragist* were pro-suffrage, if not engaged in suffrage activity. Much of the contemporary press was biased *against* suffrage, and consequently, suffrage

organizations had to provide a place where counterarguments could be articulated (Ramsey, 2000). In examining the British suffrage periodical, *Votes for Women*, DiCenzo (2000) found that

[s]uffrage organizations were as concerned with what these media were not saying, as with what they did say, and their own periodicals became necessary in both publicizing the cause – rendering it visible and familiar – as well as addressing and dispelling negative coverage. (p. 117)

The woman suffrage periodicals gave women (and men) differing viewpoints on the movement as a whole, counterbalancing the bias that was typically found in the mainstream contemporary newspapers. Because of the internal nature of the documents, the writers for these pro-suffrage papers were able to make the most of the newspaper space. Rather than having to justify suffrage, they described their process and methods. The newspapers also afforded women the opportunity to receive the weeklies at home, where “they could think through pro-suffrage arguments” on their own terms (Ramsey, 2000, p. 119). Thus, the weekly publications were used to disseminate and convey their differing viewpoints and tactics toward the suffragists’ final goal of enfranchisement (Lumsden, 1999). Further, the weeklies were published *nationally* and allowed suffragists to learn what was happening in other parts of the country. Consequently, the weeklies allowed pro-suffrage advocates to connect with one another (Ramsey, 2000) and the work that was happening around the country for the suffrage movement.

Sharing these ideas across the country was in line with what Postman (1985) calls the “peek-a-boo world,” where information could be shared quickly (pp. 64-80). The introduction of the telegraph turned “information [into] a commodity, a ‘thing’ that could

be bought and sold irrespective of its uses and meanings” (p. 65). Messages that newspapers published could be decontextualized and did not necessarily relate to functioning within one’s community. Previously, newspapers had information that “was not only local but largely functional – tied to the problems and decisions readers had to address in order to manage their personal and community affairs” (p. 66). Thus, the suffrage weeklies served traditional information purposes; first, they functionally told suffragists what could be and was being accomplished within the suffrage movement. Secondly, it also served the new information purpose that allowed people around the country to know what was going on elsewhere in the country. By focusing solely on the suffrage movement, *The Woman Citizen* and *The Suffragist* served specific interests and were able to flesh out the ideas and accomplishments of the respective groups more fully and clearly than other contemporary newspapers.

I chose to study a six month period for each weekly, from June, 1917 to December, 1917.⁶ This choice was made because the major tactical choice of the NWP during this time period, picketing the White House, was contested by some members of the suffrage movement, and harshly critiqued by anti-suffrage supporters. The NWP engaged in heightened political protest beginning in the summer of 1917; it was that summer that the District police began arresting and jailing the NWP suffragists. Not only was the NWP’s political activity intensified, but the national political sentiment was further heightened with America’s entrance into World War I in April, 1917.

During war-time, women’s and men’s roles become much more rigidly gendered (Elshtain, 1995). The acceptable characteristics of women and men during times of war allow for certain behaviors and disallow others. Elshtain (1995) argues that

in time of war, real men and women – locked in a dense symbiosis, perceived as beings who have complementary needs and exemplify gender-specific virtues – take on, in cultural memory and narrative the personas of Just Warriors and Beautiful Souls. Men construed as violent, whether eagerly and inevitably or reluctantly and tragically; women as nonviolent, offering succor and compassion: these tropes on the social identities of men and women, past and present, do not denote what men and women *really* are in time of war, but function instead to re-create and secure women's location as noncombatants and men's as warriors. (p. 4)

The ways in which women and men are supposed to act during war-time is reinforced and one's gender constrains particular behaviors. Women are seen as people for whom the men fight; women also portray purer, nonviolent leanings than men. Men, on the other hand, are the ones who are engaged in combat, who are the more violent of the two genders. Consequently, the entrance of the United States into World War I legitimated distinctly gendered behaviors for women and men. Seen within the context of the war, certain rhetorical possibilities are limited. Given these two exigencies, the heightened political protest by the NWP and the United States' entrance into World War I, this six month period illuminated the ways each group responded to issues that presented new rhetorical possibilities and challenges.

I chose articles from the weeklies according to the following criteria: mention of the federal suffrage amendment or state-by-state suffrage work; discussion of the federal government; invocations of "war work," particularly geared toward women; mention of other suffrage organizations or their activities, by name or in general. Additionally, I

made copies of the cover and the first page of articles from the weekly to keep a consistent record of the covers that each weekly used.⁷ First, these criteria allowed me to focus on how NAWSA and NWP suffragists directly responded to the possibilities and constraints that arose during the last six months of 1917. After focusing on these themes, I saw ways in which groupings thematically overlapped. I then went through the documents I had originally scanned, finding quotes from the suffragists which best exemplified the themes which merged and overlapped. Further, my analysis of how each organization responded allowed me to draw out themes which articulated the ways in which the respective organizations defined and utilized the label <citizen> and how that shaped the way they saw suffrage. These themes allowed me to see how suffragists resisted or participated in the status quo.

I now turn to a brief history of the early woman right's movement, which later became the woman suffrage movement. Further, I describe some of the constraints of the early twentieth century which bound suffragists.

The Early Woman's Rights Movement: 1848 to 1912

Throughout the 72 year lifespan of the first wave of woman's rights activism, activists used a variety of arguments not only to gain attention to their cause, but to further the cause's goals. There were two main shifts in ideological choices from 1848 until the federal suffrage amendment was passed in 1920. The arguments were the argument from natural rights and the argument from expediency (Kraditor, 1981, pp. 43-74). With the use of each argument, new possibilities were opened to women, while at the same time, each argument was limited due to contemporary beliefs about women and

their role(s). The beginning of the woman's rights movement often utilized the argument from natural rights to make a case for woman's rights.

The generally agreed upon birthplace of a public U.S. woman's rights movement was in Seneca Falls, New York, in the spring of 1848. This was the first woman's rights convention to be held in the United States. There, early woman's rights activists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott drafted *The Declaration of Sentiments*, which was rhetorically based upon *The Declaration of Independence*. The woman's rights activists made many demands in this document, such as women's property rights, educational rights, and divorce rights (e.g., Campbell, n.d). One of the most controversial demands was for women's enfranchisement. At this time, woman's right activists argued that they were deserving of the vote because of their *natural rights* as human beings and citizens of the United States. The natural rights argument was based on Lockean ideas of individualism and the worth of each individual in her or his own humanity (Kraditor, 1981). The ballot was seen as an entitlement of citizenship, which women were guaranteed because of their common humanity with men.

The natural rights argument was not the only line of reasoning for the passage of suffrage. Parallel to the natural rights argument was the argument from expediency. The argument from expediency posited that passing woman suffrage would help society become a better place (Kraditor, 1981). This argument served to reinforce contemporary ideological beliefs about women. Before discussing the argument from expediency, a brief description of some of the primary constraints facing women at the time is necessary.

Women of this time were under particular constraints which did not easily allow for them to be activists or public speakers for the movement in which they believed. While women's activism in a number of places, such as temperance work, gave them experience they previously did not hold, the demand for enfranchisement shifted the sphere of activity in which a woman might participate (e.g., Campbell, n.d.; 1983; 1989; Cott, 1997; DuBois, 1975). Women pushing themselves out into the public sphere, the realm of politics, contradicted the cultural norms of a woman who was supposed to move within the "cult of true womanhood." These cultural norms demanded "four cardinal virtues – piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity" (Welter, 1966, p. 152).⁸ The acceptable behaviors of women were thus established and limited by these four virtues. Further, women were seen as inherently moral beings because of how cultural norms painted them. Because the underlying assumptions and social construction of "true womanhood" was paramount for how many perceived women, particularly White, middle-class women of the late nineteenth-century, DuBois (1975) argues that "[a]s suffragists' efforts at outreach intensified, the family-bound realities of most women's lives forces more and more domestic imagery into their rhetoric and their arguments" (p. 38). Women thus attempted to fit their arguments into the tenets of the cult of true womanhood, and consequently pushed the argument from a line of reasoning from expediency. They relied upon culturally acceptable views of women as mothers and wives to argue the practicality of having women participate in politics.

Proponents of the expediency claim believed that women, because of their special roles and talents which placed them in woman's sphere, could help to clean up politics, and could pass legislation which would protect women's specific domains and roles.⁹

Expediency arguments reinforced the *difference* between men and women and further reinforced the tenets of the cult of true womanhood. For example, women's inherent morality would help to clean up politics. So, the belief that women were essentially more moral than men was reinforced by the argument from expediency.

According to the expediency claim, suffrage was not seen as a right because of women's citizenship. Rather, suffrage was a means by which women could better act as women, and could help others. Campbell (n.d.) argues that “[f]rom this perspective, women were not moving into the public sphere, they were simply claiming as theirs what was necessary to protect the home and family” (p. 9). The argument from expediency claimed that women were not trying to change their role(s) as women; rather, they were trying to better fill their role(s) as wife, mother, and woman. Using gendered expectations and language to justify enfranchisement, coupled with the restrictions that came when the United States entered World War I, reinforced the contemporary adherence to “true womanhood,” intensifying gendered roles and behaviors (e.g., Elshtain, 1995).

Suffragists used the arguments from both natural rights and expediency from early on in the woman's rights movement. After the Civil War ended, women began to use the argument from expediency much more explicitly and frequently than the argument from natural rights. During the Civil War, much of the suffrage campaigning was put on hold. Northern suffrage women instead supported abolition and the struggle to eliminate slavery in the southern states, assuming that their efforts would be rewarded with enfranchisement after the war.¹⁰ However, this was not the case. Rather, former abolitionists decided that their central goal was to enfranchise newly freed black men through an amendment to the U.S. Constitution. They feared that if they tried to

enfranchise women simultaneously, the amendment would fail. As a result, to the shock and dismay of woman's rights activists, the drafters of the Fourteenth Amendment *specifically* added the word "male" into the Constitution for the first time (Campbell, n.d., p. 7). Suffragists were split on whether or not this was acceptable action. Because some suffragists did not agree with belief that newly freed black men should receive enfranchisement *before* women, preferring them to come simultaneously, in 1869, a year before the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified, the woman suffrage movement split into two organizations.ⁱⁱ

The National Woman Suffrage Association [NWSA], led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, was perceived as the more radical of the two organizations. They advocated *universal* suffrage, rather than suffrage limited by sex. NWSA did not support the addition of *male* into the Fourteenth Amendment. Because of this advocacy, many resisted the NWSA. Suffragists who did not agree with this rhetorical choice created the American Woman Suffrage Association [AWSA], which supported the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. They believed that by backing freed slaves' right to enfranchisement, the passage of woman suffrage would be more likely in the future. There were additional differences between the two organizations. NWSA believed that the best means to accomplish woman suffrage was through a federal amendment; AWSA believed that state-by-state campaigning would more effectively realize woman suffrage. NWSA tackled a broader range of issues, such as the ones presented at the Seneca Falls convention in 1848, and consequently was the "more radical" of the two organizations. AWSA chose to focus entirely on woman suffrage (Campbell, n.d., pp. 7-8). For 21 years, suffrage movement energy was split

between these two groups. Suffrage activity ran parallel to much reform movement activity of the day. Throughout the latter two decades of the 1800s, woman suffrage activity waned.

With Progressive Era¹² politics, which held an emphasis on reform movements,¹³ suffragists began to look to the vote as a way to push forward a variety of legislative measures to protect and expand women's rights and interests (Cott, 1987, p. 21; Kraditor, 1981, p. 65). Suffragists argued from the point of expediency and difference between men and women in stating that women would use the ballot to protect and serve women's interests. In 1890, suffragists resolved the split that had existed for 21 years between NWSA and AWSA. The two groups merged and became the National American Woman Suffrage Association [NAWSA]. This organization focused its energy on state-by-state campaigning. The period succeeding the merging of the two organizations (from 1890 to 1915) is often referred to as "the doldrums" period in the suffrage movement.¹⁴ Many of the pioneer leaders from the Seneca Falls convention, such as Stanton and Anthony, passed away. Anti-suffrage activity increased. There were few substantial and concrete marks of progress for the suffrage movement.¹⁵ After the first decade of the new century, the movement began to take on a revived sense of progress with new tactics, such as the open-air parade (e.g., Borda, 2002).¹⁶ The argument from expediency became the prevailing case for suffrage after the Civil War, particularly once the NWSA and AWSA joined together as NAWSA.

The constraints that suffragists at the turn of the century dealt with were both similar to, and different from, the ones of the previous generation. In the late nineteenth century, women were still fairly new to the public scene (Campbell, 1989). They were

just beginning to work outside of the home, although many women still engaged in labor inside of the home. By the early twentieth century, female activity in the sphere of reform movements had been occurring for 60 years or more. Women's activities had taken them out of the home, into industrialization's factories, into places of higher education, and social reform activities.¹⁷ Consequently, the changing tactics and ideologies of how to achieve enfranchisement influenced and infused the choices made by both NAWSA and the NWP. NAWSA and the NWP were both different from, and dependent upon, each other in the early twentieth century. In the next section, I discuss the history and rhetorical choices made by the groups. First, I look at NAWSA, the older of the two organizations. I then look at the NWP, which grew out of NAWSA organizing. Examining the different rhetorical choices of these two organizations shows how they adapted to the changing face of suffrage activity. Both NAWSA and the NWP were integral parts of the final two decades of the suffrage campaign. Their rhetorical strategies can be viewed as opposite ends of a spectrum of political activity possibilities, with NAWSA's campaigning and the NWP's agitation.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association: 1912 to 1920

NAWSA was founded when NWSA and AWSA merged in 1890. From its inception until the passage of woman suffrage in New York in 1917, NAWSA followed in AWSA's footsteps, pushing state-by-state campaigns in passing woman suffrage. While suffragists held the "dream of woman suffrage by federal amendment" before "all the efforts to win woman suffrage by the State route" (Catt & Shuler, 1970, p. 227), it was state-by-state referenda that "spun the main thread of suffrage activity" for NAWSA for a number of years.

NAWSA won four victories through state-by-state campaigning in 1912 in Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon (Catt & Shuler, 1970, pp. 176; 179). The 1912 election was telling, because there were a number of parties that ran in this election year. Because of the multiple parties that ran during these elections, the Democratic party ended up winning the largest majority, though the votes were split in a number of states (e.g., p. 239). NAWSA saw the presence of multiple political parties as a “warning to both old parties [Democrats and Republicans] to treat the suffrage question with fairness,” otherwise the other political parties might take the issue up and be more successful in the elections (p. 240). Multiple political parties could more easily split votes, therefore weakening either the majority party in office, decreasing the political power of the Democratic and Republican parties.

By the time of the 1914 elections, nine states had enfranchised women. NAWSA launched seven state campaigns to gain enfranchisement in Western and Midwestern states. Of these seven campaigns, only two were successful: Nevada and Montana (Clift, 2003, p. 101). In the election year that followed, NAWSA launched four particularly important state campaigns in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. All four state campaigns were lost (p. 103). But, NAWSA felt that “the fact that 1,234,000 Eastern men had voted yes was not overlooked by the Congress” (Catt & Shuler, 1970, p. 249). NAWSA understood that suffrage support was growing and continued to push forward state-by-state campaigning.

In 1915, Carrie Chapman Catt, a well-known suffrage leader and strategist, took over the NAWSA presidency (Clift, 2003; Cott, 1987; Huxman, 2000; Kraditor, 1981). The year following, at the 1916 NAWSA national convention, Catt announced her new

strategy, known as her “Winning Plan.” She mapped out three particular areas in which women’s enfranchisement could be pushed forward. The plan

called for pressure from women voters in states where they had the franchise for passage of a federal amendment by Congress; for passage of suffrage referenda in states where that was feasible; and for obtaining presidential suffrage or primary suffrage by act of the state legislatures where referenda were doomed. (Campbell, 1989, vol. 2, p. 483)

Thus, Catt tried to best situate pro-suffrage advocates and women’s votes so that when a federal amendment passed through Congress and needed state ratification, it was a greater possibility.¹⁸ Catt delivered these three points in a speech entitled “The Crisis,” as she saw the suffrage movement being “in crisis.” Thus it was time for drastic measures (Campbell, 1989, vol. 1, p. 167; vol. 2, p. 483). Catt used her organizing power and the backing of the largest national suffrage organization to strategically garner support for suffrage through her winning plan.

During the election campaign for the 1916 presidential election, NAWSA “began work to get endorsement of the Federal Suffrage Amendment as a plank in the platform of the two dominant parties” (Catt & Shuler, 1970, p. 250). Unfortunately, neither party would assume national responsibility for enfranchisement; it was left to NAWSA to continue with their state-by-state fight for the vote. In order to secure support for the idea of suffrage, NAWSA drafted planks for the two parties that endorsed suffrage, without specifying a method for passage (p. 250). Throughout the campaigning, NAWSA leadership continued to support legislators who had supported suffrage, regardless of party affiliation. They were concerned that not doing so would cause any footing suffrage

had gained in Congress to be lost. In fact, at the 1916 NAWSA national convention that year, NAWSA leadership asked President Wilson to speak. NAWSA continued to support Wilson as the incumbent in spite of his resistance to suffrage, backing him under the slogan of “He kept us out of war,” invoking the Great War that was being waged across the Atlantic Ocean in Europe.

President Wilson was reelected in the presidential election and in April, 1916, the United States entered World War I. NAWSA’s response was to support the war effort. NAWSA reduced its suffrage campaigning during World War I; instead the organization used its resources to support the war effort. Further, NAWSA saw its suffragists’ war work as a way to demonstrate women’s right to self-government.¹⁹ The most overt campaigning done by NAWSA was signature collection in New York.²⁰ “[W]hile working loyally and energetically as special war organizations in support of the needs of the nation in its time of crisis, the New Yorkers did not lay aside their campaign” (Catt & Shuler, 1970, p. 295). For the New York campaign, NAWSA wanted to counter the claim that “New York women do not want the vote.” Thus, they chose to campaign and gather “the personal signatures of the million women of the state who wanted to vote” (p. 295). NAWSA presented the petition in a procession that “alone covered more than half a mile” (p. 296). New York state passed woman suffrage in 1917. After the victory in this major political state, NAWSA began campaigning for the federal suffrage amendment. They simultaneously continued to campaign for state referenda in the states that did not currently have woman suffrage laws in effect. Through these efforts, NAWSA followed Catt’s “winning plan,” and made the possibility of passing the federal suffrage amendment through the ratification process greater.

In 1917, NAWSA's Executive Council met in Washington, D.C., before a special session of Congress convened, to begin shaping its argument for the federal suffrage amendment, based upon the "the impending exigencies of war" (Catt & Shuler, 1970, p. 317). NAWSA encouraged constituents to send communication urging members of Congress to pass the federal amendment. They continued to lobby and push Congress to passing the federal suffrage amendment. After the federal amendment was passed through the House of Representatives (August, 1918) and the Senate (June 4, 1919), it needed to go to the states and be approved by thirty-six in order to be signed into federal law. NAWSA began contacting state legislatures. Carrie Chapman Catt urged the state legislatures to hold special sessions to deal with the issue of the federal suffrage amendment. July of 1919 saw four NAWSA envoys leave headquarters. Two of the groups went "to visit the Republican states of Minnesota, North Dakota, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Wyoming" (Catt & Shuler, 1970, p. 351). The other two went to the "Democratic states of Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Oklahoma" (p. 351). These groups "investigate[d] the local political situation," where they "arouse[d] favorable sentiment among politicians, editors and the people generally, and to secure definite statements . . . as to the conditions under which the Legislatures would be called and the probable date of calling" (p. 351). In the autumn of 1919, Catt held conferences with twelve states to discuss, and urge them to vote for, the federal suffrage amendment. Twenty-four of the 32 states that were not currently in legislative sessions convened in special sessions to discuss the amendment (Clift, 2003, p. 183). On August 18, 1920, Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Amendment. After a 72 year battle, the Nineteenth Amendment was signed into federal law on August 26, 1920.

NAWSA, while a strong force during the final push for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment in the United States Congress and state legislators, was not the only national organization who played a role in this process. The NWP also played an influential role in the passage of the federal amendment.

The National Woman's Party: 1912 to 1920

The complementary national suffrage organization in the last fifteen years of suffrage activity, the NWP, followed the belief of the early national suffrage organization, NWSA, that a federal amendment was the best path toward enfranchisement. While their tactics and rhetorical choices were different from those of NAWSA, the NWP's history begins within NAWSA's organization.

In 1912, a young Quaker woman named Alice Paul returned home to the United States. She had been involved in radical suffrage work in Britain, where she had been jailed for her activities with Emmaline and Cristabel Pankhurst. While in the British jail, Paul engaged in hunger striking and endured the consequent forced feedings. In December, 1912, Paul asked NAWSA if she could join the Congressional Union [CU] in Washington, D.C., a branch of NAWSA whose "sole purpose was to lobby for a federal woman suffrage amendment" (Stevens, 1995, p. 18). NAWSA leaders agreed. However, when Paul went to find CU headquarters, she found they did not exist. A month later, Paul took over the CU. Her arrival renewed the federal amendment lobbying process in D.C., which had waned. Joined by Lucy Burns, who had met Paul while in a British jail, the CU began to lobby and fight to put a federal suffrage amendment on the floor of Congress. After their experiences in Britain, Paul and Burns decided to raise suffrage awareness through strategic, yet dramatic, public actions (Stevens, 1995, p. 18).

Historians note that Paul had a “hyperawareness of public images” (Clift, 2003, p. 94), and utilized this to bring suffrage to the forefront of contemporary media. It was Paul’s desire to “make woman suffrage a major political issue” that informed decisions the CU, and later the NWP, made throughout the final push of the woman suffrage movement (Stevens, 1995, p. 19). The CU’s first large event under Paul and Burns was a parade on March 3, 1913, the day before President Woodrow Wilson’s inauguration. NAWSA leaders gave their “okay” to the parade itself but did not allocate any funds for it.

Longtime suffragist, Inez Milholland, led the parade, wearing white and sitting atop a white horse, carrying a banner with the suffrage colors, purple, white, and gold. The parade garnered attention, both positive and negative (Stevens, 1995). Though Paul had obtained a parade permit from the city, the parade onlookers became violent, outraged at the women’s presence. The police did nothing; Congressional hearings later revealed that the police failed to protect a parade with legitimate paperwork. Citizens were upset about the “mistreatment of many socially prominent women;” the issue was not a good way for the new President to begin his term. The Congressional hearings found cause to dismiss the city’s chief of police from his position (Clift, 2003, p. 97; Stevens, 1995, p. 19). As stated before, while some of the constraints that late nineteenth century suffragists had to overcome had been surmounted, it was not necessarily acceptable for women to be in the public sphere, parading and advocating for their right to vote. Stevens (1995) writes that by the time the CU held its parade on March 3, 1913, “woman suffrage had gained a political respectability among middle- and upper-class women” (p. 18). This did not inevitably extend to male spectators that may have been present that day. Furthermore, the acceptability of suffrage as policy did not necessarily

include acceptability of women engaging in public advocacy, such as marching in a parade.

The next task that the CU engaged in was a series of visits (or deputations) to President Wilson. These began thirteen days after the new President was sworn in. His stance on suffrage was that he did not have an opinion; rather, he was “too busy with currency and tariff questions to consider suffrage” (Clift, 2003, p. 98). At their national convention in 1913, the CU disclosed their newest tactical choice, which was borrowed from Britain. Paul and Burns had made the decision to hold the “party in power responsible” (Clift, 2003; Stevens, 1995). President Wilson’s affiliation with the Democratic Party, along with the Democratic majority in Congress, would play a role in the strategies that the CU employed. Because Wilson did not support the federal amendment, and was a Democrat, the CU would campaign *against* Democratic candidates. Paul and Burns argued that this tactic would serve as “an ultimatum to the Democrats: pass our bill, or we will defeat [them] for reelection” (Clift, 2003, p. 99). NAWSA resolved that their organization would not play partisan politics. Rather, NAWSA preferred not to “enrage [President Wilson], Congress, or the public by confrontational tactics” (Stevens, 1995, p. 19). This followed NAWSA continued support of Wilson and all of the candidates who had supported suffrage. Neither NAWSA leadership nor the CU was willing to compromise on this issue and consequently, Paul and Burns withdrew from NAWSA in early 1914.

At the time of the 1914 elections, nine western states had enfranchised female constituents. The NWP put its energies into visiting those states and prompting women to vote against Democratic candidates. Twenty Democrats were defeated during that

election (Clift, 2003, p. 101). NWP campaigning against the party in power, which was still the Democratic Party, continued in the next election year, 1915.

The next major election year was the presidential election of 1916. The CU organized a political party called the Woman's Party [WP] that had a single platform, "the immediate passage of the federal suffrage amendment" (Stevens, 1995, p. 49). It was an independent political party that would not put forth a presidential candidate, nor affiliate itself with a particular political party. Paul "had given up on effecting change through the existing . . . groups," hoping that by withholding support from all contemporary political parties that did not overtly support suffrage, a federal suffrage amendment might be passed (Clift, 2003, p. 107; Stevens, 1995, p. 49). While this choice was one of the main political tactics of the NWP, NAWSA still struggled with the option. "[They] worried that Paul's exploits would be counterproductive and cost them the friends in high places they had worked so long to cultivate" (Clift, 2003, p. 108). While NAWSA supported Wilson under the slogan of "He kept us out of war," the CU/WP campaigned against Wilson with the slogan, "He kept us out of suffrage" (Stevens, 1995, p. 51). The rhetorical choices of the CU/WP at this time may have seemed agitative, but the latter half of 1916 brought drastic changes in the options they chose.

In September, 1916, well-known and committed suffragist, Inez Milholland, who had led the suffrage parade in 1913, was campaigning in Los Angeles. During a lecture, she collapsed, her final public words being "Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?" (Stevens, 1995, p. 53). A "martyr for the cause,"²¹ Milholland's death was a catalyst for many suffragists to rededicate themselves to the cause; they began again with fresh energy. It also served as a reason for some to join the suffrage movement. The

National Woman's Party was then formed, the consequence of a "merging of the CU and the WP" (Clift, 2003, p. 124).

On January 9, 1917, three hundred women from the NWP visited President Wilson in what would be the final deputation. These deputations had begun when President Wilson was first elected in 1913. During this particular deputation, NWP members again urged him to support a federal suffrage amendment and start sending it through the motions in Congress. He again refused. The three hundred women walked back to the NWP headquarters, where Harriot Stanton Blatch presented "drastic action" measures. Blatch, daughter of early woman's rights activist Elizabeth Cady Stanton, presented a "ringing call for action."²²

We can't organize bigger and more influential deputations. We can't organize bigger processions. We can't, women, do anything more in that line. We have got to take a new departure. We have got to keep the question before him all the time. . . . won't you come and join us in standing day after day at the gates of the White House with banners asking, 'What will you do, Mr. President, for one-half the people of this nation?' Stand there as sentinels – sentinels of liberty, sentinels of self-government, silent sentinels. Let us stand beside the gateway where he must pass in and out, so that he can never fail to realize that there is a tremendous earnestness and insistence back of this measure. (cited in Stevens, 1995, pp. 57-58)

This "drastic action" took the form of picketing, which began the next day, January 10, 1917. The picketers continued for many months, and were known as the "silent sentinels;" they endured name-calling and numerous demands that they withdraw (e.g.,

Stevens, 1995, pp. 59-60). The picketing drew media attention. Ever vigilant of maintaining public image and attention, the picketers held “specialty” days, such as state days and college alumni days (Clift, 2003, p. 123). Catt called the picketing an “error of judgment” (p. 135). NAWSA condemned the choices that the NWP was making. Error or not, the picketing continued.

The rhetorical possibilities open to suffragists changed in April, 1917. The United States entered into World War I; the picketing continued. The idea of one’s citizenship was linked with the gendered notions of acceptable behavior (Elshtain, 1995). Picketing was not the enactment of war support, which was the socially acceptable behavior for women at this time. Continually faithful to the single plank of the Woman’s Party, the NWP focused on the passage of a federal amendment enfranchising women. NAWSA asked the NWP to stop the picketing for the duration of the war, to support the war effort. Paul’s response was that a similar postponement of woman suffrage legislation had occurred during the Civil War and that women were still fighting for enfranchisement (Clift, 2003, p. 125).²³ In June, 1917, the picketers changed their tactics slightly. Rather than portraying banners that asked President Wilson what *he* was going to do about suffrage, they addressed visiting foreign envoys that were visiting Washington, D.C. Their tactics, again, outraged many people and consequently, the District of Columbia police warned the suffragists that if they did not stop their picketing, they would be arrested. The day after the warning, two suffragists returned, as they had the six months prior. The banner they held that day used Wilson’s words from his address to Congress when the United States entered World War I. These words were his reasoning for entering into World War I: “We shall fight for the things we have always held nearest our

hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government” (cited in Stevens, 1995, p. 75).²⁴ This time, district police arrested the suffragists. The suffragists were then tried and found guilty under the auspices of “obstructing traffic” (Stevens, 1995, p. 76). The picketing continued. The police arrested, tried, and judged guilty more women on the same charge. All of the arrested picketers were “warned by the court of their ‘unpatriotic, almost treasonable behavior’” and sentenced to either a fine or jail time in the District Jail. The women refused to pay, asserting that they were guilty of no crime. They were imprisoned (pp. 76-77). The district court pointed to the lack of support of the war, citing that the women’s actions were not those of national citizens.

The picketing first ceased on January, 1918, as the House of Representatives voted on the federal amendment. Lobbying commenced and the NWP employed what has been called Paul’s “three pressure system.” The first pressure entailed lobbyists visiting Congressmen on Capitol Hill. The second pressure was known as the Political Committee, where prominent people would pressure the Congressmen to support a federal suffrage amendment. Finally, the third pressure was a group known as the Organization and Legislative Committee, exerted pressure from those who were from the Congressman’s home state (Clift, 2003, p. 156). The final strategy is similar to today’s grassroots organizing efforts. When the amendment seemed to be stuck in Congressional committees, the NWP resumed picketing on August 6, 1918. The federal suffrage amendment passed through the House of Representatives, but lost by two votes in the Senate. In late September, 1918, President Wilson finally publicly linked suffrage and

patriotism, citing the war work done by women as a sign of their citizenry. President Wilson dismissed any connection between this public link and the picketing.

January, 1919 brought new tactics from the NWP. On the first of the year, with President Wilson overseas and the amendment still not passed, they began their “watch fires of freedom,” which burned for four days and nights. They burned the words and speeches of President Wilson, specifically his words advocating freedom of democracy and self-government. District police arrested the suffragists after four days. On February 9, 1919, they burned an effigy of President Wilson, and police again arrested NWP suffragists. The NWP continued to use events such as picketing and the watch fires to push Congress to pass the federal amendment. The Senate finally passed the federal suffrage amendment on June 4, 1919 and the NWP ceased its picketing and watch fires (Clift, 2003, chapter 7). The federal suffrage amendment then went to the states for state ratification. The suffrage battle, which ended with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution on August 26, 1920, constituted a long standing movement for woman’s enfranchisement, “for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government.”

Historian Eleanor Clift (2003) stated the need for a variety of activism in the final push of the suffrage movement.

[Alice] Paul injected the energy and chutzpah the movement needed to force Congress and President Wilson to act. [Carrie Chapman] Catt quietly worked the levers of power to capture the moment. Without her sure-footed diplomacy and relentless organization, the required 2/3 of state legislatures would not have ratified suffrage. (p. 109)

Singularly, NAWSA and the NWP could not have passed the federal suffrage amendment. It was through the work and specific actions taken by both of the two organizations which helped enfranchise all women in the United States.

Outline of Chapters

In the first chapter, I have shown how the new constraints and opportunities presented to the two major U.S. national suffrage organizations during the year 1917 created a heightened time and space of political activity.

In the second chapter, I turn to a discussion of social movement rhetoric, Kenneth Burke's (1984) dramatisitic framework, and ideographs (McGee, 1980). I describe how I use these theoretical frames in my thesis to examine the ways that each suffrage organization articulated the ideographic term <citizen> to situate themselves within a particular understanding of the Order and consequently, determined the ways in which <citizens> could rhetorically act. To conduct the analysis, I utilized Burke's (1984) dramatisitic model coupled with McGee's (1980a) conceptualization of the ideograph.

In the third chapter, I examine the rhetorical and tactical strategies employed in the weekly for the National American Woman Suffrage Association [NAWSA], *The Woman Citizen*. I argue that NAWSA framed <citizen> as a status that a woman reached through a process. Further, the process of becoming a <citizen> occurred simultaneously with other-oriented service work. Without engaging in war work, a woman would not reach <citizen> status. By articulating <citizenship> in this way, NAWSA did not challenge the Order; rather the organization implicitly accepted the Order and looked to women to engage in their own <citizenship>.

The fourth chapter examines the rhetorical and tactical strategies that the National Woman's Party [NWP] utilized in *The Suffragist*. I argue that the NWP framed <citizenship> as a natural right that President Wilson and Congress blocked through their unwillingness to pass the federal suffrage amendment. The NWP positioned their framework of the Order as the True Order based upon the tenets of the U.S. Constitution. Because one's <citizenship> was a natural right, the NWP saw the status quo, as framed by President Wilson and his administration, as a Perverted Order that needed to be overthrown. They positioned President Wilson, as the head of the Order, as the Redeemer to be Killed, thus confronting the Order.

The fifth and final chapter compares NAWSA's and the NWP's rhetorical choices. I discuss some of the implications of the comparison. I raise questions about the potential for the existence of multiple social movements, based on ideological assumptions and goals, as well as questions concerning the definition of "success" when it comes to social movements.

Chapter Two

Social Movements and Rhetorical Choices

Scholars have tried to make sense of the ways in which members of society, such as the suffragists in NAWSA and the NWP, attempt to act as agents of change in their world. Social movements necessarily conflict with the cultural ideology of the time because movement participants are trying to change something within that ideology. Burke (1984) articulates this tension when he describes the Mystery of living within a particular ideological framework. Ideological frameworks do not consist of a singular Mystery. Rather, Burke describes a number of types – “mysteries of dream, of creation, of death, of life’s stages, of thought . . . of adventure and love” (p. 277). There are many forms Mystery can take and therefore, “mystery in general” cannot be reduced to “the social mystery in particular” (p. 277). He describes social mystery as an intertwining of these different types. This intertwining gives the social mystery more power, due to the difficulty in untangling the interrelations. He argues that

[t]he social mystery gains in depth, persuasiveness, allusiveness and illusiveness precisely by the reason of the fact that it becomes inextricably interwoven with mysteries of these other sorts, quite as these other mysteries must in part be perceived through the fog of the social mystery. (pp. 277-278)

Consequently, mysteries in general within which the suffragists worked also combined with an overall “social mystery.” These various forms of mysteries, understanding of gender roles and their implications in one’s “citizen” role (specifically during war time) placed specific constraints on them, as I have previously described. By trying to break outside of those restraints through their actions and their ultimate goal (thereby exposing

the Mystery), the suffragists were untangling the interwoven nature of the culturally constructed idea of womanhood and how a woman could act, particularly within the political realm. As organized members of the woman suffrage movement, NAWSA and the NWP participated in social movement activity as groups that were trying to change the contemporary social mystery of women's disenfranchisement and political roles. Women's implicit role in politics was not as active agents of change. Consequently, members of the two organizations unveiled the social Mystery of women's previous political *non-participation*, transforming it into involvement.

Further, the NWP suffragists challenged the social Mystery about the ways in which women could act as agents *during war-time*. They did not support the more conservative conceptualization of the Beautiful Soul, which dictated how a woman could act during war-time (Elshtain, 1995). Beautiful Souls supported the Just Warriors in battle (p. 4). Because the NWP did not have a specific stance on the war, their political actions went against the traditionally held belief of women's role during wartime. NAWSA, on the other hand, in their support of the war and their choice to set aside most suffrage activity fulfilled contemporary gendered beliefs of women's roles and behaviors during war-time. With differing actions taken during war time, NAWSA and the NWP opened up a variety of rhetorical possibilities in their political involvement.

Burke's (1984) model of dramatism helps to understand how social actors move through the process of lifting a social mystery and how social actors both understand and try to change the status quo. The social movement dramatisic model as mapped out by Griffin (1969) moves the actor(s) through "Order, Guilt, and the Negative, through Victimage and Mortification, to Catharsis and Redemption" (p. 457). In brief, the Order

is “the reign of reason and justice” for which humans strive (p. 458). The Order is the status quo. There is a basic understanding among actors within the Order. This basic comprehension, or identification, allows for a common understanding between and among humans, which results in the social mystery that I previously discussed. The underlying assumption of Burke’s (1984) dramatic model is that the ultimate goal for social actors is “perfect communion, pure identification, and absolute communication” between social actors and the Order (Griffin, 1969, p. 459). The Order becomes disrupted when social actors reject some part of the Mystery that is commonly understood; Guilt arises when social actors cease to identify with the Order (Burke, 1984, p. 278; Griffin, 1969, p. 460). Burke (1984) argues that “one’s ‘guilt’ [is] not as the result of any personal transgression, but by reason of a tribal or dynastic inheritance” (p. 278). The Order is “inherited” from others and the social mystery is something that it is “inextricably interwoven” within the framework of society. The Order can also be understood as the status quo, whereas Mysteries are ideological constraints or structures in place. The two are intertwined. Understanding or realizing a certain Mystery and wanting to change it will consequently cause change to the Order. One then feels Guilt for rejecting the Order and wanting to change it. For example, the Mystery, such as women’s inactivity in the political process, is rejected. The Rejection of the Order may come for a variety of reasons. The current Order may no longer fulfill the needs and desires of the social actors. There may be different conditions than in previous times, or social actors may perceive that the Order has in some way become distorted. Because social actors have Rejected the Order, which leads to feelings of Guilt, they desire to have the Guilt cleansed.²⁵ The social actors, such as the suffragists, work to have the Rejection

understood and accepted within the Order. To cleanse their guilt, or create new common understanding, social actors seek Redemption. “Redemption needs a Redeemer – which is to say, a Victim, a scapegoat, a Kill. Thus, to study a movement is to study the progress of a killing” (Griffin, 1969, p. 461). The act of “killing” is a redefinition or reconfiguration of the Order. Burke (1984) saw victimage as “the choice of a sacrificial offering that is correspondingly absolute in the perfection of its fitness” (p. 284). The social actors are trying to cancel out the Guilt that they feel for their Rejection of the Order (p. 284). Burke also describes a form of *personal* victimage, mortification (pp. 289-290). Through mortification, the actor carries out “judgments pronounced . . . against the self” (p. 290). Rather than using another to redefine or reconfigure the Order, the actor uses her- or himself to cancel out the Guilt felt for Rejection of the Order.

Further, the social ideology, the understanding of the Order and consequently, the Redemption that a group seeks, can be understood on two levels. First is the material ideology. The material Order is that the majority of American women cannot vote. The second understanding is that of the ideal Order, a symbolic understanding of how the Order functions. Burke (1966) described this as humans being “rotten with perfection” (p. 16). He further states that

[t]he principle of perfection is central to the nature of language as motive. The mere desire to name something by its ‘proper’ name, or to speak a language in its distinctive ways is intrinsically ‘perfectionist.’ What is more ‘perfectionist’ in essence than the impulse, when one is in dire need of something, to so state this need that one in effect ‘defines’ the situation? (p. 16)

The way that an organization defines the Order, or the Redemption they seek, is described through “perfectionist” language. The motives of, and reasons for, certain rhetorical choices are reflected in the language rhetors make, specifically in newspapers such as *The Woman Citizen* and *The Suffragist*, which are speaking to fellow suffrage rhetors.

Whichever way the social actor understands the process of Redemption, whether as material and/or ideological changes, the changes must be effected. What has been understood as the status quo must change in order for Redemption to be possible. Thus, in the U.S. woman suffrage movement, the Order was a political hierarchy in which women had no political voice. When women demanded suffrage, they rejected the Order and the social mystery of who could engage in self-government; the Redemptive act they sought was enfranchising women, allowing them political status they did not currently have.

While both organizations saw woman enfranchisement as the ultimate goal, NAWSA and the NWP viewed the Order differently. They both Rejected the Order, but saw the path to Redemption in ways that corresponded with their understanding of the Order. In my rhetorical analysis of each organization, the orientation that each organization took toward the Order informed the ways in which the organization responded to the Order and the ways in which they were able to rhetorically act. Consequently, who or what served as the Redeemer depended on the organization’s understanding of the Order.

The way an organization responds to the Order is also highly suggestive of how dangerous to the Order they may prove to be. Cathcart (1978) argues that there are two

distinct types of rhetoric within social movements. The first is *managerial* rhetoric, which attempts simply to adjust the system in which it has been established. Groups that utilize managerial rhetoric have a “basic acceptance of the system as *the* system, along with its moral imperatives and ethical codes” (p. 240). On the other hand, *confrontational* rhetoric “reveals persons who have become so alienated that they reject [the presumed identification] and cease to identify with the prevailing hierarchy” (p. 241). By questioning the hierarchy in a way that managerial social movements cannot, confrontational movement rhetoric is potentially more dangerous to the Order.²⁶ It demands change, not modification. Movement participants feel alienated from the prevailing Order; they have nothing to lose by demanding those changes to the Order.²⁷

Outside of the form and potential development of social movements, scholars have found both opportunities and obstacles in the study of social movements. The challenges to using social movements, or long ranging social causes, as rhetorical artifacts, are articulated by Simons (1970). Oftentimes, the “sheer magnitude” of a social movement, including but not limited to: the time span, the “varied and often unconventional symbols and media,” a variety of leaders, and potentially a variety of divisions within the movement make them difficult to study (pp. 1-2). Scholars have approached these constraints from numerous angles.

Conrad (1981) addressed one particular way to counter the difficulties that Simons (1970) addresses. Conrad (1981) argues that “when critics examine origins and search for points of re-definition, for moments when the character of the movement is altered or transformed,” those places can serve as places where rhetorical choices can be best understood (p. 284). Thus, as the previous sections drew out, the six month period

for NAWSA and NWP were filled with points of redefinition, where their ideologies and their rhetorical strategies came into sharp distinction with one another. Stewart (1997) also argues that social movements evolve not only to social changes, but also as “departures from established movement norms” (p. 429). These departures often cause conflict within the different sectors of the social movement, thus giving yet another place where scholars can examine social movements. “The resulting internal conflict [from these departures] is intended to perfect the movement through purges of the movement’s failed leadership, organizations, strategies, and principles” (p. 430). Internal conflicts, such as the ones described above between NAWSA and the NWP, can point rhetorical scholars to places of redefinition that hope to “perfect the movement,” or to create change within the contemporary Order. While the woman suffrage movement as a whole over the course of 72 years may be too extensive to study, choosing a point where suffragists transformed the arguments and rhetorical choices they made can serve as a place where these choices can be best examined, rather than looking at the whole social movement history.

Huxman (2000) approached the constraint of both the extended time period of the woman suffrage movement and the variety of leaders that the movement has had by describing how each leader fulfilled a different role and strategy of leadership that was needed during a particular time period. What question is still left lingering is how different leaders, *in the same time frame*, work within the constraints of a particular social movement, such as Catt and Paul in the final years of the U.S. woman suffrage movement. While this study does not look at the variety of leaders, it does look at the variety of rhetorical choices that each organization made. While the particular person

who led each group is influential in the choices an organization makes, this study looks at the ways in which an organization presents its *orientation* to the Order and how the organization best envisions social change.

The constraint of “unconventional symbols and media” (Simons, 1970, p. 2) has been addressed by DeLuca (1999), who examines such unconventional rhetorical strategies. He posits that “although designed to flag media attention and generate publicity, image events are more than just a means of getting on television [or in the media]. They are crystallized philosophical fragments” (p. 6). DeLuca (1999) argues that nontraditional rhetorical events (such as the NWP’s image events of picketing, of the watch fires of freedom, and the President Wilson effigy burning) serve as a way to redefine and rearticulate certain ideographic terms which hold particular power within the Order.²⁸ These nontraditional rhetorical forms open up ideological possibilities that traditional forms might not allow. An ideograph (McGee, 1980a) is a term, or set of terms, which holds a particular importance in society. Their importance is due in part because they are a building block of ideology. Ideographs, as foundational to ideological understanding, are inherent in social movements. DeLuca (1999) argues that “[s]ocial movements . . . are changes in social reality through changes in meanings of ‘foundational’ rhetorical forms, such as ideographs” (p. 35). By rearticulating ideographic terms, social actors are trying to change the fundamental understanding of the Order. The definitions of ideographic terms help to outline (im)proper behaviors and beliefs within a society (e.g., DeLuca, 1999, p. 43). Ideographic terms are ambiguous and thus, often contested (e.g., DeLuca, 1999; McGee, 1980a). It is through discursive exchanges by social agents within an Order that ideographic terms are articulated, reified,

and contested. Members within the Order hold particular beliefs about how these ambiguous terms are defined and therefore, there are specific loyalties to the term within that social sphere. They help to build the understanding and acceptance of social Mysteries. Ideographic terms are emptied and filled (DeLuca, 1999, p. 44) within a variety of frameworks; they continue to be contested in the social sphere, as they are never fully and specifically defined. Sometimes, the form of contestation a group employs is seen as unproductive.

Rhetorical choices that might have previously been understood by scholars as *only* agitative have the possibility of being potentially seen through a productive lens. Seeing agitative rhetorical choices as attention-seeking does not allow for rhetoric scholars to see possibilities of ideological implications in the group's rhetorical choices (e.g., DeLuca, 1999). By paying attention to the ways that organizations articulate ideographs, whether those articulations are seen as agitative or not, the different choices used by various groups can be highlighted and utilized as productive rhetorical artifacts. If a social actor understands her or himself through specific definitions used within an ideographic framework, agitative or not, particular behaviors are deemed more acceptable. Certain responses are then (dis)allowed in light of the ideographic orientation toward the Order. Whichever responses are utilized work within the particular framework created and reinforced by the organization's beliefs about the Order justify the behaviors chosen by that organization.

In my thesis, I examine in particular the ideographic term <citizen> to see how each organization articulates the term <citizen> as related to the Order. Because ideographic terms are often not denotatively defined within society but are assumed to be

understood by anyone who uses the term, the terms can serve as places of contestation and change, as described by Conrad (1981). As the suffragists were attempting to change social understanding of who should be able to vote, they were also changing foundational understandings of the Order and who was a <citizen> within it. During this time period, the U.S. Constitution defined <citizen> as gendered (e.g., Government Printing Offices, 1996a). Since the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, the United States government had specifically defined <citizenship> as male. Both NAWSA and the NWP had to begin to define <citizenship> outside of this generally understood framework to position their suffrage work as legitimate. By looking at how they contested the ideographic term <citizen>, I found how the two groups defined the Order and consequently what potential rhetorical responses to the Order were open to them.²⁹

In this research, I applied Burke's (1984) dramatisic model, as oriented to social movements (Griffin, 1969), to examine the ways that suffragists positioned themselves in regard to the Order. I used McGee's (1980a) ideographic model, extended by DeLuca (1999), to show the suffragists used the ideographic term <citizen> to articulate their roles as agents of change and rhetorically how the Order should (not) be changed. Finally, I look at how the two organizations, though in different ways, worked together to help to push the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Application of these theoretical frameworks helped me understand how the two organizations not only were able to argue for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment, but how the organizations related to the Order.

Chapter Three

National American Woman Suffrage Association

The National American Woman Suffrage Association [NAWSA] changed the name of its weekly in June, 1917. The shift from publishing *The Woman's Journal* to *The Woman Citizen* points the reader to a more politically edged focus. Their name change indicates a shift in tone for NAWSA, focusing on a more specifically politically oriented journal (e.g., Chapter One; Ramsey, 2000). NAWSA was the older of the two suffrage organizations I studied; they utilized this sense of historicism each week. The cover of *The Woman Citizen* listed their founding year as 1870,³⁰ implying that they had been engaging in suffrage work for nearly fifty years. Each week, NAWSA appealed to their credibility as a long-standing organization to push forward the suffrage agenda.

In this chapter, I argue that NAWSA saw women's <citizenship> as a process. Women gained "<citizen> status" as they exhibited certain (private sphere) characteristics, such as maternal patriotism. Further, NAWSA characterized <citizens> as people who productively engage in the social realm, demonstrating the ability to meet their responsibilities. As women gained organizational and rational skills through suffrage work, NAWSA argued that they were able to use those to be productive <citizens> in the public sphere. Their productivity is shown through their supportive efforts toward the war. Because NAWSA's articulation of a <citizen> does not mention President Wilson and his administration as counter to the Order, NAWSA did not confront the ideological Order. Rather, they understood that it was a suffragist's duty to gain the skills needed to evolve into a <citizen> worthy of enfranchisement; in this way, women would achieve enfranchisement.

I begin with a brief description of scholars' discussion of female social housekeeping beliefs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and of the private and public sphere, concepts upon which NAWSA relied, to show the progression of women's <citizenship> responsibility fulfillment.

Social Housekeeping and Women in the Private and Public Spheres

As I briefly discussed in chapter one, women became more involved in social reform in the late eighteenth century. Often, their social involvement was under the auspices of Christian and female benevolence work (e.g., Smith-Rosenberg, 1985). This was because of specific ideas of where women should do their work. Women's work was defined in specific ways and in certain spheres of society. Domesticity and women were linked; "the ideology of domesticity, which gave women a limited and sex-specific role to play, primarily in the home" (Cott, 1997, p. 5) placed boundaries on the types of work that it was acceptable for women to perform. Work done at home, such as housekeeping and house management were understood to be women's work (e.g., Cott, 1997; Welter, 1966). Consequently, when women tried to do work outside of these strict social boundaries, they faced difficulties that men did not (e.g., Campbell, 1989, vol. 1).

So that women's social involvement was seen as more acceptable, it was sometimes framed as "*social* housekeeping." Social housekeeping was the title given to "volunteer work in which women could supposedly express their mother-heart" (Faderman, 1999, p. 100). As women, with particular tendencies toward domesticity, activities such as settlement-house work could be seen as simply that, *housework*. This was an acceptable activity for women; one in which they were already engaged. For

many women, settlement house work led them toward further social reform work; at times, it led them to suffrage work directly.³¹

Prior to women's public social involvement, women's links to motherhood had been markers of a woman's influence in the private sphere. The mother/wife served as a moral and patriotic role model; she would then raise good <citizens>, influencing her male family members who had a voice in the public sphere. By modeling these behaviors, women's influence allowed them, from the private sphere, to potentially create change in the public sphere. Because of her relationship with others and her influence within those relationships, the "woman <citizen>" enacted some of the privileges of <citizenship> in the private sphere.

While women had *influence*, they could not claim self-government or a voice in the laws by which she was to live. Consequently, influence alone could not grant her full <citizenship>. She still lacked her own political voice. Campbell (1989) has argued that the achievement of women speaking in public "was proof that she was as able as her male counterparts to function in the public sphere" (vol.1, p. 11). The progression of women working in the household to viewing the world as "house" that women could reform and act in, just as they did in their own homes, provided a lens that NAWSA used to argue for the acceptability and possibility of women's engagement in the public sphere.

<Citizenship> is a Process

NAWSA argued that enfranchisement would occur, whether Congress wanted it to or not. Throughout the six month period of *The Woman Citizen* I analyzed, NAWSA commented first, on the inevitability of woman suffrage. As they discussed this inevitability, one of the strongest links they made was to the ways in which women were

enacting a <citizen's> duties in their *private* lives. Specifically, women's enactment of maternal patriotism became reasoning for women's ability to use the ballot. Their roles as mothers began to prepare women for the responsibilities they would encounter as <citizens> using the vote.

The Inevitability of Enfranchisement

The *inevitability of enfranchisement* was a theme which appeared throughout the six month period I analyzed. NAWSA suffragists did not see enfranchisement as something that was to be questioned; what was questioned was *when* it would occur. NAWSA saw <citizenship> linked to a process that women went through in learning the so-called political ropes. While the organization had been fighting for suffrage for many years, articles in *The Woman Citizen* positively reminded its readers that equal suffrage was on its way; it would only be a matter of time. In fact, NAWSA saw 1917 as the final push for suffrage, labeling it the "stage of final surrender," suggesting that there had been a progression of surrenders and fights ("Direct wires," December 15, p. 54). But, this progression had not been without difficulty; nor was it something that would simply occur.

We are not trusting our victory to any of these forces of evolution [which bring democracy closer to a rule of the people]. We do not believe that we can sit still and wait for suffrage to come. We put our faith in the strength of our own battalions. We are confident of winning the campaign because of the splendid solid growth of the suffrage organization. ("This campaign," August 25, p. 221)

The democratic process, while not something to implicitly trust, requires women to work toward their goals, not "sit[ting] still and wait[ing]." Being involved with the process was

required of women. Their involvement would show that they were good <citizens>, able to productively and responsibly use the vote. Consequently, one of the ways that NAWSA articulated that women began to show their ability to meet <citizen> responsibilities was within the private realm as a mother figure. A woman's role as a mother who raised patriotic sons, or her maternal patriotism, was one place to prove women's readiness to be a voting <citizen>.

Maternal Patriotism

The theme of *maternal patriotism* was one that saturated *The Woman Citizen*. Throughout the six month period, NAWSA continually emphasized and called upon a woman's role as a (potential) mother to articulate connections with suffrage. In a number of articles and issues, NAWSA emphasized a woman's *maternal* nature or her role as a *mother* to argue that women were capable and ready to be <citizens>. By enacting the social understanding of women's role as a mother, NAWSA remarked that women had much that they could offer to the country; sacrificing her son(s) to the war effort was one of the most significant offerings that a woman could make to her country. The role of mother and <citizen> coalesced. The ideograph <citizen> is filled with a woman's commonly understood role as a mother and the responsibilities she had within that role. The cover of the October 27 issue speaks to this link with <citizenship> and motherhood. A woman is holding an infant in her arms. The caption reads "Women bring all voters into the world. Let women vote" (Flagg). It is a woman's relationship with her children, her inherent motherhood, which makes the argument for enfranchisement. She is first able to call herself a <citizen> as the mother (or wife) of a voter.

With this first labeling, NAWSA further links the personal sacrifice of one's child(ren) to the war effort as one of the greatest patriotic acts a woman could undertake, thereby making her even more worthy of the label <citizen>. The role of a mother was stretched during wartime; consequently, the sacrifice a woman might make as a maternal <citizen> was also stretched, extending this possibility to the ideograph <citizen>. NAWSA had earlier used a mother's sacrifice as the theme of the September 22nd issue of *The Woman Citizen*, which was "dedicated to mothers everywhere who have given their sons to democracy" (masthead, p. 325). This move indicates that NAWSA felt the sacrifices made by mothers were particularly important, worth emphasizing.

The Woman Citizen gave specific examples of ways that mothers made this sacrifice. This connection between one's <citizenship> and the role of mother is articulated in a story of Mrs. Robinson, reported by Livermore (September 29). This woman has sent all of her sons overseas. Livermore comments that Robinson's sacrifice "is irrefutable testimony to the fact that patriotic mothers breed patriotic sons" (p. 326). Thus, a woman's patriotism and consequent role as a <citizen> are played out through the maternal lens of the sacrifices she makes as a mother. Through the connection to motherhood, NAWSA argued that women could responsibly use the ballot. Particularly with the sacrifice of their sons, women were showing that when called upon, they would act patriotically. Further, Livermore comments that these connections are "irrefutable;" consequently, they should not be questioned. If a woman acts in this manner, then her patriotism and consequent <citizenship> should not be denied.

The role of the mother and her link to her soldier son, both of whom have sacrificed for their country, led to the use of the soldier son as an intermediary for

women, petitioning Uncle Sam for woman suffrage. The cover of the September 29 issue of *The Woman Citizen* illustrates this. The soldier's son, pointing to a respectable looking woman tells Uncle Sam, "She has given me to democracy; give democracy to her." It is implied that this woman is the soldier's mother (or possibly spouse) and in "giving [him] to democracy," she is fulfilling her patriotic duty as a <citizen>. A soldier's ultimate sacrifice of his life may be in order to "spare one's fellows," and the sacrifice of the mother is that of her son, the soldier (Elshtain, 1995, p. 11). Sacrifice is part of the soldier's job as a Good Soldier who sacrifices *for his country* and who exhibits characteristics of "*caritas*, Christian caring" (p. 223). The soldier links his bodily sacrifice with that of the sacrifice that the *mother* has given for her country. By comparing the experience of his (potential) sacrifice of his life with her sacrifice of him to the war effort, the soldier is pointing out the similarities to warrant the mother's right to suffrage, which in turn grants her the self-government possibilities afforded to <citizens>.³²

A woman's private role as a mother (and wife) was linked to her ability to be a public <citizen>.³³ The skills and tasks women were originally responsible for were extended to be included in NAWSA's stretched conceptualization of a woman <citizen>. NAWSA linked women's feminine roles and tasks in their homes, privately done, with the possibility for them to use those same skills, publicly, through war work.

Women's War Work: A <Citizen's> Public Engagement

Previously, I have discussed the ways in which war time essentializes and solidifies gendered notions of <citizenship> and people's roles within the war effort. Elshtain (1995) argues that women's roles are that of the Beautiful Soul; as a

noncombatant, women offer “succor and compassion” (p. 4). The woman whose identity is defined through this lens maintains a sense of innocence which is different than the experience of the soldier who is fighting on the front lines. They were

no ordinary wife or mother or secretary or nurse: she [the Beautiful Soul] becomes a civic being; she is needed by others; she can respond simultaneously to what Jane Addams called the ‘family claim’ and the ‘social claim,’ for, she is told, without her unselfish devotion to country and family each would be lost. (p. 9)

A woman’s identity, which remains innocent through war-time, becomes valorized in what she unselfishly brings to the country. Her loyalty to “country and family” keeps those entities together. Because of her own purity, she brings those characteristics to the forefront in her civic engagement as a Beautiful Soul. The necessity of women’s unselfish devotion is illustrated through the use of her political power to positive ends. When describing women’s participation in war work, NAWSA authors called upon feminine characteristics and roles to validate women’s public sphere activities. One of these was the Americanization of incoming immigrants.

The entire issue published on June 30 pushes women toward the Americanization of incoming immigrants. This process would socialize immigrants more easily into American society. Women, NAWSA argued, were more suited to this job than men. Blackwell (June 30) claims that “[m]othering’ comes more naturally to women than to men; and the newly arrived immigrant needs to be mothered for a little while, until he learns to walk in the new and strange paths that open before him” (p. 80). NAWSA links maternal characteristics to women’s essential characteristics, *as women*. Consequently,

they were better suited to do Americanization work, which was considered a national security issue. If immigrants were “Americanized,” then the likelihood of plots against the United States were lower was the link with national security. In discussing why the Americanization of immigrants was taken on by NAWSA, Blackwell (June 30) states that “it was work directly in line with women’s *natural* [italics added] aptitudes and sympathies” (p. 81). Consequently, it was not a question of a woman’s role in the Americanization process of immigrants. Because of the needs of the immigrant, a woman, as a mother or potential mother, fit this role particularly well. And because women were already fulfilling this type of role with their sons, privately, they could also do this in the public sphere. With women’s public participation, they could help to win the war overseas.

The connection between sacrifice to the war effort and women’s usual work in the private sphere was also made in an article describing the campaign for suffrage in Maine. Nye (June 16) states that

[t]he nation gives women the right to work: to sew, to knit, to plant and to till the soil. It gives them the right to sacrifice. It gives them the right to rear and educate sons whom they are privileged to send to the war with a farewell kiss, their prayer, and their blessing. It gives them the right to submit equally with men to this enormous new burden of taxation. It gives them the right to give up their lives in hospitals and in the fever camps. In fact, it gives them every right and privilege except the right to declare by their vote whether or not this nation shall enter upon the war of which they are so vitally and essentially a factor. (p. 52)

By maintaining their roles in the home and family, women will be able to progress toward <citizenship>, and ultimately be ready for the ballot. The tasks performed by women were normalized, because it was natural for them to be performing such tasks, “to sew, to knit, to plant and till the soil.” The other tasks, less concrete, but no less important, were framed as “sacrifices” on behalf of the family and country. Consequently, engaging in a <citizen’s> responsibilities would not change the roles women performed. Not only are these activities in which women already engage, but they support the nation in war service. They are also conversely *given* to women by the nation. The nation expects women to participate and engage in <citizenship>, while those demands are framed simultaneously as “rights.” By defining the work women do on behalf of the nation as a set of “rights” that benefit the nation, women suffrage is cast as something that the nation gives but is nevertheless a “right” women will exercise as a civic duty.

NAWSA framed one of the primary means of women’s civic duty as a method by which they could clean up society. This social housekeeping was described in terms of how these social actions would benefit the home. The cover of the October 20 (“Her war net”) issue shows a woman pulling at a net in a body of water. The net is labeled “political power” and it is pulling in buoys labeled “vice,” “booze,” and “corrupt politics.” The spot in which she is kneeling is labeled “The home.” This indicates that a woman’s role was still in the home, but within that space, she could simultaneously “housekeep” in a more public sphere. In an article, the author describes what a war net is.

War nets are one of today’s devices for meeting today’s submarine dangers.

Among their functions is that of holding back the prowlers of the high seas from

those harbors beyond which the fires of democracy still burn. They interpose a protective screen between the destroyer without and the harbor within.

So too, political power can interpose a *protection for the home* [italics added] when the hands of men with home interests at heart are strengthened by the hands of women with those same interests at heart. Everybody knows that woman wants the vote *for the protection of home and children* [italics added]. Political power is for her the war net with which she can to some extent at least *ward off the most insidious foes of home and family* [italics added]. (“Her war net,” October 20b, p. 387)

The war net that the “woman <citizen>” uses is not to extend herself into the public sphere in ways that would challenge men’s roles. Rather, the woman’s use of the ballot, as a responsible <citizen>, showed someone who was still performing her role as a mother.

A woman’s private sphere role, working within the household and making sure domestic duties were accomplished, showed that she was able to act responsibly. NAWSA took this connection even further by stating that a woman’s private sphere role could, and should, be taken out in the public sphere. It was through their womanly capabilities that they could make the best use of their <citizenship>. By appealing to contemporary ideas of femininity, suffrage might have been perceived as safer or less threatening. Not only did they have their feminine characteristics to fall back on, NAWSA argued that women’s involvement in suffrage work would make them not only productive, but responsible <citizens>.

Suffrage Work Makes Women Responsible <Citizens>

Earlier, I described how NAWSA believed that women's enfranchisement would come only if women worked to make it happen. Women must be involved in the process. As NAWSA linked women's ability to use private skills to public engagement, they relied on their own organization's rational choices to illustrate women's skills. The new tools women gained made them able to more effectively enact their roles in NAWSA. They argued that these skills were to be used for the benefit of the country, and the skills women gained through suffrage work *were* beneficial to the country. Women had shown they could organize and be rational. With these experiences, then, NAWSA's suffragists were able to engage in public sphere activities to benefit the country, activities which were framed as work for the war effort.

Organizational and Rational <Citizens>

The theme of organization and rationality was most prevalent when NAWSA was comparing their lobbying efforts to the rhetorical choices made by the NWP. The theme came up at other times, such as describing strategies to create well-functioning organizations. NAWSA argued that engaging in suffrage work gave suffrage women the organizational skills that lead to rational and logical thinking. In the first issue of the newly renamed journal, the author diagrams how suffrage organizations should look, in order to function properly ("How suffrage," June 2, pp. 16-17). The suffragist stands at the organizational foundation; the rest of the structure, which is hierarchical and bureaucratically ordered, builds up from her. In other articles, NAWSA articulates that rational structure such as theirs implies effectiveness. The more organized a group is, the closer victory comes. In an editorial on December 8, Blackwell highlights the

effectiveness of structure and rationality. By emphasizing the union of these two aspects of NAWSA's organization, Blackwell emphasizes that the union of these two aspects of NAWSA's organization makes their suffragists able to organize rationally, with beneficial outcomes for the suffrage struggle.

The [suffrage] victory has come closer as organization has replaced chaos in the national suffrage movement; and in order that it may arrive quickly and surely, organization must replace chaos in every Congressional district where chaos has been allowed to prevail. ("Organization," p. 29)

A secure foundation leads to order, which is advantageous to the country of which one is a <citizen>. NAWSA argues that their rational organization, as characterized with the suffragist as its foundation, has helped them to achieve success.³⁴ But, critics of NAWSA's successes, those who gauged success by a federal suffrage amendment (such as the National Woman's Party [NWP]) made it necessary for NAWSA to respond. In a mid-July article, NAWSA authors defend their rational methods, looking to their suffrage victory record as support for their choices. They continued to link suffrage successes with rational choices, and therefore as beneficial and effective.

A great democratic principle is worth working for. But it is not enough to work for a thing. You must work for it in such a way that you get what you work for. . . . For years [NAWSA] has been working for the advancement of suffrage in the United States *in accord with definite policies and a definite scheme of tactics* [italics added]. . . . The record rather seems to make the case for the tactics. ("Tactics," July 21, p. 132)

Rational and organized thought has won victories for NAWSA; this is their proof that their methods are ones where advancements are made. Consequently, the choices they make are more desirable than others that are available. Further, the author indicates that the methods used have been thought out and are based upon “definite policies.”

NAWSA’s reliance on policies reinforces their bureaucratic structure. They have not chosen methods regardless of the structure in which they function. Rather, their choices indicate a methodical understanding of government; further, it indicates that NAWSA understands and works within effective organizational structure.

NAWSA authors indicate that that the ways they practice rationality and structure are beneficial to the country. These new skills allow them to engage in <citizen’s> work. Suffrage women are not only interested in enfranchising American women, but they are invested in helping the country in the war effort. They have the resources that make their efforts productive and helpful to the nation.

Suffragists were the first among all women to put their organization and its resources at their country’s command. Since that date, it has been suffragists who have been the country’s main reliance for the much needed woman power to help further the Nation’s war measures. (“Suffrage service,” June 30, p. 80)

Their organizing power not only benefits women seeking enfranchisement, but the country as a whole. The services of suffragists, characterized as being “the country’s main reliance,” points to the importance of the work that suffragists were doing in the war effort. Consequently, suffragists were acting as productive people, <citizens> in the country. In fact, they were modeling ideal <citizenship>. The author further associates the work of suffragists to the benefits that the United States by stating that suffragists

responded to “their country’s command.” By responding, placing their efforts forward to help the war effort, NAWSA argued that their new organizational and rational skills allowed them to effectively and efficiently be involved in war work. This public engagement positioned them to argue that they were productive and responsible <citizens> who could use the vote. In this way, women’s private sphere work becomes public; women begin to engage in activities beneficial to the country.

NAWSA, the Order, and Managerial Rhetoric

Throughout *The Woman Citizen*, NAWSA articulates the way that woman suffrage could help the country. Their assistance to the government, and their reliance on using this argument, does not articulate a sense of alienation from the United States. Cathcart (1978) argues that confrontational rhetoric “reveals persons who have become so alienated that they reject [the presumed identification] and cease to identify with the prevailing hierarchy” (p. 241). The ways in which NAWSA defines a <citizen>, as one who progresses to that status through personal action, does not challenge the status quo. Rather, one must fit herself into that definition as a self-sacrificing mother, whether biologically or through war and suffrage work that is other-centered, to gain legitimacy as a <citizen>.

For NAWSA, the goal of enfranchisement is to gain changes within the Order, but not to change the Order itself. Relying on contemporary understandings of gender and <citizen>, NAWSA articulated that they simply wanted to be included in the self-government process, as they had shown the characteristics which proved them “worthy.” The changes must come from women; therefore, they enacted Burke’s (1984) conceptualization of Mortification, carrying out “judgments pronounced . . . against the

self” (p. 290). If women could show they were responsible and rational enough citizens, they could achieve enfranchisement. Woman suffrage would be inevitable because it would make sense, given the sacrifices women made through maternal patriotism and war work.

Further, NAWSA established that the changes coming from women’s public sphere activities would not fundamentally change women’s roles or behaviors. Framing enfranchisement as women’s progress toward helping society as “housekeepers,” the ballot would not challenge women’s roles in society as they currently stood. The goal of the “woman <citizen>” is to not be selfish; rather, she is to use the ballot as a tool to make the country a better place.

A woman’s job then is to “clean up” politics. This use of the ballot is portrayed on the cover of the July 28 issue. A woman, Mrs. Voteless Citizen, stands at the bottom of a mountain, which is labeled the “legislative peaks.” Atop these peaks, men are ensnared with threads labeled “the vote.” The threads are trailing from a cart labeled “Food problem.” Mrs. Voteless Citizen looks up and says “The country needs some responsible housekeepers up there!” Not only is Mrs. Voteless Citizen willing to take on a role of “housekeeper” to help untangle the men at the top of the “legislative peaks,” but she also is specifically talking about a private issue, the “food problem.”³⁵ While the “food problem” is a result of the war, Mrs. Voteless Citizen could not directly make or vote on decisions about the war itself.³⁶ Her job was left to the private issues of the “food problem.” Mrs. Voteless Citizen would not be asked to join the front lines in Europe. Rather, she would engage in war time rationing and support work on American soil. By

engaging in war relief efforts that benefited the soldiers overseas, women's work was linked to supporting the choices of the government.

NAWSA articulated the role of women as Beautiful Souls throughout *The Woman Citizen*, commenting on the ways in which American women were keeping their country in the forefront of her thought. In an advertisement-like full page spread, this role is highlighted. The page is set up, on the left hand side, the long list of services the women are fulfilling, with the singular demand of "enfranchisement" in the other column. The text reads

As a war measure – The country is asking of women service as farmers, mechanics, nurses, doctors, munition makers, yeomen, bell boys, messengers, army cooks, ambulance drivers, men's substitutes in industry and trade, advisors to the Council of National Defense and **the country is getting it!** Women are asking of the country enfranchisement. **Are the women going to get it?** ("As a war measure," June 23, p. 71)

With the structure of the advertisement, with a long list of women's accomplishments, on behalf of the country, and a singular request for their hard work, the demand of enfranchisement is *simply* suffrage. It is framed as an understandable outcome, after one sees the list of demands that the country is making on women and that women are consequently fulfilling. By emphasizing the support of women for the country, that "the country is getting [their service]," the unquestionable answer to the thought posed by the writer, "Are women going to get [suffrage]?" is "yes." If they are giving so much to the war effort, why should they not receive the benefits of <citizenship>, namely that of self-

government? Suffrage is framed as a simple demand, given the ways in which women were supporting the government and giving their resources to the war effort.

NAWSA's articulation of the ballot as a simple demand that would allow women to protect the roles they already performed did not show a challenge to the Order. Rather, women's traditional roles and behaviors were reinforced. Further, NAWSA did not routinely mention President Wilson. When NAWSA mentioned either Wilson or his administration (the personification of the Order in which women would participate if given the vote), it was not to explicitly challenging to the decisions they were making. While they sometimes characterized the struggle for suffrage as a war to be fought, or the final push being a "final surrender" ("This campaign," August 25, p. 221), NAWSA never clearly defines an enemy against who to fight. Rather, they talk about Congressional members who support suffrage, regardless of party affiliation, as "Friends in Congress," specifically not placing blame. Rather than blaming a specific person or group of people, NAWSA articulated that they simply wanted to be able to have the self-government they had proven worthy to have. It was women's responsibility to show that they could become "the woman <citizen>," linking both their (gendered) activities to their ability to be <citizens> within the Order that existed. They use their feminine abilities and the stretched talents they have gained through suffrage work to urge the passage of suffrage.

After NAWSA's 1916 annual meeting, the organization's rhetoric reflected its president's, Carrie Chapman Catt, "Winning Plan" (Campbell, 1989, vol. 2, pp. 483-502). This particular framework set in place the necessary sectors of votes that allowed the federal suffrage amendment to be passed through Congress, and later, state legislatures

(e.g., Clift, 2003, p. 109). NAWSA's reliance on, and following of, defined political structures made their actions understandable to those who were in power. NAWSA was simply following the patterns set forth in the political process. This rhetorical choice gave NAWSA credibility with Wilson and his administration. Consequently, he may have felt safer working with them, as opposed to the "irrational" NWP.³⁷ At the same time, NAWSA also was unable to push the government to pass the federal suffrage amendment. They worked within the guidelines and political processes already in place; thus, Wilson's suggestions of state-by-state referenda continued, even when NAWSA saw the length of time that it was taking. Further, NAWSA was unable or unwilling to challenge contemporary assumptions of women's roles, specifically in the political process.

Implied within NAWSA's rhetoric was the fact that women's war work, and ultimately suffrage itself, was most often other-oriented. Women's desire for suffrage was based on what the ballot could do to help protect domestic spaces, not necessarily to gain improvements for women's own lives. While NAWSA used President Wilson's words in their weekly newspaper, which stated that they would fight for the right to self-government and for a political voice, the voice they gained was based primarily upon protection and needs of others. The assumption was that women would achieve the vote if they participated in certain activities, but even after participating in those activities, their voice was not necessarily used for themselves.

One of the cautions about the overall view of NAWSA is the implication that it is a woman's responsibility to *become* a <citizen>. While there is a sense of empowerment, that a woman has the possibility of becoming a <citizen>, there also lies the possibility

that those in charge will change what is necessary to *become* the type of <citizen> required. It leaves a lot of power with those who are a part of the Order. Redemption, and consequently the responsibility, lies with those who do not have power within the political structure to grant the ballot to the “woman <citizen>.”

Chapter Four

The National Woman's Party

The National Woman's Party [NWP] was an organization which grew out of the National American Woman Suffrage Association [NAWSA]. The women who headed the NWP, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, had worked with the radical suffragettes in the British fight for the ballot. Due in part to the influence of that work, Paul and Burns utilized differing rhetorical strategies from those used by NAWSA. Oftentimes, the two organizations would come into conflict over rhetorical choices. The two organizations viewed the Order differently and as a result, the options that made sense to each organization clashed.

The NWP saw woman suffrage as an *a priori* right of <citizenship> as based upon the U.S. Constitution. They argued that both enfranchisement and the method they were using to pass the federal suffrage amendment, picketing, were constitutional. The blockage of woman suffrage was not natural; as <citizens>, women should be able to exercise their voice in the government. Based on this understanding of <citizenship> and <democracy>, the NWP charged President Woodrow Wilson and his administration with Perverting what they perceived as established, and consequently True, Order within American society. Because President Wilson and his administration were the cause for the impediments to a <citizen's> rightful use of the vote, it is Wilson who is responsible for Redeeming the Order. Consequently, President Wilson and his administration serve as the NWP's Scapegoats which must be symbolically Killed to return the Order to its True state.

The NWP, <Citizenship>, and the Ballot

NWP suffragists saw <citizenry> as a fundamental right that one had as an American. As a freeperson in the United States, the NWP argued that a woman's <citizenship> was guaranteed. For the NWP suffragists, national enfranchisement was included in this definition of <citizenship>. A vote was a voice in the government, and in a <democratic> government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," the NWP suffragists argued that <citizens> had the right to be enfranchised.

Throughout *The Suffragist*, a unifying theme between the two ideographic terms, <citizenry> and <democracy>, were their link to the U.S. Constitution. The NWP suffragists based their definition of <citizenship> on common sense understandings of the U.S. Constitution as the foundation of <democracy>. The rhetoric they used throughout *The Suffragist* articulated that the reason for their picketing, enfranchisement, was justice. Further, they argued that the action they were using to pass the federal amendment, picketing or peaceful petitioning of the government, was constitutional. Finally, the NWP compared the constitutionality of their actions toward enfranchisement to the unconstitutionality of Wilson and his administration's behaviors toward the suffragists. I begin with the ways in which NWP suffragists argued that the reason for their picketing, enfranchisement, was just and their action, picketing, was constitutional.

Enfranchisement is just and picketing is constitutional

Consistently and pervasively throughout *The Suffragist*, the NWP described their goal and their actions as *just* and *constitutional*, using these terms not only in the newspaper, but also in their defense at trial. The NWP defined woman suffrage as just, a foundational part to one's <citizenship>, an *a priori* right that women had.

Enfranchisement was not something to be questioned or earned. It was a given fact of <citizenship>. In an article which gave a Russian viewpoint on American democracy, Tobenkin (August 4) begins the article with the following comment:

An argument in favor of permitting women to vote is on a par with an argument that a man should not kick his grandmother. *Does justice need an argument to justify itself? Well, woman suffrage is justice, basic, fundamental justice – no more* [italics added]. (p. 7)

The NWP argues that women's right to vote was basic and fundamental to their experience of life. Tobenkin uses an example that seems like common sense; of course one would not "kick his grandmother." Because this idea is not something that one would question, association links enfranchisement with common sense.

The NWP argued that not only was woman suffrage common sense, but connected both the cause they were fighting for and the actions they were taking to secure enfranchisement to the Constitution of the United States. The NWP argued that their rights of <citizenship> were linked with <democracy>. They measured <democracy> against the ideals foundational in the Constitution. When the picketers were tried in a court of law, they not only articulated the reasoning for their picketing as constitutional, they argued that as <citizens> of the United States, answerable to the tenets within the Constitution, they were acting within their civil rights. NWP suffragists used the constitutional right to peaceful petition for grievances in their own defense in their District Court trials. Thus, they linked the action of picketing to acting like a <citizen>. During the summer of 1917, District of Columbia police began arresting NWP suffragists under the auspices of "obstructing traffic"³⁸ (e.g., Stevens, 1995). As the NWP

picketers were tried for this offense, their defense in court was that the work they were doing, as suffragists, was constitutional and legal. One of the arrested women, Miss Anne Martin, explicitly stated this link in her opening statement at her trial.

Seventeen women have now been tried and sentenced by this court *for working, by constitutional and legal means* [italics added], for American democracy. Our offense has been standing in front of the White House. . . . There is no law against our doing this, either of the United States or of the District of Columbia. *By the first amendment to the United States Constitution, in the so-called Bill of Rights, we are guaranteed the right to petition peacefully the government for a redress of grievances* [italics added]. (“The United States government on trial,” July 21, p. 8)

Understanding that the reasoning for the arrests was not for “obstructing traffic,” Martin links the work of the NWP, as a suffrage organization fighting for enfranchisement, with constitutionality and legality. The work the women have been doing has been done by “constitutional and legal means.” Further, Martin relates suffrage work with the action of picketing itself. Because NWP suffragists see the lack of universal suffrage as a grievance which must be redressed, they link the reason they are picketing to the right to petition the government and President Wilson. As a result, both the reason for picketing and the picketing itself are protected under the Constitution. Enfranchisement was justice, and since the action they were taking, peacefully petitioning the government, was legitimated by Constitution, the NWP suffragists argued that their actions toward securing that end were also justifiable.

In an article entitled “The United States Government on Trial” (July 21), the author comments that “We [the arrested suffragists] were acting on *our constitutional rights* [italics added] in picketing, and *were within those rights* [italics added] when arrested by the police. *These constitutional rights* [italics added] cannot be abrogated by any city ordinance” (p. 8). The author describes the action of picketing through a constitutional lens. Authors in *The Suffragist* frame the actions of the NWP suffragists as constitutional, linking their rights as <citizens> under the U.S. Constitution to the actions in which they engage. By articulating that the constitutional rights were theirs (“our constitutional rights”), NWP suffragists claimed the role of <citizen> under that American document. They argued that their rights as <citizens> cannot be superceded by “any city ordinance,” or by people who are to protect those ordinances. The constitutionality of the rights under which the suffragists are acting cannot be obstructed by the government. The rights are foundational and fundamental to their roles as <citizens>. The Constitution’s laws and tenets supercede those of the city.

As NWP suffragists articulated their actions as constitutional, as rights that “cannot be abrogated by any city ordinance,” they also recognized that there were impediments to the constitutional rights. District police arrested NWP suffragists under false charges. Using these impediments, NWP suffragists compared their actions to those of the government, articulating the ways in which their actions were constitutional and <democratic>, therefore desirable. Their comparisons with the behaviors of Wilson and his administration showed the government to be less than constitutional and <democratic>, therefore undesirable.

“They boldly accuse the administration”: Comparing <citizenry> to the government

The NWP’s comparison of their actions to President Wilson’s and his administration’s was prevalent. The suffragists used the differences to highlight the constitutionality and legality of their cause and their actions. One of the ways in which the NWP articulated their constitutional <citizenry> in contrast to the Wilson administration’s came in an author’s description of one of the many groups of women that were arrested and jailed. “A group of women, representing the highest ideals, the best citizenship of this country, were arrested, on a petty technical charge, for telling the truth” (“The vindication,” July 28, p. 4). The women the author describes represent “the best citizenship,” are of high ideals, which include telling the truth about the blockage of suffrage. The blockage is caused by the administration’s unwillingness to pass the federal suffrage amendment. Implicitly, the author is suggesting that Wilson and his administration fail to meet these same standards in their obstruction of woman enfranchisement. In this way, the NWP not only defined their activism as fundamental to <democracy> and protected by the Constitution, they accused Wilson and his administration of violating the principles for which suffragists were fighting. In other words, the actions of President Wilson and his administration were contrary to the tenets of the Constitution.

This comparison between the (un)constitutionality of the behaviors of the NWP and the government continued in late July, when President Wilson pardoned eighteen women from their imprisonment in the Occoquan workhouse.³⁹ The suffragists had been sentenced to the workhouse after refusing to pay the fine for “obstructing traffic.” In an editorial published shortly thereafter, the author links the NWP’s actions to <democracy>

and constitutionality. By comparison, Wilson and his administration are painted in a less than <democratic> light.

Women have steadfastly maintained that their demand for justice at home [enfranchisement] was in the highest sense patriotic and loyal. They have stood out against the petty persecution of police courts in defense of *fundamental liberty* [italics added], and have held their ground.

The suffrage pickets, *cleaving to their belief in democracy* [italics added] for America and for the world, have sent a clear message to the American people. They have announced in the unmistakable language of action that American women are not satisfied with disenfranchisement – that in a time of war they demand liberty. *They boldly accuse the administration of disloyalty to the highest interests of the nation in blocking a popular demand for extended franchise rights* [italics added]. (“The pickets and the president,” July 28, p. 6)

The suffragists are described as “patriotic” and “loyal,” people who “[believe] in democracy.” The use of such words as “fundamental” when indicating concepts such as liberty connects them with an a priori right of <citizenship>. By comparison, the suffragists’ demands (which have been articulated as common sense and constitutional) are divergent from the behaviors and actions of the government. While exhibiting the characteristics of patriotism and loyalty were not required to define one as a <citizen>, the NWP uses these characteristics as statements that their picketing did not limit their ability to be <citizens>. In fact, their picketing is in line with that role. In contrast to the favorable characterizations of the suffragists, the NWP negatively describes the actions of Wilson and his subordinates, representing the police as “disloyal,” people who arrest

good examples of <citizens> in acts of “petty persecution.” Their actions have been *against* the “fundamental liberty” the suffragists uphold, setting in opposition the suffragists and Wilson’s subordinates. As the suffragists are described as abiding by the law, acting under the precepts of the Constitution, the government’s actions are portrayed by *The Suffragist* as unconstitutional and contrary to the <democratic> guidelines of the U.S. Constitution.

The author not only uses characterizations of the major players in the arrests to articulate the opposition of the suffragists and Wilson’s administration. The author indicates that the “extended franchise rights” are *rights* that <citizens> have. Because rights are not something to be earned, the right to “extended franchise” is foundational to one’s being. This is also articulated when the author indicates that the rights are being “blocked.” When enfranchisement is a right, then <citizens> should be able to employ their voice “in the highest interests of the nation;” rather, it is being blocked, indicating that there is something unnatural preventing <citizens> from having a full voice in their government. The NWP identifies Wilson’s administration as that unnatural obstacle, insisting that it exhibits characteristics that are incongruous with <citizenship> and <democracy> as articulated in the U.S. Constitution.

Wilson and his Perverted Order

The NWP articulated both their grievance and their actions toward redressing that grievance as legal and constitutional. In contrast, President Wilson’s and his administration’s actions of failing to pass the federal suffrage amendment and jailing the NWP suffragists were unconstitutional. The NWP’s use of the U.S. Constitution as a basis for definition and judgment rhetorically creates two Orders: one that they deem is a

True Order, and Wilson's, which is a Perversion. The NWP articulates the Order, defined as "the reign of reason and justice" (Griffin, 1969, p. 458), in two distinct ways. First, as the True Order, "the reign of reason and justice" is based upon the <democratic> principles of the U.S. Constitution. The second, Wilson's Perverted Order, creates blockages to "reason and justice."⁴⁰ The "True" Order indicated by the NWP was based on ideological ideals. Wilson's Order was the current, material Order which failed to meet the Perfection, or Trueness, for which the NWP strives. In this next section, I show how the NWP compares its rhetorical choices and beliefs to those of the government, thereby describing two separate Orders.

One of the ways in which the NWP depicted two different Orders was by showing their suffragists as defending the True Order. They took up their banners, literally and figuratively, and started a fight for democracy at home.⁴¹ President Wilson's words became one of the focal points for suffragists in pointing out his Perversion of the True Order. One editorial author commented that "[a]s long as [Wilson] is still willing to let the truth about this unfree country slip between fine phrases about freedom, silent sentinels with purple, white and gold protests must stand guard for democracy" ("The Picket and the President," June 2, p. 6). The NWP suffragists were using their constitutional right to peaceful petitioning to defend the <democratic> ideal of universal enfranchisement. Theirs was not simply peaceful petitioning, though. Because of Wilson's willful blockages and dishonesty about the country's freedom, the NWP suffragists, who were truthful and honest <citizens>, saw it as their duty to guard the truth, <democracy>. His deliberate obstructions are counter to the True Order, which would enfranchise women, based on their a priori status of <citizen>. Further, the NWP

divides both their and President Wilson's behaviors into categories of truth/dishonesty and freedom/unfree. They dichotomize the choices that a group or organization can make; in effect, they are stating that if a group or political party is not with them in their fight for the federal suffrage amendment, then they are against them.⁴² As women who "stand guard for democracy," the NWP articulates that their choices are the ones that are <democratic>, and therefore, constitutional. Because they view their choices as constitutional, they are working within "the reign of reason and justice" based upon the justice of the Constitution.

In mid-July, NWP suffragists explained their reasoning for continuing to picket, in spite of the arrests and consequent jail sentences. One author invoked the Bill of Rights. This invocation links the NWP's suffrage battle and their consequent rhetorical choices to the foundational documents of the United States, implying a purity, or Trueness, to their objectives.

As long as the government and the representatives of the government prefer to send women to jail on petty and technical charges to giving American women justice [italics added], we will go to jail. Persecution has always advanced the cause of justice. . . . We stand on the Bill of Rights. We would hinder, not help, the whole cause of freedom for women, if we weakly submit to persecution now [italics added]. Our work for the immediate passage of the national suffrage amendment must go on. It will go on. ("The United States," July 21, p. 8)

The United States government is acting in ways contrary to the Bill of Rights, if it chooses to counter the actions of <citizens> who are acting under those principles. The NWP suffragists are choosing to continue standing guard for the True Order, one based

on foundational documents of the United States <democratic> government. They label their fight as one that is just, continuing on the themes I previously argued about the legitimacy and constitutionality of the NWP's rhetorical choices.

Another way in which NWP suffragists articulated the justness (and therefore correctness) of their demands and actions was by pointing out places of right and wrong. This served to further distinguish their True Order from Wilson's Perverted one. In an open letter to Major Pullman, the chief of police of Washington, D.C. at the time of the suffrage picketers' arrests, Gardner (August 25) further points out the inconsistencies and oppressive choices of Wilson's administration.

You must see, Pullman, that you cannot be right in what you have done in this matter. You have given the pickets adequate protection; you have arrested them and had them sent to jail and the workhouse; you have permitted the crowd to mob them, and then you have had your officers do much the same thing by forcibly taking their banner from them. In some of these actions you must have been wrong. *If it was right to give them protection and let them stand at the White House for five months, both before and after the war, it was not right to do what you did later* [italics added]. (p. 8)

By pointing out that the chief of police was wrong in one of the two actions taken, the NWP suffragists again invoke the dichotomy of rightness/wrongness. If one action was right (democratic), then the other must be wrong (undemocratic). Gardner points out that the administration cannot have it both ways: protecting women for actions for which they would later jail them. The U.S. Constitution does not include such discrepancies of

justice; consequently, those who act in such groundless ways are not adhering to the tenets of the United States' foundational governmental document.

The NWP suffragists invoke the idea of <democracy> at home to show that Wilson and his administration were not upholding the principles that they publicize as the reason for America's entrance into World War I.

The National Woman's Party alone in all this land has dared to make public this intolerable discrepancy between words and their meanings. It alone has insisted that we remove the beam in our own national eye before we go out to pluck the mote from European eyes. (Field, September 15, p. 5)⁴³

As guards for <democracy>, the NWP suffragists have challenged the discrepancies of President Wilson. They have shown, and will continue to point out, his hypocrisy. As NWP suffragists filled the ideographic terms <citizen> and <democracy> based upon foundational documents of the United States government, they use the Constitution as a tool against which they measure the administration. They argue that Wilson and his administration, rather than following the <democratic> guidelines of the Constitution, have Perverted it. Consequently, it is not the NWP suffragists who will serve as Redeemers to take the Order back to its True state. That, they argue, is the job of President Wilson and his administration.

Redemptive Killing: The Victimage of President Wilson

As the NWP framed their decisions and rhetorical choices as both constitutional and desirable, the actions of Wilson and his administration were painted as its opposition. This opposition created an environment where the NWP utilized Burke's (1984) redemptive model of Victimage (p. 284). Through this conception of Redemption, the

NWP found that the correction of Wilson's Perverted Order to a closer version of a True Order as "correspondingly absolute in the perfection of its fitness" (p. 284). In other words, it was the administration's responsibility to correct the blockages and Redeem itself, thereby enacting the principles of the True Order.

In an article specifically addressing the NWP's tactics, Belmont (July 21) states that "[t]he *government itself, and not the women, is responsible for the situation* [italics added] which it has created. It can overcome the embarrassment of having increased numbers of women expose its shortcoming to the world in one hour's time" (p. 9). Belmont articulates that it is the administration's job to rectify the situation. They are the ones who are creating the situation by (unnaturally) blocking the federal suffrage amendment. As the NWP points out that it is up to the administration to change the Order to a Truer one, their language indicates that they symbolically understand that a Killing must occur. Through the six month period, the NWP began to use a war metaphor to emphasize the idea of Wilson's symbolic Killing.⁴⁴ Further it is suggested, as they became more disillusioned with Wilson and his Perverted Order, the NWP suffragists articulate their feelings of alienation from the Order, as it was under Wilson and his administration. Their feelings of alienation pointed out that they had nothing to lose, and potentially much to gain, from the Victimage of President Wilson.

"In the first trench": NWP Suffragists and the War for Democracy at Home

As the District Police began arresting the NWP suffragists, the picket line became more violent and the use of war language which compared the NWP's picketing to the war overseas increased in use. In late September, cartoonist Nina Allender capitalized on this violence (September 29, cover). NWP picketers are shown fighting against a crowd,

intimating the scenes of the picket line in late 1917. The caption is “Training for the draft.” Thus, the picket line was the place to be “trained” for the war the suffragists were fighting against the administration. The picket line was not simply standing with banners in front of the White House. The suffragists were engaged in a war; this cover indicated the violence that could be expected. Further, there might be casualties in this war. Such casualty lists can be found even earlier than late September, in articles such as “A Congressional Investigation of the Lawless Attack on the Suffrage Picket Demanded” (August 25, p. 5). In the middle column of the three column spread, NWP authors have titled it “The Government versus the Woman’s Party,” which immediately sets the (Perverted) Order and the NWP in opposition with one another. Within the column, the author lists dates from August 14 to August 18; included are the actions of the picket line that day, names of the suffragists engaged in the actions that day, the actions of the police department and crowd, and the number of banners lost that day. At the end of the final day, the author indicates that the “[v]alue of flags and other property of suffragists destroyed in four days, \$1,440” (p. 5). Listing the physical and property damages of the government’s actions is reminiscent of casualty lists that are often presented in the news and newspapers during a war or great tragedy. From this list, it is clear that the suffragists were engaged in what they saw as a domestic war against the administration.

With the violence that the NWP was experiencing on the picket line, the use of language which mimicked that of World War I is not surprising. This type of language evokes a sense of confrontation and battle, which was what the NWP suffragists were experiencing while picketing.

‘When I came here from Chicago,’ said Mrs. Watson, ‘they were asking our men to enlist for freedom abroad. I came here to Washington to *fight for democracy in the United States – in the first trench, at the White House. There was plenty of action* [italics added] . . . I, too, am going to hustle for *recruits* [italics added].

(“Prisoners of freedom,” September 15, p. 4)

Mrs. Watson uses words that are generally associated with the military. With the picket line as the “first trench,” the suffragists become the “recruits,” and the soldiers who will fight for their right to enfranchisement, as the U.S. Constitution guarantees. Further, Mrs. Watson implicitly comments that the place of warfare, at the White House, is against the President and his administration. It is they who are blocking suffrage; consequently, it is against them that the NWP fights.

But, the war in which the NWP was engaging was not without its penalties. “Soldiers of freedom,” NWP suffragists on the front line, served their time in both the District jail and the Occoquan workhouse as prisoners of their war for democracy at home. During a dinner honoring jailed picketers who had returned home, Mrs. Richard Wainright “introduced the picket speakers as fighters” (Torrence, October 20, p. 7). Not only did she liken them to American men who were fighting overseas, but also compared speeches from the soldiers of freedom that followed her to rallying the troops. Explicitly, Mrs. Wainright links the suffrage battle, and more specifically the picketing which the NWP had established as constitutional and legal, with the language of war.

Somewhere in France tonight, men who have been serving at the front and who are weary and have spent everything that they have in the way of strength and spirit are being taken in squads away to the back, where they are given rest and

refreshment that they may get the power to go to the front again. Tonight we have *from our little army a squad* [italics added] who have come back *from the front* [italics added] – the pickets who *represent a wonderful fight* [italics added] for idealism. They should stir the blood. (cited in Torrence, October 20, p. 7)

Again, the picketing (and the time spent in jail) is compared to the front lines in Europe, and the women referred to as an army fighting for democracy. Their fight was not for democracy overseas, but for democracy at home, for the women of the country. Linking the suffragists to soldiers indicates that the NWP suffragists understood that they were engaged in a war for democracy at home. Earlier, I described how the NWP saw themselves as guards of <democracy>; likening themselves to soldiers overseas who were also guarding <democratic> ideals intensifies the connection to women’s <citizenship>. As Elshtain (1995) describes, the Good Soldier is willing to sacrifice for his country (p. 223). As Beautiful Souls, women are seen as sacrificing their sons for the country; in the case of the NWP, they turn the gendered understanding of the Good Soldier on its head. They describe their own experiences, as women and soldiers of freedom, of putting themselves in the line of bodily harm in order to move the country back to the True Order, based upon the Constitution.⁴⁵

With the (nontraditional) experience of being Good Soldiers, experiencing bodily harm and dangers in the workhouse, the NWP suffragists took time to reflect on their experience of the Order and what would most help change it. In an open letter to President Wilson which indicates that the suffragists want the vote and are willing to engage in what was considered “improper” behavior for women,⁴⁶ Herendeen (August 18) states that

[S]ince the great and terrible war [World War I] began we have been learning a good deal about political changes – about revolutions. . . . And the thing that has struck us of the National Woman’s Party most forcibly is that political improvements do not come about as the result of tact and charm and co-operation.
(p. 5)

This statement serves as a framework in which the suffragists articulate their war for democracy at home: as a “revolution.” Revolutions are often associated with difficult fights, with struggles that may result in a complete overhaul of the current Order. Revolutions and wars may be linked together; if a radical change is desired or needed, those who are in power will not easily share their power. According to the NWP, the passage of the federal suffrage amendment requires a revolution, which will ultimately change the Perverted Order. The NWP calls for change within the Order. They find that Wilson’s perversion is not limited to the constitutionality of the law, but extends to gendered activities and behaviors.

Within his Perverted Order, the NWP suffragists also understood that Wilson would have them engaging in different (traditionally gendered) activities. On one cover, NWP suffragists specifically point out Wilson as wanting women to return to their (gendered) previous roles, not ones such as the (nontraditional) Good Solider. Wilson is holding a banner bearing his own words, much like the banners for which District police arrested and jailed the suffragists for holding.

President Wilson appeals to the women of the nation. To start canning, preserving, pickling, drying and storing. ‘The service we are asking . . . is one primarily for the household – upon the housewife much of the burden will fall. I .

. . . appeal to the women of the nation . . . to devote their time . . . to the performance of this very essential work . . . ' W.W. (Allender, "First picket," August 4, cover)

On the same cover, two picketers are shown in the background, discussing Wilson's banner. The first picketer asks the second, "What will HE do if they ignore his appeal?" Given the experiences of the NWP suffragists, the question is answered. What Wilson does when his request goes unanswered is to treat women in nontraditional ways. Because women are not meeting his appeal, he allows women to be treated poorly in the Occoquan workhouse. Through this categorization of what a woman should be and how she should act, NWP suffragists feel further alienation. They do not behave in feminine ways and therefore, are not accepted within the gendered framework of Wilson's Perverted Order.

What distinguishes their rhetorical choices is that through their actions, the NWP articulates that they do not feel that they are a part of Wilson's Perverted Order. Because they do not have a (political) voice in that Order, they have nothing to lose in demanding these changes. Their alienation from Wilson's conceptualization of the Order consequently makes the NWP's rhetorical choices threatening to Wilson and his administration, as opposed to NAWSA's choices, which were not as confrontational or challenging to the status quo of the government.

Alienation from Wilson's Perverted Order

Much like the comparison between the NWP soldiers of freedom and war language, the prevalence of language which explicitly stated the NWP's feelings of alienation increased as the arrests and violence on the picket lines increased.

Consequently, the NWP framed their war for democracy at home as a revolution; they wanted the Order to be changed. Their desire toward a revolutionary end (a Killing within the Order that they do not identify with, through Victimization; e.g., Herendeen, August 18) places the NWP as a group using confrontation. As previously discussed, “revolution” implies a change in the Order; this change is one that Cathcart (1978) argues is more confrontational to the Order. Because the NWP suffragists feel that as alienated members of the Order, they have nothing to lose (they do not have political power), they are not hesitant to demand revolution. Further, with the tradition of the True Order to back the NWP suffragists, the only thing for them to lose is the perversion that they have pointed out. The author of the editorial “Kaiser Wilson” (August 18) articulates the lack of power women have.

American women have good reason to feel that they have no President, - that the political incumbent at the White House has no moral claim whatsoever upon their allegiance. *They stand entirely outside of the democratic scheme* [italics added].

(p. 6)

If the American women are not a part of the democratic scheme, then demanding a change within does not seem illogical. They claim no “allegiance” to President Wilson and consequently, his Victimization is possible, even desirable. In fact, according to the characterizations of the NWP, the changes they are demanding are *more* in line with views of the American government based upon the U.S. Constitution, which they view as more <democratic>. The Perverted Order “moves them to frank scorn,” motivating the fight for a more <democratic> Order at home. In Cathcart’s (1978) words, this rhetorical move “reveals persons who have become so alienated that they reject [the presumed

identification] and cease to identify with the prevailing hierarchy” (p. 241). The NWP’s rejection of the Order is not simply that they disagree with it; it must be changed, and it is not their responsibility to do so. They challenge President Wilson in ways that would not seem advisable, if they saw themselves as part of the contemporary Order.

The NWP approached President Wilson and his administration more confrontationally than did NAWSA. By defining their actions constitutionally, they framed their choices through a <democratic> lens. As President Wilson was forced to respond to the fact that women were not only standing on his doorstep, but were being jailed in one of the worst workhouses in the country, the NWP’s redefinition of <democracy> had to be taken into consideration. It is possible to view their redefinition of the ideographic terms as a way to force Wilson to admit his own hypocrisy and to become more accountable to the redefinition presented by the NWP.

By pressuring President Wilson and his administration using rhetorical choices that specifically pointed out the ways in which the current Order had deviated from a constitutional understanding of American government, the NWP confronted Wilson. Within his Perverted Order, in which blocking the constitutional *a priori* right of enfranchisement was tolerable, the NWP suffragists saw that they had nothing to lose. Consequently, they engaged in a symbolic war with the President, demanding that he Redeem the Order and return it to the True (constitutional) Order that it was originally designed to be.

One of the dangers of the NWP’s articulations of the Order was the tendency they had to articulate that if a political party was not passing the amendment, then that political party was automatically against the federal suffrage amendment.⁴⁷ Making

automatic assumptions about a particular organization or group of people alienates *them* as potential allies in the “war” that the NWP was waging against President Wilson and his administration. They challenged the Order and wanted Wilson and his administration to return to the True Order; they may have alienated those who could have been helpful in that process. This only serves to perpetuate feelings of estrangement from the Order; Redemption becomes difficult to accomplish, for members of society continue in a spiral of alienation from the Order they seek to change.

Chapter Five

Implications and Conclusions

The rhetorical choices of both the National American Woman Suffrage Association [NAWSA] and the National Woman's Party [NWP] helped push forward the federal suffrage amendment and helped its passage through the various political motions. As I have shown in the previous chapters, NAWSA used political structures already set in place, not challenging those who personify the Order in which they seek self-government. They saw it as women's duty to garner the skills that would prove they were able to handle a <citizen's> responsibilities. On the other hand, the NWP directly blamed and challenged President Wilson and his administration, as the representatives of the Order, for the blockage of female enfranchisement. While both organizations wanted the same thing—to win the vote for women—they defined <citizen> differently. Consequently, they saw the use of the ballot in distinctly different ways.

NAWSA understood that <citizenship> was something to be earned. It was a larger part to an overall process of gaining skills that allowed one to act as a responsible <citizen>. The role of women was understood in a gendered sense, based in domesticity (e.g., Cott, 1997). For the “woman <citizen>,” <citizenship> and the ballot were achieved through work which extended women's domestic duties to the greater public sphere. NAWSA framed their suffrage struggle as a war with no specific enemy. The Order was not defined as the enemy. Consequently, as an organization, they did not confront the Order. Rather, they believed that by demonstrating the skills that women had gained through their (potential) role as a mother figure, women would show they were able to be responsible <citizens>.

The NWP understood that <citizenship> was a right guaranteed under the United States Constitution. The right of enfranchisement was not based upon one's gender, but was an *a priori* right every <citizen> had. They did not see women's roles as <citizens> different from those of men's; they made no gender distinction between women's and men's responsibilities as <citizens>. NWP suffragists framed their war as one against President Wilson and his administration. They argued that Wilson has Perverted the Order; he did not adhere to the U.S. Constitution, which they believed was the basis of a True Order. They illustrated Wilson's Perversion, challenging his Order to change itself. They fight a war against the Perverted Order, casting themselves as Good Soldiers (Elshtain, 1995) who were fighting to change the Order, rather than Beautiful Souls, or patriotic mothers who supported the choices made by Wilson and his administration. This change included enacting the rights of all <citizens>, including the ballot.

This case study of the two suffrage organizations sheds light on several issues relevant to the study of social movements, to which I now turn. I first look at how scholars have previously discussed social movements, posing the possibility of multiple, yet similar, social movements. I end with a brief discussion of how scholars define "success" in social movements and how the term "success" can be misleading.

Social Movements Defined

One of the difficulties that Simons (1970) found in studying social movements was the potential for divisions within the social movement organizations (pp. 1-2; e.g., Stewart, 1997). This study of two suffrage organizations examined the ways in which two organizations, with the same material goal, approached its achievement. By examining the rhetorical choices of both NAWSA and the NWP, I found that their underlying beliefs

about the Order, and consequently the Mystery to be lifted and/or changed, were different. As social movements are understood to be social actors attempting to change social ideology, and because the two suffrage organizations viewed the social Order differently, this suggests the presence of two social movements.

While working for the same material goal, each group approached the challenge of attaining that goal dependent upon their orientation to the Order. Differing rhetorical actions may yield different results while underlying beliefs may be similar. Conversely, social actors may have the same ultimate material goal, but their underlying beliefs may be different. In the case of NAWSA and the NWP, the two organizations had the same *ultimate* goal, woman suffrage, but their beliefs about <citizens>, what self-government meant, and the use of the vote, differed. Because they understood the Order and consequently saw Redemption differently, scholars could understand these organizations as engaging in two *separate* social movements.

The Redemption each group sought highlights their differing ideological goals. The belief system which guided each organization was also different. One organization sought to extend contemporary ideas about women's roles, to expand women's roles into the social realm; they did not challenge the beliefs of contemporary society about women's work or roles. The other organization sought to overturn the contemporary Order. They did not want to be a part of the existing Order, from which they felt alienated. They sought a genderless expression of <citizenship>, one that would have radically altered the contemporary gender ideology. Going with these differing belief systems and ideological goals, it might therefore be more accurate to consider the organizations advocate of separate and distinct social movements.

NAWSA and the NWP articulated their beliefs about the Order through ideographic means, by how they brought meaning to the role of a <citizen>. They differed over what term would help to define a <citizen>, NAWSA invoking the roles and behaviors of the “feminine <woman>,” and the NWP with the U.S. Constitution. As each organization (re)defined what it meant to be a <citizen>, they also were (re)articulating what they believed <woman> to mean. NAWSA understood <woman> to be a role that they wanted to remain established. They simply wanted to extend the behaviors and activities of <woman> to another role, that of <citizen>. NAWSA pointed to this gendered lens within its title of the weekly. NAWSA’s reliance on the norms and ideals of femininity, which served as a basis for their argument for woman suffrage, is indicated directly in the title, *The Woman Citizen*. In contrast, the NWP’s title does not specify a gender; it is simply called *The Suffragist*. As the NWP sought to change (or revert back to the True Order’s) understanding of a <citizen>, they showed how <citizen> is a gendered term in Wilson’s Perverted Order. As I discussed, the NWP relied upon nontraditional understandings of gendered roles to articulate their messages to President Wilson. They rarely called upon their femininity or womanliness to argue for suffrage. NWP suffragists reconceptualized the experience of the Good Solider (Elshtain, 1995) to one that included their experiences in pointing out Wilson’s Perverted Order. The defining feature of each organization’s relationship to the Order is their relationship to gender. Gender roles, and the ways in which each organization relates to, or ignores, this foundational societal construction characterizes each of the organizations.

Given that the two organizations understood the foundations of <citizenship> and <woman> differently, NAWSA and the NWP are best understood as two separate social

movements. The changes that NAWSA promoted were managerial. They sought to extend the existing social order, simply redefining the contemporary understandings of <woman> and <citizen>. These changes were slight; women's roles would be enlarged, but not fundamentally changed. Women would still perform their gendered activities; consequently, the relationships between men, women, <citizenship>, and the Order would be relatively unchanged. The NWP, on the other hand, promoted more radical ideological change. The changes the NWP promoted were confrontational in that they fundamentally challenged Wilson's Perverted Order. Even though the NWP suffragists called on the tradition of the U.S. Constitution in order to defend their claims, the changes they sought would have disrupted social relations significantly. Specifically, they implied that women and men had the same essential role as a <citizen>. If their goals had been met, the NWP might have more broadly altered relations between women and men.

Because each organization's goals and fundamental beliefs were different, and were essentially promoting different social movements, did either one or the other prevail? I now turn to a discussion of how "success" is defined within a social movement, particularly if scholars understand different organizations working for fundamentally different goals, while the material goal is the same.

How is *Success* Defined?

In general, social movements continue to be a challenge to study, but are worth the time and energy. While there are many challenges within rhetorical theory, the issue of "successful" rhetoric often comes up. How can scholars say what is successful and what is not? How do we measure the implications of a certain piece (or pieces) of rhetoric on the society at large? By all standard accounts, the social movement to gain

enfranchisement for American women was successful. Women won suffrage through the federal amendment in 1920. But women did not use the vote as many suffragists thought. This brings up a question of success. How does one measure success? For the woman suffrage movement, it may seem easy to measure this. Women were (eventually) enfranchised. Thus, looked at from a material goal orientation, it was successful. But, in looking at the ways in which the two organizations approached the Order, a question of success still stands.

Many within the suffrage movement did not measure the NWP's "antics" as successful. Rather, they saw the rhetorical choices Paul and her organization made as being detrimental to the suffrage movement overall. But, for the NWP, their single plank, to obtain a federal amendment guaranteeing the right to vote to all women in the country, was a measure of success, one that was fulfilled. But, a non-gendered understanding of <citizen> was key to the NWP's definition of success. In the immediate time period following the passage of the federal suffrage amendment, scholars are able to say that no, society did not drop gendered understandings of roles and behaviors in society. The NWP wanted to Purify the Order to a truer representation of the U.S. Constitution, where <citizen> was understood as genderless. This change did not immediately occur. But, it is possible that the ideological work of the NWP began to pave the road for the greater flexibility in today's understanding of gender roles. While social and gender activists are still fighting for equal rights, more broadly understood circumstances in the United States have changed over the last 85 years. Perhaps success can be defined as an extended, though by no means accepted, tolerance of challenging gendered expectations and roles.

For NAWSA, <citizenship> was a process, one in which women fulfilled certain characteristics and would work on behalf of the country. They did not challenge the Order; rather, they saw it as a woman's responsibility to *become* a <citizen>. This measure of success is difficult to measure. In the mid-1920s, reporters were asking if woman suffrage had failed, given that even though half of America's population had been enfranchised the overall voter numbers continued to decrease (Cott, 1987, p. 102). There was a decline in female reform work, and though the Sheppard-Towner Act, a maternal and infant health care welfare bill, passed in 1921, by the end of the decade, funds for the program ran out and were not renewed (Evans, 1989, p. 189). The reforms that NAWSA described within the pages of *The Woman Citizen* did not come to pass. The years immediately following the passage of the federal suffrage amendment suggests that NAWSA's efforts appear to be unsuccessful.

If scholars look in contemporary society, there continues to be a lack of support for welfare measures in the United States, decades after the Sheppard-Towner Act. With continued resistance to welfare measures in which people enact characteristics often attributed to feminine behaviors, could NAWSA be considered the victors, given their understanding of the Order and what they hoped to accomplish with the ballot? Perhaps not, because some of the social reforms that activist women were seeking during and after the push for suffrage have not come to the forefront of political thought and behavior.

Each organization's understanding and (re)articulation of the ideograph <citizen> opened certain and specific possibilities for new frameworks and understandings of <woman> within the political process. Changing one ideographic term, <citizen>,

rearticulated what was possible or available to another, <woman>. Given the ingrained understanding of gender in the early twentieth century, each organization was tapping into the ideological gendered understandings and assumptions of the time period.⁴⁸

McGee (1980a) discussed this interconnectedness of ideographs with ideology; the case study of NAWSA and the NWP shows the ways in which multiple and joined ideographs can be used simultaneously to (re)define social meaning (e.g., Dubriwny, 2005).

Conclusion

Because U.S. society did not fully embrace either organization's ideology, in some ways, neither organization was fully successful. However, the work of both organizations laid the groundwork for continuing feminist activism. NAWSA's ability to organize gave women a clear picture of some of the possibilities of what activism might look like. Further, their understanding of the Order, and the consequent changes they wanted to bring about, mirrors that of the second wave's⁴⁹ liberal feminism. The changes sought *include* women, but do not fundamentally challenge society's ideas about women or gendered behaviors (Donovan, 2000). As I earlier suggested, the NWP potentially created a sense of foundation to argue for a more genderless understanding of human behaviors. Further, their underlying belief about altering the foundation of the Order mirrors attitudes of second wave's radical feminists. They wanted fundamental changes to contemporary gender beliefs, changes which might have radically altered the way society viewed gender (Donovan, 2000).

Both NAWSA and the NWP used different rhetorical choices to achieve the same material goal—enfranchisement for women. The different choices made showed that the two organizations approached the idea of the ballot and the Order very differently, thus

suggesting that in essence they were two different social movements. Neither organization was fully successful; nevertheless, the work of both organizations laid some of the groundwork that later feminists would stand upon to continue varying battles over gender and citizenship rights. This research joins a long conversation about social movement rhetoric and the ways in which social actors, faced with specific and challenging exigencies, take action and change the world around them.

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Endnotes

¹ This recent influx includes the HBO movie, *Iron Jawed Angels* (Amato & von Garnier, 2004), a recent article in the popular culture magazine, *Bust* (Row-Finkbeiner, 2004), and a new Alice Paul biography for children (Raum, 2004), which is one of the few biographies that focuses solely on Paul.

² The Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, also known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, was ratified on August 26, 1920, after a 72 year struggle for female enfranchisement. It reads: “The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex” (Government Printing Offices, 1996b).

³ For examples of scholarship which has begun to look at agitative rhetoric as places of potential philosophical and rhetorical inquiry, see DeLuca (1999) and Short (1991).

⁴ Such topics include, but are not limited to: feminine style (Campbell, n.d; 1989), suffrage parades (Borda, 2002), suffrage newspapers (Lumsden, 1999; Ramsey, 2000; Solomon, 1999), leaders in the suffrage movement (Huxman, 2000), the differences in strategy between the American and the British suffrage movements (Kowal, 2000), and the difficulties of female suffragists speaking to mixed, or promiscuous, audiences (Zaeske, 1995).

⁵ *The Woman Citizen* remained the official organ of NAWSA until the passage of the federal suffrage amendment in 1920. Since then, “it . . . functioned as an independent magazine devoted to the civic interests of women” (Catt & Shuler, 1970, p. 270).

⁶ As stated earlier, *The Woman Citizen* changed its name from *The Woman Journal* in June, 1917. In the first issue, the editors comment that the name change was to represent the political interests of women (e.g., “The Woman Citizen,” June 9, p. 38).

⁷ The covers generally were a political cartoon, which illustrates either the organization’s viewpoint on a topic, or presents the “lead article” for the week (e.g, Ramsey, 2000).

⁸ For another viewpoint on the impact of “woman’s sphere” (the private sphere) in the lives of middle to upper-class New England women from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, see Cott (1997). While I do not speak specifically to this time period, the assumptions of women’s roles and potential acts as agents of change were influenced by the early cultural context described by researchers such as Cott (1997) and Welter (1966).

⁹ The pro-suffragists involved with reform movement organizations utilized the argument from expediency to support the ways in which they would use the vote. An example of this was Frances Willard’s campaigning for woman suffrage. Frances Willard was the president of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union [WCTU] and used the argument from expediency (e.g., Campbell, n.d., p. 9; Slagell, 2001).

¹⁰ There was not a strong southern suffrage movement until the late nineteenth century. Even then, the activity was not as prevalent as it was in the northern states. Scholars attribute some of this to the fact that southern women were not involved in the same kinds of reform movements that northern women had been in prior to and during the Civil War (e.g., Green, 1997, p. 6).

¹¹ The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868 and part of it defined ‘citizenship.’ “All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction

thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens” (Campbell, n.d., p. 8). The Amendment, which first introduced the word “male” to indicate enfranchisement, also states: “But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the *male* [italics added] inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State” (Government Printing Offices, 1996a). The Fifteenth Amendment, passed in 1870, prohibited the “denial or abridgement of the right of citizens to vote, based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude” (Campbell, n.d., p. 7). This made an amendment which added *sex* to the list of prohibitions to voting rights.

¹² The Progressive Era is dated differently by various historians. In general, it is dated from the late 1800s to 1920.

¹³ Settlement houses, dress reform, and Prohibition are just a few of the reform movements prevalent during this time period.

¹⁴ Most scholars portray “the doldrums” as negative, viewed in terms of the concrete progress made by the suffrage movement. Contrasting this is the view posited by Graham (1995), that “the doldrums” made more progress in the ideological sense. Suffragists reexamined their tactics and their beliefs, both about suffrage and themselves as women.

In this way, the 25 year period was productive, just not in concrete ways measured by the number of states granting woman suffrage.

¹⁵ In the state-by-state campaign, no new states passed suffrage amendments from 1896-1910 (Kraditor, 1981). Washington was the first state in the early twentieth century to pass a suffrage amendment, in 1910 (Clift, 2003).

¹⁶ The open-air parade was first used in the British Woman's Suffrage campaign. Suffragists who had worked with the Pankhursts over in Britain brought the idea over to the United States (Borda, 2002; Tickner, 1988)

¹⁷ Hayden (1999) looks at the ways in which these changes in women's lives helped to shape new forms of rhetoric used by early twentieth century suffragist, Jeannette Rankin. While Rankin also had possibilities and constraints that were different from eastern women, because of differing western practices and understandings of womanhood, women in the east had undergone many national changes in their lives, such as the ones mentioned. These changes would alter the rhetorical choices available to, and used by, contemporary women.

¹⁸ Thirty-six states were needed at this time to ratify an amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

¹⁹ See Ramsey (2000) to see how the political cartoon covers of *The Woman Citizen* reinforced a connection between supporting the war and citizenry.

²⁰ New York enfranchised its female citizens in 1917 (Clift, 2003, p. 125).

²¹ Clift (2003) uses this phrase as the title of a chapter. That chapter begins with a discussion of Milholland's death and the impact that it had on suffrage activity.

²² The pickets were the first action of the organization known as the NWP. Previously, there had existed the Congressional Union and the Woman's Party. The two merged to form the *National Woman's Party* in 1916 (Clift, 2003; Stevens, 1995).

²³ Because NAWSA supported the war effort, many pacifists who would not compromise their pacifism left NAWSA and joined the NWP. The NWP had no official stance on the war (Cott, 1987, pp. 60-61).

²⁴ The interesting aspect of this quote, which will be further explored in my thesis, is that these same words were the epigram at the beginning of each *The Woman Citizen*.

²⁵ Burke's (1961/1970) own words toward this end is "for who would not be cleansed" (p. 5), suggesting that cleansing oneself of Guilt is a desirous activity.

²⁶ Kowal (2000) has examined the tactics of British suffragettes and American suffragists in light of the tactics each employed. She comments that the former used a more militant [confrontational] strategy, whereas the latter used a more adjustive [managerial] strategy. By militant, she refers to "confrontational or combative forms of resistance, such as threatening speech and the use of violence against property," whereas adjustive strategies are "orderly public speeches, parades, picketing, and other non-violent actions" (p. 241). Because some of the tactics used by the NWP were controversial in the United States, I am applying similar arguments. Further, because both Paul and Burns worked with the militant suffragettes in Britain, some of the tactics used by the NWP were informed by those experiences.

²⁷ It could be argued that the U.S. woman suffrage movement was not confrontational, in the sense that suffragists desired to have a political voice in the Order, rather than suggesting a radical overhaul of the Order. For the U.S. woman suffrage movement, I am

labeling “confrontation” as actions that stepped outside of “appropriate” behaviors for women at the time. Further, I examine ways in which activists sought to change the system and the ways in which they framed those changes.

²⁸ Even though DeLuca’s (1999) work specifically focuses on a televisual society, I believe that his understanding and use of ideographs helps to further McGee’s (1980) understandings on how ideographic terms can function.

²⁹ See Ramsey (2000) who used covers of *The Woman Citizen* and utilized the term *citizen* in a similar vein.

³⁰ Interestingly, as a merged organization, NAWSA was not technically founded until 1890, when the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association merged suffrage work energies.

³¹ For example, leading feminist Susan B. Anthony came to the woman’s rights campaign and consequently suffrage activity through the temperance movement (e.g., DuBois, 1999). Early twentieth century suffragist, Alice Paul, was a settlement house worker before she became a well known leader of the National Woman’s Party (e.g., Stevens, 1995).

³² And yet, it is the man who must ask for democracy, not the woman, as she does not appear confident to ask for herself. She is standing to the side of Uncle Sam and the soldier, her covering wrapped tightly around her shoulders. Again, this could possibly be simply reflecting and/or reinforcing the contemporary attitudes about women.

³³ This unquestioning assumption discounts the possible life experiences of women who were neither White, middle-class, nor heterosexual. For a discussion of ways that women

who did *not* have these life experiences contributed to women's history, see Faderman (1999).

³⁴ NAWSA is measuring its success as determined by states won by state referenda and congressional members who were pro-suffrage.

³⁵ Much of the issue (July 28) is dedicated to food conservation and how suffragists can serve the country in this endeavor.

³⁶ Further, it is interesting to note that she is *Mrs. Voteless Citizen*, implying that while her surname "Voteless Citizen" is a married married, one can assume that her husband is not voteless.

³⁷ I use this language given what I have previously talked about with regard to NAWSA's articulation of themselves as a rational organization.

³⁸ Obstruction of traffic was the charge that all of the suffragists jailed during the picketing received. The suffragists articulate that this charge was a farce, as were the trials that followed the arrests. They understood that their arrests were politically motivated, rather than motivated by an "obstruction of traffic."

³⁹ The Occoquan workhouse was one of the worst penal institutions at the time. It was a new workhouse and had not secured all of its paperwork. See Stevens (1995).

⁴⁰ Certainly, the NWP's ideal of a True Order is not one that had previously existed; the gendered language of the Fourteenth Amendment did not follow their definition.

⁴¹ This phrase, "democracy at home," was popular throughout *The Suffragist*, comparing the war for democracy overseas to the one that suffragists were waging for the democratic right to enfranchisement.

⁴² The NWP's choice to hold the party in power (the Democrats) responsible for the impasse of the federal suffrage amendment further highlights this dichotomy.

⁴³ The Biblical reference is taken from Matthew 7:3: "Why do you look at the speck of sawdust in your brother's eye and pay no attention to the plank in your own eye?" (New International Version, 1984). The meaning here is that one would point out a small speck in someone else's eye, but not even think about the larger piece of wood in their own. The parable was used to condemn hypocrisy in dealing with and pointing out flaws in others.

⁴⁴ While the NWP's burning of Wilson's effigy on February 9, 1919 did not occur during the six month period that I studied in this research, it could be used as a nonverbal symbolic act of Killing President Wilson (e.g., Clift, 2003, chapter 7).

⁴⁵ As I described in the first chapter, the NWP suffragists who were jailed at the Occoquan workhouse endured atrocious conditions. Further, many of the jailed suffragists engaged in hunger striking, which led to forcible feeding by the workhouse staff. See Stevens (1995) for explicit descriptions of the bodily sacrifices that NWP suffragists made in the jail conditions.

⁴⁶ Herendeen (August 15) uses phrases such as "[w]e would like you to like us; we would like Congress to like us, but, at present, being approved is not the important thing. . . . We are sorry to disturb you during these trying times, but we shall continue to disturb you" (p. 5). Such disturbances were not considered lady-like. Further, continuing to "disturb" the President does not show the wartime Beautiful Soul behaviors discussed by Elshtain (1995).

⁴⁷ This specifically began to come into play in 1913 when the Congressional Union began to use the tactic of holding the political party in power responsible for not passing the federal suffrage amendment (e.g., chapter one; Clift, 2003; Stevens, 1995).

⁴⁸ It is possible that the organizations did not consciously see their rhetoric through this lens; further, they might not have understood this underlying function within the *other* organization's rhetoric. This could account for some of the disagreement between the two organizations.

⁴⁹ I use the term second wave to refer to the surge of women's activism from the late 1960s to roughly the 1980s. For more information, see Rosen (2000).