Theodore Roosevelt and Gender Roles

DORIS GROSHEN DANIELS
Professor Emeritus
Nassau Community College

For many people, Theodore Roosevelt symbolized the reform spirit of the Progressive era. For others, he was a nineteenth-century politician whose pragmatism overcame, at times, the conservative ideology and prejudice of his class, a man who moved slowly toward the changes demanded by true reformers. Roosevelt's career has been much analyzed, but few historians have concentrated on his response to the changing roles of women during the years of his public life. These years witnessed the appearance of large numbers of women in positions of leadership and visibility in the public sector. It was a time when the United States also experienced alternations in manners and morals as women attempted to free themselves from traditional Victorian stereotypes and gender constraints. Some women were associated with the fight for suffrage, some with social reform agencies, with trade unionism, and with consumerism. Roosevelt encountered these women as their professional lives intersected with his. Their social consciences and interests in reform made them realize that their goals could be reached only if they worked through politics and government, while TR's involvement in politics drew him into the world of women's reform. His attitude toward these females and their roles in society was often inconsistent and contradictory in both rhetoric and performance as he endeavored to reconcile his Victorian world view to the era of the "new woman," to resolve the tensions between modern and more traditional systems of thinking and behavior.

Roosevelt's older sister Anna ("Bamie" or "Bye" to the family) described her time and that of her siblings as much like that chronicled by novelist Edith Wharton in *The Age of Innocence*, when society was well ordered, ruled by custom and habit, and slow to change.[1] Wealthy families in New York City were ruled by tradition and ignored change. They "dreaded scandal more than disease . . . and considered that nothing was more ill-bred than 'scenes' except the behavior of those who gave rise to them." Divorce was considered vulgar and illicit love something associated "with second class water places." Despite his political career, Roosevelt, to a great extent, was a product of this life and its conventions to the end of his days. Like the novel's protagonist, Newland Archer, he clung to the old traditions and mores of New York society.

The Age of Innocence carefully proscribed the life of the "nice woman." She was first looked after by her family and later by the "decent fellow" she married. She claimed neither freedom of action nor freedom of judgment because she had been trained to ignore these traits. While Archer claimed that women probably had "thoughts and feelings, or the capacity for both, they didn't reveal them." Accordingly, a female's standard of truthfulness was lower than a male's because "she was the subject creature, and versed in the arts of the enslaved. Then she could always plead moods and nerves, and the right not to be held to strictly to account." Above all, a woman had to revere and please her husband. She was to respect his authority in the home, never challenging his role as head of the house and

the "central object of her idolatry." When the couple disagreed, the rules required that the wife "conceal wounds under a Spartan smile" because the idea of divorce was distasteful and unpleasant. Even infidelity was to be excused because convention dictated that a woman's life was finished if she left her husband and did not sacrifice herself to preserve the dignity of marriage. Of course, what was "foolish of the man" was "somehow criminal of the woman." Women had to be faithful to their marriage vows, take care of household details, and lead the family in its "adoration" of its men.[2]

No family could have idolized its head of house more than the Roosevelts. To his children—Anna, Theodore, Elliott, and Corinne—Theodore Roosevelt was honest, fun, and their intimate friend. The perfect gentleman, always chivalrous, warm, and courageous, he was the dominant figure in their lives and home. His elder son described him as "the finest man I ever knew and the happiest." It is likely that TR learned from his father the manners and obligations of a gentleman of a certain class.[3]

The reformer, Jacob Riis, observed that the two "Theodores were cut pretty much on the same pattern," but there was one major difference between them. The senior Roosevelt had avoided military service during the Civil War by buying a substitute because his wife came from a family of Georgia slave holders. Moreover, he showed his mettle by doing service with the Allotments Commission. But for his son, the future president, to avoid combat represented failure as a man and as a citizen. His father's single flaw may have been the root of the Colonel's "irrational" love of war throughout his life.[4]

An additional factor contributing to TR's fascination with war came from his mother's tales of her brothers' heroism on behalf of the Confederacy. Martha Bulloch Roosevelt ("Mittie"), a sweet, charming southern belle and quintessential romantic Victorian woman, suffered from ill health including headaches, palpitations, and gastric problems. Many of her household duties, as well as the burden of caring for four sickly children, were assumed by her husband and others. Her granddaughter, Alice, harshly described Martha as a woman who spent too much time "having the 'vapors' in her room" distancing herself more from TR than his father.[5] In *Mornings on Horseback*, David McCullough suggests that young Roosevelt's bouts with childhood asthma were opportunities for time alone with his father and cries for attention from his mother. He lost his fear of abandonment in the midst of attacks because it was then that "Mittie" showed her love.[6]

If boys learn about women from their mothers, TR's first image of what was feminine and womanly came from someone decorative who had to be protected, supported, and cared for. After his father's death, Teddy became the head of the family and his letters to "Mittie" were addressed to "Little Motherling," "Muffie," and "Darling little Pet." He learned from his father that she needed to be petted and indulged and in exchange, she would adore him as a life-long "grown up child."[7]

The three younger Roosevelt children had a surrogate mother in their older sister "Bamie," who held the family together after their father's death and was the nurturing figure for both her siblings and their children. Her nieces, Alice and Eleanor, adored and admired their extraordinary aunt, describing her as wise and interesting and both turned to her as a mother figure in times of trouble. Especially close to her brother Theodore, she came to his aid whenever personal problems overwhelmed him. At age forty, this "madonna" surprised her family by announcing her intention to marry and perhaps to have her own child. Married or not, "Bamie" continued to place TR at the center of her world and to have "a larger place in her heart for her brother Theodore than for her husband."[8]

"Bamie" also served her brother as a behind-the-scene political adviser and he discussed public policy decisions with her even when he reached the White House. She was

trusted to be his conscience, helping him to clarify issues. She matched her brother in determination, energy, and organizational ability according to Alice who believed that her aunt, had she been a man, would have been president. Despite her political skills, "Bamie" held to the conservative view of women of her father's generation. She opposed women's suffrage, eschewed a public role, and channeled her skills into her brother's career.[9]

Roosevelt's mother and older sister provided him with two images of womanhood, the grown-up child or the all-caring eternal mother and he was most successful in both his personal and professional relationships when a woman fit into one of these models. Interestingly, he chose a wife from each of the two.

While still a Harvard student, Roosevelt met Alice Hathaway Lee and pursued her with all the energy and ardor of which he was capable. Through their courtship and brief marriage, he sent passionate letters displaying his love for her as well as his father's code of morality, restraint, and respect for women. Alice was his "Little Sunshine," his "Sunny faced purest queen with bewitching ways." When they were apart, he missed her kisses and promised he would try always to be unselfish, to save her from care, to place everything second to her happiness. In return, Alice assured her "Teddy Kins" that she was not afraid of marriage and would remain always his "baby wife."[10]

Henry Pringle, the biographer, noted that "Mittie" and Alice had much in common. Both were childlike feminine women of gentle, quiet charm whose lives revolved around TR. Their deaths within twenty-four hours of each other shattered him and Roosevelt rarely mentioned his first wife again even to their daughter, and her namesake. It was as if he needed to forget the woman who had abandoned him and consequently he blotted out that part of his life.[11]

Edith K. Carow, TR's second wife, represented his other image of womanhood, the madonna figure who would care for him and be "a help and comfort." When they married, the future president gained a wife who had a calming influence on him, who provided life-long devotion, and was the personification of order, duty, and discipline. A family member wrote that she was her husband's equal in intelligence and character but superior to him in tact and judgment.[12]

By all accounts, the Roosevelts had a happy marriage which produced five children. TR never failed to praise "Ee-die" for her homemaking skills. He gave his money to her and it was his wife who had to stretch his income to cover the expenses of the large household as well as to be mother and disciplinarian for the family. She assumed this role with her husband as well as the children and he was often "punished" by mother. Edith was described as having a "goddess side" and a "Roman matron-like austerity" when she disapproved of him and he "fell into disgrace." On one occasion he wrote that Edith disciplined him "when I needed disciplining, and then immediately felt very soft-hearted and petted me to make-up."[13]

Edith's influence extended to literature, people, and politics and her husband discussed most important matters with her. Their daughter, Ethel, reported that her mother had "the long head in politics" and "Father depended on her advice and judgment time and again." Edith monitored his mail, chided him if necessary, but always in the privacy of the home. In public, she was deferential and permitted him center stage. Her stepdaughter Alice described a scene of hiding with Edith "like *houris* in the harem" when a group of politicians came to the house. Alice was irate, but Edith accepted it as natural.[14]

Others in Roosevelt's family fit into his two patterns of womanhood. His younger sister Corinne adored him and remained his "playmate" as she had been in childhood. They laughed together and he found the time, even when in the White House, to instruct her

in American history. She remained a child in his mind to be petted and in exchange her life revolved about being "the sister of the 'colonel.'" By contrast, TR's daughter Ethel was, even in childhood, "a perfect little housewife and mother." He complimented her on the way she cared for her younger brothers, balanced a budget, and cooked. Roosevelt could always count on her to take charge when Edith was away and to relieve him of duties "as a vice mother."[15]

Roosevelt stood at the center of his family circle and the women subordinated their lives to his. They had ability, charm, and intelligence and he took counsel from them, but when he took a stand he expected unswerving loyalty. His daughter Alice observed that "all personal and emotional interest centered on my father. He was always right."[16]

The one Roosevelt woman who deviated from his image and expectations of females was Alice. Their relationship was complex and often troubled. She always retained her anger at being abandoned by her father after her mother's death and sensed that she was frequently unwelcome in her step-mother's home. It may be suggested, however, that her family problems were compounded by Alice's rebellion against the conventions and habits of her father. Her behavior reflected social change in America by the turn of the century. Traditional ideas that emphasized woman's acceptance of man as family head and provider, sexual discipline, and the belief that a female's role was limited to home, husband, and family were challenged. Alice complained that "It was my father's attitude to Large Families, The Purity of Womanhood and the Sanctity of Marriage which humiliated, shamed and embarrassed me."[17] Only when she seemed to bow to her family's expectation by marrying Nicholas Longworth did Alice find common ground with her father and become one of his band of female loyalists.

Roosevelt's attitude toward women, marriage, and sexuality was a blend of nineteenth-century American bourgeois morality, his father's notion of manly strength, duty and courage, plus the code he drew from one of his favorite authors, Sir Walter Scott. The colonel was, according to his friend Owen Wister, "a strange figure for our time, . . . an apparition from other days; chivalrous; of the crusades; . . ."[18] His thoughts about literature may be used as a metaphor for Roosevelt's gender philosophy. He admitted to a "possibly priggish way of looking at novels," preferring books with happy endings, heroism, and a zeal for righteousness while hating unwholesome books (like those of Chaucer, Rabelais, Wilde, Zola, and Ibsen) which disregarded the decent and placed an "everlasting insistence on the unhealthy sides of the sex relationships." Likewise, his taste in painting was predicated on what jibed with his moral attitude. Consequently, he disliked artists like Rubens who were too sensual. There was, in his opinion, "nothing masculine in being revolting."[19]

Roosevelt seemed especially obsessed with the novels of Leo Tolstoi, whose *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina* he carried with him when he went west in 1886. For the rest of his life, his letters on literature returned to these books. He praised the author's skills especially in describing battles but hated the Russian's pacifism and his portrayal of women. TR felt that Anna was so passionate as to be partially insane and that Tolstoi himself was "a sexual and moral pervert." Given the president's love and knowledge of literature, it seems incredible that he compared the novels of Tolstoi to those of Elinor Glyn, the creator of the "It Girl," who described the flapper and the changed morality of Roosevelt's time. For Roosevelt, any portrayal of women's sexuality was rejected and labelled as pornographic. And any individual, whether contemporary or historic, who did not live a "wholesome" domestic life or who violated his bourgeois prejudices was rejected.[20]

While TR's stance on sexual conduct may seem outmoded today, much of his code has a modern dimension. He was angered by humor that placed women in an unfavorable

light and his pronouncements on rape, wife abuse, and prostitution are those of late-twentieth-century feminists. For example, when governor of New York and president, he called for harsh punishment for rapists, and in case when asked to display leniency, he admitted to wishing he could increase the sentence and urged that nothing be done to allow the courts to protect the men. Equally deplorable to him was the man who was unfaithful to his wife or who turned her into "an overworked drudge," or killed her by too many pregnancies and childbirth. Any brutality based on superior strength made his blood boil.[21]

He was introduced to the "social evil" of prostitution when he was New York City police commissioner. He later reported that "In so far as the law gave me power, I always treated the men taken in any raid . . . precisely as the women were treated" since they were guilty of the same act. If anything, Roosevelt would be more lenient to the prostitute especially the young, than to those who profited from them who were "more criminal than murderers and no measure taken against them can be too severe."[22]

Outside of his family circle, TR knew few women on a personal level; certainly he had no true female friends except for the wives of men like Brandon Storer and Henry Cabot Lodge. He maintained courteous but formal relationships with women such as Jane Addams even after knowing them for years. According to daughter Alice, "he tended to hide his feeling about women . . .," but did find some to be delightful and good company. When Alice teased him he responded, "Alice, don't forget I'm human." But he went no further in admitting that he liked "female company." His preference was for women who were well read, accomplished, handsome, and safely married. "Nannie" Lodge was one of the few females he addressed by her given name and, according to his sister, he "was always at his best with her. . . ." She was part of a White House salon where wives were included but "did not take the lead; it was the men who set the pace . . . ;" however, "the ladies kept up with them handsomely and knew how to listen, as well as how to reply!" The relationships were very much in accord with TR's image of gender roles and patterns.[23]

Both men and women were judged by whether they had the "right stuff," but the high qualities of human nature needed by each were different. When Corinne's son was killed in a fall from a Harvard dorm window, TR wrote his sister, "you are brave . . . you have the right stuff in you and you will never be weak and morbid." She and other women showed their worth in domestic life, household obligations, and childbirth, while men displayed their courage and self-mastery "in sport or work in which there is bodily peril." Above all, the battlefield with its need for valor gave men the reason for their existence and the place to exhibit the "right stuff."[24]

It was in marriage and the family that men and women were most separated by duty and function. TR professed to admire the mother even above the best type of soldier. She was entitled to equality of consideration but there had to be recognition of difference of function. In the home, she was supreme. Since "the highest work for the normal woman is the work of the home . . .," she ought not to be trained for a life-long career or to be a breadwinner. The end product of female education was to be the good wife and mother. He never moved his vision from his own class to consider women who could not or did not marry nor to understand women, married or not, who had to earn money.[25]

Roosevelt's philosophy reigned in his own family, where no woman was encouraged to perform academically. Alice had little formal education despite her good mind and love of reading. Both she and Ethel ended their education when they decided they wished to do so. Niece Eleanor loved her school and would have continued, but TR accepted the plan to make her leave at eighteen years of age. By contrast all the males in the family were expected to follow his path from Groton to Harvard, even if they did not have his

academic ability. Roosevelt wrote the boys often expressing his disappointment at their progress, hired tutors and, despite his denials, interfered and used influence with Endicott Peabody of Groton and Dean Hurlbut of Harvard. When president, he monitored the progress of his sons in character development, sports, and studies in his weekly letters. Clearly it was not easy to be his son. Likewise, for a woman who wished to achieve a role on a public stage, it was not easy to be a Roosevelt woman. Both sons and daughters understood their father's concept of gender roles and knew how to meet his approval.[26]

Roosevelt missed no opportunity to broadcast his belief in the importance of marriage and he was equally vocal about the wickedness of divorce, which was "a bane to any nation, a curse to society . . . an incitement . . . to immorality, an evil thing for men, and a still more hideous evil for women." While wives who were "deeply wronged" could divorce, even the *idea* was horrendous. According to Alice, when she told family members that she wished to end her marriage, they exerted pressure on her to reconsider her decision. Some years later, she expressed some sympathy for her cousin Eleanor staying in an unhappy marriage.[27]

Marriage should be a partnership of equal rights but Roosevelt acknowledged that it was harder on women than on men. He admitted that he could be selfish and thoughtless and would have been worse had Edith not reined him in. Much of women's hardship rose from his glorification of motherhood. While he loved his children, he never questioned the ethic that they were the mother's ultimate responsibility. "Home, wife, children" were "what really count in life" to men, but they could (as he did) escape to other places and pleasures. When TR left for the Spanish American War, he confessed to a friend that he was having the time of his life. His wife, by contrast, may have been born with the same "wanderfoot" but was "irked by the weight of the always beloved shackles" that resulted from marriage and motherhood. A man could escape but a "woman must realize that she has no right to shirk the business of wifehood."[28]

In his *Autobiography*, Roosevelt reproduced a poignant letter from a woman who married at twenty and had nine children for whom she washed and cleaned. Consequently, she knew little of the world while her husband mixed with others and grew in knowledge and understanding. "So here I am," she wrote, "at forty-five years, hopelessly dull and uninteresting. . . . I have been out of touch with people for too long . . . I simply bore him to death." The woman felt free to complain to TR because he was the spokesman for the view that woman must have large families as a duty to the nation. He responded with a reprimand to the woman's husband, but it is questionable that the scolding plus a copy of the novel *Mother* by Kathleen Norris changed the woman's life.[29]

Roosevelt's obsession with "race suicide" caused him to equate patriotism for women with reproduction. "A woman should be willing and able to bear children just as the men must be willing and able to work and to fight." While he considered a family of four or five children to be ideal, he opposed all "unnatural prevention of childbearing." His cult of motherhood placed women on a pedestal when they risked death in childbirth, which "makes all men the debtors of all women." The independent woman, the purposefully barren woman, the willfully sterile woman was a pitiful failure, cheap, and self-indulgent and someone who abused women's new liberties. "There are American women," he said, "who in their thirst for their rights forget their duties. . . ." He proposed a heavy tax on those he labelled as criminals—the celibate and the childless—with the money to be given to the mothers of large families.[30]

It is ironic that the sort of woman most deplored by Roosevelt became his natural political ally. His relations with these women went through different stages. The first and

most productive covered his years in elective office in spite of TR's difficulty with those he termed hysterical reformers. He seemed to endorse the women's agenda with vigor only after he left office. This second stage climaxed in the presidential election of 1912 and produced no tangible legislation but it brought Roosevelt and the women reformers together as never before. The last stage witnessed the unravelling of the coalition of the politician and some of his strongest supporters over the issue of war.

As a group the women were members of the same socio-economic class as Roosevelt, but they rebelled against the traditional gender roles and cultural mores that he embraced. Most did not marry and consequently were childless, perhaps understanding that maternity confined a woman's place. They were well educated, not to be the perfect wives of powerful men, but rather to be holders of power themselves. They occupied a public stage where they functioned in ways other than the madonna or the child-woman. Many women like Louise Bowen of Hull House wrote of their new independence, new ideas, and methods and their claim for equal rights with men.[31]

These women, who devoted their lives to all manner of social and humanitarian reform, and Roosevelt became strange political allies based on pragmatic rather than strictly ideological concerns. They needed each other. He dramatized their issues and they educated him on social problems and used his offices to influence policy where possible. The partnership worked best on issues involving women and children, which TR could accept as legitimate female concerns, but was less successful in areas like foreign affairs, normally identified with men. Even when working together, however, their priorities were often different. Roosevelt opposed child labor but he might soft pedal this issue in favor of a higher policy goal while, for the women, an end to child labor was of the highest importance.

On a personal level most women reformers admired and liked TR and deferred to him in public. He in turn treated them with courtesy although his chivalrous behavior did not always extend to those who were critical of his actions. When they clashed, he did not lash out at them publicly as he would a male opponent. Instead he deplored the radicalism and false thinking in private letters to male friends like John Hay and Henry Cabot Lodge. Even a long-time supporter such as Josephine Shaw Lowell became "unreasonable," "capable of idiotic conduct," and "an utterly unimportant annoyance" when they differed.[32] Jane Addams, the founder of Hull House and acknowledged leader of the women reformers, was, according to Edith, "a favorite of Theodores." Yet he called Addams and Shaw socialists (his strongest epithet) and a confused thinker after the settlement house worker published *Newer Ideals of Peace* and displayed her admiration for Leo Tolstoi.[33]

Roosevelt's reputation as a friend of social reform began in 1882 when he first served in the New York State Legislature and spoke out against tenement house manufacturing by cigar makers. More than a decade later, he became president of the New York City police board with an office at police headquarters on the lower East Side of Manhattan. The start of his education about the lives of the immigrant, the poor, and the industrial worker was undertaken by Jacob Riis, whose book *How The Other Half Lived* was much admired by Roosevelt. Riis took his student to union meetings and tenements and brought him into contact with all classes. As important, the author introduced him to the female social workers, reformers, and social scientists who were his friends. Lillian Wald of the Henry Street Settlement became an ally as did Maud Nathan of the Consumer's League. Through these initial contacts, Roosevelt came to know Frances Kellor who aided him with immigration policy, Madelaine Doty, an expert on juvenile prison reforms, the Dreier sisters of the Women's Trade Union League, and others who helped to shape his domestic agenda.

Often Roosevelt's actions made clear that his commitment to change was less than the women hoped. No single incident better illustrates this than one involving Florence Kelley, a resident of Hull House who had been appointed Chief of the Illinois State Department of Factory Inspection. Though her reports were classics in social welfare literature, she soon antagonized manufacturers, particularly those who used child labor, and when her mentor Governor John Peter Altgeld left office, Kelley lost her post. She and her friends were inspired by Governor Roosevelt's inaugural speech attacking sweat shops to hope for a similar appointment in New York because her qualifications for factory inspector and ability made her a logical choice. He was besieged by Kelley supporters including Nathan, Kellor, Lowell, Wald, Addams, and Riis. The greater their pressure on Roosevelt, the greater his equivocation and cries of misunderstanding until his excuses embarrassed even his loyalists. He claimed "the time was not ripe . . . to appoint a woman" and then blamed in turn state residency laws, Altgeld's radicalism, his constituents, working people, party officials, and finally Kelley's undisclosed errors of judgment for his decision to name a popular male elevator operator to the post. In fact, it may be deduced that Roosevelt was unwilling to have a woman in his official family, particularly one who would pressure him to place greater emphasis on reform legislation and, as important, to insist on diligent and efficient enforcement of the law. Kelley's vindication came when TR's appointee proved to be an embarrassing failure and the governor turned to her for advice.[34]

As president, Roosevelt spoke for the reform measures such as juvenile courts, workmen's compensation, and mother's pensions that the women reformers supported. They were frustrated, however, by his willingness to take a slice rather than to fight for even half of the pie. For example, he would accept a sham anti-child-labor law rather than fight for one which his opponents might call "overradical." Nevertheless he, more than other politicians, was admired for his humor and human interest and instincts, by a woman like Lillian Wald who believed she had a friend in the White House during the years of the Square Deal.[35]

There were two major accomplishments for women during Roosevelt's term. One resulted from the efforts of Mary McDowell, Edith Abbott, and Sophonisba Breckinridge, all of Hull House, who in 1905 encouraged Jane Addams to appeal to the president for his support of an investigation into work conditions for women and children. Groups like the Women's Trade Union League and The General Federation of Women's Clubs as well as settlement house workers rallied behind the study plan. Roosevelt endorsed the idea and thanked Addams for her "sanity, good humor and judgment" and for not being one of the "reformers of the hysterical stamp." He wrote department heads urging them to cooperate and asked Congress for the money to fund the project. In 1907, about ten percent of the money requested was appropriated and TR could report that the Department of Labor "is practically a Department of Sociology." The resulting nineteen-volume *Report on the Condition of Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States* provided the ammunition the women needed to press for more vigorous factory inspection and improved work conditions.[36]

Roosevelt also supported the proposal to establish a Federal Children's Bureau which would investigate and report on all matters pertaining to child conservation and welfare. According to Lillian Wald, she and Florence Kelley originated the scheme when the women noted the efforts of the Federal government to control the boll weevil and the lack of effort in support of children. Wald's friend and biographer R. L. Duffus wrote of the president's enthusiasm for the idea, "but he did not swing his big stick hard enough, for it was not until 1912, in the presidency of Taft, that the Children's Bureau . . . was actually brought into being."[37]

Unquestionably, the women would have liked Roosevelt to display political clout equal to his enthusiasm for these social reforms, yet they admired him for any efforts he did make. However, before 1912 his movements and arguments for and against women's suffrage would test the abilities of a talmudic scholar. In general, it may be said that he gave some support to women when he had no political power and then withdrew his help when he held public office.

TR's Harvard graduation address in 1880, entitled the "Practicability of Equalizing Men and Women before the Law," endorsed equal rights for women as an ideal and a matter of justice. In an ideal and just society, he continued, there would be no need for men to use arms to guard against wrong, but, in practical terms society is barbarous and protection by men is needed. Moreover, he explained, men who are physically superior can fight in defense of their rights and women cannot. Men also gain a superiority because their work is better paid than women's. The young Roosevelt conceded that this was unfair but he bowed to the "Artificial needs of society." Also, though he favored full equality for women before the law, he claimed it would never be accomplished until there was favorable public opinion especially of women themselves. Because this had not happened, he doubted "if it is practicable to put both sexes on a footing of equality." He had placed himself firmly in favor of an ideal of equality and equally firmly in acceptance of the reality of inequality.[38]

In an 1898 letter to Susan B. Anthony, TR continued to blame women for their failure to support equal rights and to stress his school-boy argument for pragmatic politics. He wrote:

> I have always favored allowing women to vote, but . . . I do not attach the importance to it that you do. I want to fight for what there is the most need of and the most chance of getting. . . . I think that, under the present laws, woman can get all the rights she will take; while she is in many cases oppressed, the trouble is in her own attitude, which laws cannot alter.[39]

The following year, in his inaugural address as governor of New York, he recommended women's suffrage but limited it to school matters. In an explanation of his position to an anti-suffrage female, he moved his attack from the women who did not fight for their right to fanatics for equality—"The many self-styled woman's champions." These fanatics were in revolt against the laws of the state as well as those of nature which proclaim that a woman's first duty is motherhood. Because women are not treated with the respect due them and do not respect themselves, he recommended that they be given the full rights of citizenship. "I should like by degrees to increase the sphere in which the women . . . can exercise the suffrage, doing it very cautiously and by degrees and seeing how each extension practically works."[40]

By the time he reached the White House, TR's willingness to work for even limited suffrage faded and he complained about the inclusion of a suffrage plank in the 1904 GOP platform. He believed in the vote for women "as a matter of abstract right," but there was no sense in backing the demand since it would never be carried through.[41] Even in the last year of his presidency he refused a suggestion by Carrie Chapman Catt and other suffragists to include a recommendation for a federal amendment in his annual message to Congress. Nor would he as head of his party ask for partisan responsibility for the reform even if the women brought him a petition with a million signatures. Instead, he urged the suffragists to "Go, get another state." It was for them "a discouraging interview."[42]

Roosevelt admitted that he had become only "lukewarm" in his support of the vote

because he believed it was not an important issue. While he continued to proclaim his theoretical, albeit tepid, support for gender equality, he pressed his argument for women's great and indispensable function as mother of the family and he criticized suffrage leaders who degraded the duty of women in marriage. Between 1908 and 1912, he took various stands including a call for a special referendum vote on the suffrage question so that the matter would be decided by the women themselves. Overall, however, he believed that women did not need the vote although they would not do any damage if they had it. He was proud that most of the women he knew, including his sisters and wife, opposed suffrage because they were more interested in duty than rights.[43]

It may be claimed that Roosevelt was the only president who made a greater impact on public policy after he left the White House. Certainly much of his reputation as a promotor of social justice rests on his post-presidential years. His last annual message called for federal action in areas such as workmen's compensation and improved labor conditions. Later he expanded these ideas in a series of speeches and articles in *Outlook*, in effect outlining his program for regaining the presidency. When he was denied the 1912 Republican nomination, the Progressive party was created with a platform whose social and industrial justice planks included all the things that women such as Jane Addams and Mary Dreier had "been fighting for, for more than a decade."[44]

Social reformers, both male and female, were drawn to the new party but it had a particular appeal to the latter, many of whom believed that more state assistance was essential to women and girls who were vulnerable to exploitation in the labor market. Help would come only when women could vote, it was reasoned, for legislators would more likely respond to the needs and wishes of their constituents. Even before the Progressive party convention, TR was pressured to take a strong stand in favor of suffrage. At first, he again proposed the notion of a referendum, but was soon convinced of the advantages of a suffrage plank in the platform. He assured Jane Addams that he was "without qualification or equivocation for the vote" and that the Bull Moose party "is for woman suffrage, and that . . . within a half a dozen years we shall have no one in the United States against it."[45] Roosevelt's stance caused one female supporter of the Democrats to mourn that "all our birds have gone to perch on the suffrage plank."[46]

In less than five years TR had moved from "tepid" to unequivocal support of suffrage. The historian John Blum provides some clues to answer the question of why the shift of position. He wrote that Roosevelt was a master of political devices who "only accelerated what no man could have prevented"[47] and by 1912 the suffrage movement had entered a period of great activity with new leadership and organization. Further, a union of middle class and working women provided increased numbers of participants. Molly Dewson of the NCL, correctly reported to TR that interest in suffrage was increasing in geometric ratio. "The period of begging the question is passing rapidly . . . and it cannot be ignored . . . to think is to become a suffragist."[48] Roosevelt the politician, could not ignore the likelihood of eventual success of the drive to enfranchise women and he probably thought ahead. Whatever his chances for election in 1912, he would still be young enough to run for president in 1916 or 1920 and might enjoy the support of 25 million new voters.

Roosevelt kept his word and continued to campaign for suffrage after his defeat in 1912. He gave numerous speeches and contacted Republican party friends asking for support of a federal amendment. One woman maintained that he did his best in these years. When meeting with female leaders he was never patronizing and presumed they were able. He even came at times to accept their militant tactics and at one point predicted that he

might "soon join you women in jail."[49] Despite all of this there is reason to believe that Roosevelt never came to grips with the reality of women moving into politics. Perhaps the anecdote from his life-long friend Owen Wister best makes the point. Calling Roosevelt "endearing and comic," Wister described the first election day after women obtained the vote in New York. When the ex-president entered his car to go to the polls, Mrs. Roosevelt got into the car with him.

> 'Why Ee-die, why are you coming?'
> 'I'm going to vote of course, Theodore',
> 'Going to *vote*!'
> He sat back in the car, silent for some time. Female suffrage as a just principle, as a Constitutional Amendment was one thing; the sight of his own wife casting a ballot took his breath away.[50]

The social reform platform and the suffrage plank were two strong incentives for women to support the ex-president in 1912. But, there was a third equally compelling reason. Frances Kellor acknowledged that the Bull Moose cause offered women a unique political opportunity because "for the first time we are on the inside of a great political party with all the machinery of that party at our disposal." Women were visible as never before at the convention, where Addams seconded the president's nomination, and was part of the inner circle.[51] They seemed to symbolize a new order where they would have an equal place with men in politics. Roosevelt urged women to play an active role in county, state, and national campaigns and claimed that the best in the country worked for him on an equal basis. He predicted that he would put women in two or three places in his administration. He even intended to name a female, probably Addams, to his cabinet.[52] Small wonder that Mary Dreier wrote of "Beloved Teddy" as she worked for his re-election.[53]

In truth, TR's goal of equality for women in the party never materialized. While Addams and Kellor were active in the Progressive National Committee, no woman influenced day-to-day political decisions and few females were involved in local or state committees.[54] Yet, there is little doubt that women, even those of a class in which it was bad form to have a photo in the papers, were in politics and it was Roosevelt who made it possible. The *Outlook* noted that both the Democrats and Republicans sought such notable women as Daisy Harriman and Mabel Boardman to take a visible position in the campaign. "Conventional stump speakers . . . may do to round up the male workers, but they are worthless in tying to make converts of women, who . . . are doing their own thinking without any outside help." The woman political worker was here to stay.[55]

Women continued to work in and for the Bull Moose party even after the 1912 election and Roosevelt urged that Addams, Kellor, and others be put into positions where they could act as party voices on questions of legislation and publicity. In January 1913 Jane Addams's "A Plan of Work" was adopted which set up the Progressive National Service Committee designed to carry out the pledges and principles of the party and to educate the workers on reform issues. Belle Moskowitz, Mary McDowell, Alice Carpenter, and Emily Balch among others gave enthusiastic support and provided evidence of women's political ability. Applause, however, was not universal about the work of the National Service and in time there would be arguments from men over who paid bills, raised money, and used headquarter rooms. Nevertheless, for about a year, the women used the Service in the cause of suffrage and women workers to improve labor conditions.[56]

The alliance between Theodore Roosevelt and the women continued into the 1914

election of delegates to a New York State Constitutional Convention. He insisted women be put on the ballot, and Lillian Wald of Henry Street served as temporary chair of a committee to enlist women to seek delegate seats. Wald, Kellor, Dr. Katherine Davis (Commissioner of Correction in New York City), and the industrial investigator Josephine Goldmark ran as delegates-at-large and five women were chosen to run in senatorial districts. None won election, since no party really wanted women on the ballot, but Wald maintained that the effort had great value because of the publicity given women's accomplishments. As the only major politician to give vocal support to the women,[57] it seemed Roosevelt had come a long way in the years since he could not accept Florence Kelley in public office.

During the years when Roosevelt and women reformers were most united in philosophy and programs, they differed on issues by the end of 1914 which would in two years destroy their alliance for reform. The Bull Moose platform of 1912, so irresistible to many women for its social justice and suffrage planks, also called for the building of two battleships a year. While peace advocate Jane Addams said that she could "swallow" that provision, others like Lillian Wald could not. Additionally, a woman like Kelley could not support the Colonel because of her underlying distrust of the man; other women rejected the idea of identifying with any political party and never believed his commitment to suffrage.[58]

Roosevelt's fascination with war, his advocacy of preparedness, and his belief in a strong navy were hallmarks of his career in office and he made clear that social reform would always take second place to his desire for a strong defense and a vigorous foreign policy. He disparaged those who wanted "peace-at-any-price" believing they were cowards lacking virility. "The trumpet call," wrote Roosevelt, "is the most inspiring of all sounds because it summons men to spurn ease and self indulgence and timidity, and bids them forth to the field where they must dare and do and die at need." Death was not the worst of all evils; dying was preferable to living and refusing to fight for a just cause.[59]

When war erupted in Europe in 1914, it became Roosevelt's personal mission to move the United States toward preparedness and, in time, to intervention on the side of the allies. To his admirers his crusade constituted his greatest service to the nation, but a modern historian concluded that "in his heart he remained the perennial Rough Rider, charging up San Juan Hill to the glory that comes to the brave and the reckless."[60]

His attacks on pacifists had always been strident but now he stepped up his invective saving his greatest criticism for members of the Woodrow Wilson administration. Describing the president as timid and unmanly at a time that the nation required virile virtues, he compared Wilson to President James Buchanan. Wilson's foreign policy, according to Roosevelt, was dictated not only by his cowardly nature, but also by the Democrats desire to court the votes of the "hyphenates"—The German-Americans and the Irish-Americans. By the presidential election of 1916, Roosevelt dropped all talk of social reform because "domestic issues did not exist for him. He was wrapped up in the war."[61] He deemed anyone who opposed his views on preparedness and entrance into the war pro-German and anti-American and even suggested that pacifists should be drowned. Roosevelt the social reformer who appealed to so many women in 1912 had been consumed by Roosevelt the warrior.

Many women followed TR's militant march. Frances Kellor echoed his views on preparedness and her "remarks on Americanization took on an increasingly militant tone."[62] When the United States entered the fight, such women as Eleanor Roosevelt and suffragist Lavinia Dock were "Gung Ho for the war." Patriotism motivated some women; some

hoped the war would end more quickly with U.S. participation; others wanted to use war work to further the cause of the suffrage movement. Roosevelt declared that "universal suffrage should be based on universal service in peace and war; those who refuse to render the one have no title to the enjoyment of the other," and many agreed.[63]

Not all women, however, endorsed TR's arguments. A great number of his best known supporters comprised the leadership of the new women-directed peace societies. Indeed, even before 1914, Jane Addams had been associated with peace movements and most American suffragists were part of an international women's movement for the vote and had developed an international viewpoint which recognized that all efforts for social progress would be halted by a world war. Additionally, many of the American social reformers worked with immigrants and these native-born women came to respect the differences and contributions of many nationalities to organizations such as trade unions and settlement houses. These reformers thought internationally and believed that they and other women had not only the right but the obligation to move into international politics and diplomacy. They put these thoughts into action only days after the declaration of war in 1917. A women's peace parade in New York City declared that women ought to stop sending their sons and husbands to war to be slaughtered. No longer would such women accept without protest what men dictated in these matters.

Led by women like Addams, Wald, and Balch, they developed a unique philosophy that blended feminism with pacifism and opposed Roosevelt's position. While they spoke of an international community, he increasingly came to foster the theme of "American First." He urged women to send their men to die for a cause—to be Spartan mothers, while the women decried sending men to their death and promoted performances of *The Trojan Women* and *Lysistrata*. While Roosevelt praised martial music, women quoted Tolstoi saying there could be no war without a band. Where TR identified war with masculine virility and considered it men's sphere of activity, the women viewed international conflict as vital to their lives because it destroyed those they loved. It was up to these voteless women to foster social, not military, values.[64]

Lillian Wald became the head of the American Union Against Militarism (AUAM), an organization of both women and men which equated Roosevelt style preparedness with Prussian militarism. The group feared that actions for social progress and justice would be retarded by a war mentality. The AUAM failed to stop conscription and military spending, but it helped prevent war with Mexico in 1916 by pressuring for mediation after an attack on American troops at Carrizal. Wald and associates showed that the military clash was not the result of an unprovoked action by Mexico and that it was not a cause for war. Negotiations could be used to settle international disputes.[65]

The Carrizal incident became an issue in the presidential election of 1916 and Roosevelt, now back in the Republican party, used it to attack and openly ridicule Wilson. He argued that agreeing to negotiate was an indication of America's lack of preparedness and would never have happened if Roosevelt or one of his friends were in the White House. Such rhetoric eroded the support he had previously built among activist women, many of whom moved to support Wilson.[66]

If TR deplored the goals of the AUAM, he both hated and was confounded by the Woman's Peace Party (WPP) headed by Jane Addams. The program of the party called for a peace conference of neutral nations, opposition to militarism, and support for women's suffrage. It was believed that women had a special "moral passion of revolt against the cruelty and waste of war" and they demanded that their opinions be considered in deciding between war and peace. When an International Congress of Women convened at the

Hague in April 1915, members of the WPP including Addams, Grace Abbott, Sophonisba Breckinridge, and Emily Balch—all supporters of the Progressive party in 1912—made up the American delegation. They endorsed a plan for continuous mediation by neutral nations to end the war and Addams was included in a women's committee to visit leading European statesmen to gain support for the mediation plan. The failure of the women makes it easy to ridicule them for their naivety and misplaced faith in American and European political leaders, but they must be admired for their belief that the time had come for women to put their principles into practice.[67]

It is enlightening to examine the political alliance between Roosevelt and Jane Addams, which in many ways seems a microcosmic view of the former president and his attitude toward women in public life. He was effusive in his praise of the settlement house founder during the Bull Moose years when she supported him. But with the start of World War I, she challenged his world views and Roosevelt could not tolerate this. Always the gallant gentleman, he was never as vitriolic with Addams as he was with male pacifists. most often, he chose to ignore her actions. In many ways he dealt with her as he had with his wife Alice; both had abandoned him and, therefore, both were to be wiped from memory.

Essentially, Roosevelt could not understand a woman who looked for power in a sphere he reserved to men. He "regretted" the Addams position as a "professional pacifist" and an unpatriotic Progressive. He was particularly angered by her participation at the Hague Conference, refusing to welcome her ship when she returned to the United States. Nothing could be more absurd, he said, than the women's claim that they were exhibiting courage in fighting for peace, equal of that displayed on battlefields. Roosevelt referred to her noxious mission and labeled the women's peace movement "silly and base." The Hague delegates were compared to the Copperheads during the Civil War and he urged avoidance of the "hysterical demands" for "peace at any price" rather than for a peace of righteousness.[68]

TR's romantic childhood vision of battle was reinforced by the Spanish American War and his desire to repeat his adventures followed him into middle age. To avoid battle would "unman" him and after he left the White House, he offered his military service whenever there was a world crisis. The start of World War I, fed his obsession to fight, though he admitted to his friend Leonard Wood that he was "now an old man," and was suffering ill health after a trip to the Brazil jungle. Roosevelt hoped to get permission to raise a cavalry division like the Rough Riders and volunteered not only himself, but his four sons. For two years, he worked on a roster of men to serve with him and by early 1917, he had bombarded Secretary of War Newton Baker and General Jack Pershing with requests so frequent as to embarrass the War Department. When his offers were rejected by the Wilson government, Roosevelt considered going to Canada to raise an American Division and fell back on his position as retired commander-in-chief to be eligible for command.[69]

Eventually, Roosevelt realized he would have no more military successes and he set out to guarantee that his sons would get to the front. His message to them and to his nephews was that war provided a glorious life and a great opportunity for men of gallant spirit. His disappointment was palpable when he wrote of being a "slacker, *malgré lui*" because he was at home while his sons did the fighting. His sole consolation was that he was in the only war he had a chance at, even though it was not a big one. In time, he wrote that he had "ceased to fret at my impotence to do anything in this great crisis; . . . ." He could only rejoice that his four sons and son-in-law, Dick Derby, were playing soldiers' parts.[70]

Roosevelt had an inkling even in his own family that the world was changing and that women would be playing a greater role. His wife and daughter-in-law Eleanor Alexander marched in a preparedness parade in 1916 and the following year Eleanor (despite her three young children) opted to do war work in France. Although TR had left his children to go to Cuba, Eleanor reported that he "declared emphatically" that she not go. It was the only time he had given her a direct order but she felt that she had to disregard his wishes.[71] Roosevelt also showed disapproval when Kermit's wife, Belle Willard, decided to leave her children to go to Europe and reminded her that the children were her first duty. In time, he had to accept the women's decisions and he began to boast of the war work performed by his daughters-in-law. He also campaigned to have at least two women on the National War Labor Board in recognition of women's work in war production.[72]

When Roosevelt spoke of his sons, he said that he understood "that several, perhaps all would be wounded, perhaps killed" and yet he wrote that he felt a "grim elation" that they were doing their duty—the right thing. He was forced to accept the reality of his rhetoric in July 1918 when his youngest son Quentin was killed. Perhaps for the first time, war was not defined in terms of romance and glory, but in words of loss. He wrote that "to feel that one has inspired a boy to conduct that has resulted in his death, has a pretty serious side for a father." It was especially sad when the young die while "the old who are doing nothing are left alive."[73] Roosevelt finally understood the arguments of women like Addams and Wald who claimed that it was the women and those at home who suffered most in war. He acknowledged that Edith's heart would "ache for Quentin until she dies." It did no good "to pretend that it is not very bitter to see that good, gallant, tender hearted boy leave life at its crest, ..."[74] Edith was damaged by her son's death, but TR, who had been in poor health since his trip to Brazil, never recovered. It may be maintained that Quentin's death hastened his own six months later.

In a sense Roosevelt affected the course of women's lives even after his death. His theme for four war years was one of undivided loyalty with no dissent. He criticized the "hyphenates" and was willing to bend the Constitution regarding conscientious objectors. To him "pacificism and pro-Germanism were Siamese Twins" and those who professed either were disloyal traitors.[75] Roosevelt's rhetoric during World War I helped pave the way for the Red Scare of 1919–1920, which damaged the reputations of women like Florence Kelley, Jane Addams, and Lillian Wald and ushered in a decade of attack against them. But while it lasted, the alliance of women reformers with Roosevelt provided an agenda for reform that would carry over to the New Deal and after.

Notes

1. Anna Roosevelt Cowles as quoted in David McCullough, *Mornings on Horseback* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), p. 10.
2. Edith Wharton, *The Age of Innocence* (New York: Random House Modern Library, 1948). TR appears at the end of the novel and is intended to represent a contrast to Archer, however, the differences between the two men lie less in terms of social mores than in Roosevelt's decision to enter politics, a profession deplored by New York society.
3. Jacob August Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen* (New York: The Outlook Company, 1904), p. 446. TR makes the same points in many places including Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt (Sr.), October 22, 1876, in Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 8 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951), 1: 18 [hereafter Morison, *Letters*].
4. Riis, *Roosevelt*, p. 10.
5. Michael Teague, *Mrs. L., Conversations with Alice Roosevelt Longworth* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981), p. 19.

6. McCullough, *Mornings on Horseback*, pp. 99–106.
7. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), pp. 106–9. The term "grown up child" is from Eleanor Roosevelt, *The Autobiography of Eleanor Roosevelt* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1961), p. 4.
8. Nicholas Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Man as I Knew Him* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1967), p. 29; Teague, *Mrs. L.*, pp. 10–13; and Eleanor Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, pp. 21–2, 42–3.
9. Teague, *Mrs. L.*, p. 22; TR to Anna R. Cowles, March 14, 1900, Morison, *Letters*, 2: 1222–3.
10. TR to Alice Hathaway Lee Letters 1878–1884, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Theodore Roosevelt Collection.
11. Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1956), p. 31. Alice Roosevelt believed that her father's means of dealing with his dead wife has to be mentioned by anyone attempting to understand TR, in Teague, *Mrs. L.*, p. 5.
12. Nicholas Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt*, pp. ix, 20–6; TR to Corinne R. Robinson, May 5, 1898, Morison, *Letters*, 2: 823–4.
13. TR to Cowles, October 13, 1889 in Anna Roosevelt Cowles, ed., *Letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles, 1870–1918* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), pp. 107–8; Alice Roosevelt Longworth, *Crowded Hours, Reminiscences of Alice Roosevelt Longworth* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), p. 7; TR to Arthur Hamilton Lee, October 28, 1899, Morison, *Letters*, 2: 1089–90; TR to Cowles, June 19, 1901, 3: 96–7; and TR to Kermit Roosevelt, November 28, 1903, April 12, 1906 in Will Irwin, ed., *Letters to Kermit from Theodore Roosevelt, 1902–1908* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), pp. 49, 135–6.
14. Ethel quoted in Nicholas Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 28; Teague, *Mrs. L.*, pp. 72–3.
15. Robinson, *My Brother*, pp. 131–2, 275; and TR to Henry Cabot Lodge, Morison, *Letters*, September 3, 1903, 3: 585–8; TR to Kermit Roosevelt, February 27, 1904, 4: 741 are some examples of TR's attitude toward his sister and daughter.
16. Longworth, *Crowded Hours*, p. 25.
17. Teague, *Mrs. L.*, p. 82.
18. Owen Wister, *Roosevelt: The Story of a Friendship, 1880–1919* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930), p. 6.
19. TR's letters to Wister, "Bamie," Cecil Spring Rice, Bay Lodge and others are filled with literary discussion. TR to Wister, April 27, 1906, Morison, *Letters*, 5: 221–30 is an example.
20. TR to Cowles, April 12, 1886, June 7, 1886 in Cowles, ed., *Letters from Theodore Roosevelt*, pp. 74–5, 81–5; and TR to Corinne, April 17, 1886, Theodore Roosevelt Collection; [hereafter TR Collection], Houghton Library, Harvard University; Lawrence Abbott, *Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1919), pp. 188–9.
21. Theodore Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1914), pp. 314–5; and TR to Winfield Durban, August 6, 1903; TR to Hamlin Garland, July 19, 1903, Morison *Letters*, 3: 520–7, 540–3.
22. TR, *Autobiography*, pp. 201–4; and TR to Annie Nathan Meyer, April 25, 1911, Morison, *Letters*, 7: 245–6.
23. Teague, *Mrs. L.*, pp. 79–81; and Robinson, *My Brother*, pp. 250, 286–7; Wister, *Roosevelt*, p. 128.
24. TR to Corinne, March 26, 1909, Morison, *Letters*, 7: 4, and TR to Lawrence Abbott, July 8, 1907, 5:707–8; and Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, pp. 27–9, 34, 237.
25. TR to Frederic Harrison, November 8, 1908, Morison, *Letters*, 6: 1337; Theodore Roosevelt, "The Woman and the Home," address to the National Congress of Mothers, March 13, 1905 in Hermann Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, 20 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), pp. 16: 165–9; TR to Mrs. Merrell, January 31, 1907, Morison, *Letters*, 5: 576.
26. Roosevelt wrote his sons urging them to perform both in the classroom and on the playing field. The letters are filled with praise when the boys did well and concern when they did not "show character." TR to Kermit, March 15, 1908, Morison, *Letters*, 6: 971–2 is one example of many.
27. Roosevelt, "The Woman and the Home," Hagedorn, *Works*, 16: 169; and TR to Robert Grant, March 14, 1905, Morison, *Letters*, 4: 1139–40; and Teague, *Mrs. L.*, p. 158.
28. TR to TR, Jr., March 21, 1910, January 22, 1911, Morison, *Letters*, 7: 60–1, 213; TR to Henry

Cabot Lodge, July 31, 1898, 2: 861–4; and Edith Roosevelt quoted in Betty Boyd Caroli, *First Ladies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 124.

29. Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, pp. 166–9.
30. TR to Hugo Munsterberg, June 3, 1901, Morison, *Letters*, 3: 86; TR to TR, Jr., January 22, 1911, 7: 213; TR to Albert Shaw, April 3, 1907, 5: 636–8; TR to Mrs. John Graham, March 5, 1915, 8: 907–8—are a few examples of Roosevelt on the subject.
31. Louise deKoven Bowen, *Growing Up with a City* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926), pp. 157–8.
32. William R. Stewart, *The Philanthropic Work of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1911), pp. 64, 70–1, 129, 287; and TR to Lodge, September 29, 1897, Morison, *Letters*, pp. 1: 692–4; TR to Riis, October 25, 1897, 1: 698–9; TR to Lowell, May 3, 1902, 3: 256.
33. Sylvia Jukes Morris, *Edith Kermit Roosevelt: Portrait of a First Lady* (New York: Coward, McCann, Geoghegan, 1980), p. 388; and TR to Florence La Farge, February 13, 1908, Morison, *Letters*, 6: 942–4.
34. This episode is well documented in a number of sources. See Maud Nathan, "Recollections of TR," TR Collection; Maud Nathan, *The Story of an Epoch Making Movement* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1926), pp. 55, 65, 133–7; TR, Morison, *Letters*, notes, 2: 908, 961; Kelley to Lillian Wald, January 24, 1899, New York Public Library [hereafter NYPL]; Addams to Wald, February 13, 1899, February 24, 1899, NYPL, Wald MSS; and TR to Kelley, June 2, 1899, February 8, 1900, February 10, 1900, TR Papers, Library of Congress, for a sample of notes on this issue.
35. Lillian D. Wald, *Windows on Henry Street* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Co., 1934), pp. 299–300.
36. TR to Addams, January 24, 1906, University Microfilm, Addams Papers; TR to P. H. Grace, October 19, 1908, Morison, *Letters*, 6: 1295–1302.
37. R. L. Duffus, *Lillian Wald: Neighbor and Crusader* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938), p. 95.
38. Roosevelt, Harvard Graduation Address, "Practicality of Equalizing Men and Women Before the Law," June 30, 1880, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA.
39. TR to Susan B. Anthony, December 12, 1898, Morison, *Letters*, 2: 892–3.
40. TR to Helen Kendrick Johnson, January 10, 1899, Morison, *Letters*, 2: 904–6.
41. TR to Henry Cabot Lodge, June 28, 1904, Morison, *Letters*, 2: 85.
42. Carrie Catt and Nettie Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), pp. 227, 235.
43. TR to Harriet Taylor Upton, November 10, 1908, Morison, *Letters*, 6: 1341–2; TR to Mary Ella Lyon Swift, March 7, 1911, 7: 240–1; TR to Cowles, June 29, 1911, Cowles, *Letters*, 290–2; TR, "Women's Rights; and the Duties of Both Men and Women," *The Outlook*, February 3, 1912, pp. 262–6; and John Gable to author, June 5, 1994.
44. Mary Dreier to Lillian Wald, n.d., Wald MSS, NYPL.
45. TR to Addams, undated but probably August 8, 1912, Morison, *Letters*, 7: 5.
46. Daisy Harriman, *From Pinafore to Politics* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1923), pp. 111–6.
47. John Blum, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Hepburn Act: Toward an orderly system of Control," in Morison, *Letters*, 6: 1558–71.
48. Dewson to TR, February 1912, Dewson MSS, Women's Archives, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, MA [hereafter Schlesinger Library].
49. Doris Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom* (New York: Boni & Liverright, 1920), pp. 260–1; and TR to C. C. Catt, June 6, 1916, Morison, *Letters*, 8: 1051–2.
50. Wister, *Roosevelt*, p. 292.
51. Kellor quoted in Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 130–49.
52. TR to Addams, undated but probably August 8, 1912, 7: 594–5; and TR to Milicent Garrett Fawcett, November 19, 1912, Morison, *Letters*, 7: 650–1.
53. Mary E. Dreier, *Margaret Dreier Robins: Her Life, Letters, and Work* (New York: Island Press, 1950), pp. 88–9.
54. TR, note, Morison, *Letters*, 7: 595.
55. *The Outlook*, September 28, 1912, pp. 162–4.

56. TR to Gifford Pinchot, December 21, 1912, Morison, *Letters*, 7: 678; "Minutes of the Progressive Service Committee," January 9, 1913, Progressive Party Papers, 1912–1917, Progressive Party Archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; and John Allen Gable, *The Bull Moose Years, Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1978), pp. 162–75.
57. T. R. to Wald, July 9, 1914, Wald MSS; NYPL; and "Roosevelt for the Women," *The New York Times*, July 14, 1914, p. 18.
58. Jane Addams, *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House, September, 1909 to September, 1929* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930), pp. 35–7; Addams to Wald, August 15, 1912, Wald to W. H. Hotchkiss, August 20, 1912, Wald MSS, NYPL; and Josephine Goldmark, *Impatient Crusader* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1953), p. 99.
59. TR to John Raleigh Mott, October 12, 1908, Morison, *Letters*, 6: 1283–5; and Abbott, *Impressions of T.R.*, p. 23.
60. Gable, *Bull Moose Years*, p. 236.
61. William Henry Harbaugh, *Power and Responsibility: The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1961), p. 491. Roosevelt, "International Duty and Hyphenated Americans," *Works*, 18: 278–94, is one example of the thousands of words written by TR to goad the United States to action during World War I.
62. Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade*, p. 162.
63. Roosevelt, "The Foes of Our Own Household," *Works*, 19: 8; Eleanor Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, pp. 87–94 and *Dock* to Wald, May 19, 1918, Wald MSS; NYPL.
64. Wald, speech, "Women and War" to the Woman's Suffrage Party, February, 1915, Wald, speech, "What Business Are Women About" to the New York State Nurse Association, October 20, 1915, Wald MSS, NYPL; Hermann Hagedorn, ed., *The Theodore Roosevelt Treasury: A Self-Portrait From His Writings* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1957), p. 339.
65. "Minutes of the Executive Committee of AUAM," and "AUAM Minutes," AUAM MSS, Swarthmore College Peace Collection; "Fact Sheet on Mexico," Mary Ware Dennett MSS, Schlesinger Library.
66. Roosevelt, "Fear God and Take Your Own Part," *Works*, 18: 337–70; and TR to Henry Sturgis Drinker, January 9, 1917, Morison, *Letters*, 8: 1140–3.
67. "A Woman's Peace Party Full Fledged For Action," *The Survey*, January 23, 1915, pp. 433–4; and Marie Louise Degen, *The History of the Woman's Peace Party* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1939).
68. TR to Raymond Robins, June 3, 1915, TR to Winston Churchill, August 4, 1915, Morison, *Letters*, 8: 958–9; and "Is the Women's Peace Movement 'Silly and Base'?" *Literary Digest*, May 1, 1915, pp. 1022–3 are a few examples of many of TR's views.
69. TR to Leonard Wood, June 26, 1914, Library of Congress, Roosevelt Papers, Morison, *Letters*, contains at least seven letters to Baker between February and mid-May 1917. Everyone knew of Roosevelt's frustration as his proposals were rejected.
70. TR to TR, Jr., July 8, 1917, August 22, 1917, October 20, 1917, TR to Quentin, September 1, 1917, April 21, 1918, and TR to Kermit, March 11, 1918, Morison, *Letters*, 8: 1208, 1227, 1245, 1296–7, 1232–4, 1311.
71. Eleanor Alexander Roosevelt, *Day Before Yesterday: The Reminiscences of Mrs. TR, Jr.* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1959), pp. 67–9, 76–93.
72. TR to Kermit, July 3, 1917, TR to Belle Roosevelt, February 2, 1918, and TR to William Howard Taft, September 27, 1918, Morison, *Letters*, 8: 1206–7, 1278–9, 1374.
73. Longworth, *Crowded Hours*, p. 255; TR to Winthrop Chanler, October 25, 1918, TR to Mary Brown, July 26, 1918, *Letters*, TR to George Clemenceau, July 25, 1918, Morison, *Letters*, 8: 1354–5, 1382.
74. TR to Belle Roosevelt, August 11, 1918, TR to Winthrop Chanler, October 25, 1918, Morison, *Letters*, 8: 1359–60, 1382.
75. TR to Henry Cabot Lodge, March 10, 1917 in Theodore Roosevelt, *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884–1918*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), 2: 502–3.