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THE KEYNOTER

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS CONSERVATORS

ALICE PAUL

Women's Suffrage: Special Triple Issue

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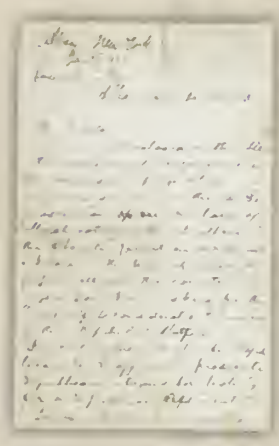

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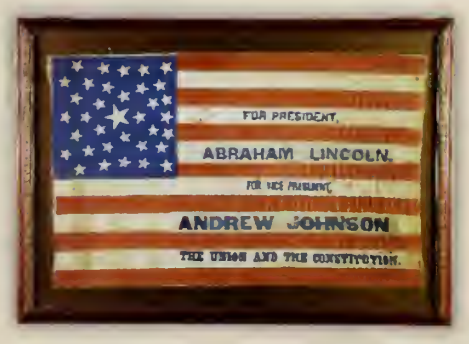

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FROM THE APIC PRESIDENT

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

Dear fellow APIC members and honored guests:

This issue of the APIC's Keynoter shows what dedicated volunteers can accomplish for our organization and our nation when they work as a team for a common objective. A small group of enthusiasts and institutions here and in England, under the guidance and leadership of Keynoter Illustrations Editor, Germaine Broussard, have worked for the last two years to assemble the illustrations, articles and other aspects of this journal. As a result of their enthusiasm and effort, we're presented with the finest assemblage of woman's suffrage material ever presented-anywhere-in full color. While many books have obviously been authored on the subject, there has never been such a compendium of suffrage materials prepared and offered to either our membership or the general public.

Equally important is the fact that this issue is dedicated to a politically and socially significant cause in the chronicles of American history that is often overlooked by present generations--the woman's suffrage movement. Labeling this aspect of our nation's history "dramatic" would be misguided and an understatement; it's a story filled with intrigue, dedication, frustration, commitment and failure, culminating in a hard-won victory. In the House of Representatives, suffrage passed the first time by exactly the number of votes needed, with one supporter being carried in from the hospital and another leaving his wife's deathbed to be there to cast their votes. In the Senate, suffrage passed with just two votes to spare. When the Nineteenth Amendment was sent to the states for ratification, Tennessee, the last state needed, passed it by a single vote, at the very last minute, during a recount.

Throughout our nation's history, ordinary citizens have risked their lives and property to advocate their beliefs and advance public policy.

The woman's suffrage movement is no different. It is a classic example of how a powerless class of Americans was forced to fight for their own rights against tremendous odds and social inequities, winning concessions and guarantees from those in power without the use of violence. When our nation was founded, the right to vote was firmly established as the cornerstone of its democratic values. However, for almost 150 years of our national existence, the Constitution was interpreted to deny voting privileges to women, who comprised more than half of the population. Using nonviolence and peaceful demonstration, the suffragists' goal was not victory over men, but, simply, equality with them. I believe an argument can be made that the extreme opposition to woman's suffrage identifies its significance; certainly, if the issue of the women's vote were not of such national importance, it would not have been so bitterly resisted at both the federal and state levels.

Indeed, the suffrage movement provides us with wonderful historical examples of political leadership, organizers, activists and lobbyists.

The movement involved the first women lawyers, doctors and ministers, the first women political candidates and the first office-holders. Their history is an exciting story of ingenious strategies and outrageous tactics used to outwit opponents and make the most of limited resources.

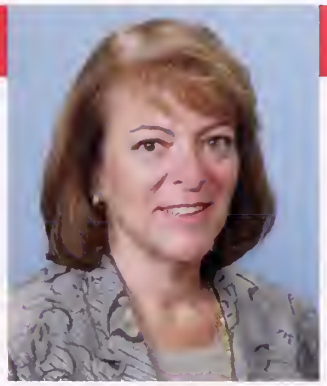
The suffrage movement included many American women whose talents and abilities would have made them prime candidates for national office had their opportunities been equal. Women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, Frances Willard, Jane Addams, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Carrie Chapman Catt, Mary Church Terrell, Alice Paul and others proved themselves to be politically important, enormously competent, highly influential and widely respected leaders with few equals among their male contemporaries.

Enjoy this issue of the Keynoter, and reflect upon the history it presents for your study and review. APIC, once again, stands at the forefront as a conservator of America's political past by providing this milestone accomplishment.

Yours in progress,

Brian E. Krapf

FROM THE WSAPIC PRESIDENT



I know that I am in love. In love with a collection and a hobby that for me began thirty years ago. In love with items that range in size from very small to the size of a mural on a wall. A collection that began when I learned of a world that I had never known existed; a world of history, first hand historic memorabilia, camaraderie, education and organizational commitment. A collection today that has grown to thousands of items.

Several months ago, I visited the Schlesinger Library in Boston, which houses a magnificent collection of women's memorabilia. I was mesmerized for hours by the beauty and the rarity of their items. I cannot tell you how exciting it is for me to see material that I had never seen before. It reminds me again how privileged I feel to be part of the process of preserving and researching its history.

I was 23 years old when I bought my first item at an antique store in Pennsylvania. I knew it the moment I saw it! The gold cloth-covered button, attached to a ribbon that read "Under the 19th Amendment I Cast My First Vote Nov 2, 1920; Harding Coolidge, The Straight Republican Ticket Lancaster, Pa." I found it the perfect collectible…with every attribute anyone could ask for: It shows well as a feminine item; cloth covered button-akin to a piece of jewelry…I could sense how it was worn proudly on a woman's lapel….She had just voted for the first time, and the item tells us so much information: What date, What city, Who she voted for, etc. Indeed, I thought, the perfect collectible.

When I met Bob Fratkin, then President of APIC, he introduced me to the organized hobby--people with boundless energies and enthusiasm for political ephemera of all kinds ! I became truly enchanted with the material. I had no idea that I would become this proud, this privileged, and so honored to be the temporary keeper of such important historic memorabilia.

Over the years, I became involved with APIC, worked on the Keynoter and several committees, helped found the WSAPIC Chapter and became its President and worked with Chris Hearn to put out the *Clarion*. In the last four years, with support from Chris and me, Germaine Broussard has turned the Clarion into a more professional publication.

My collection grew one item at a time, one tray led to two, and two led to three. Joe Levine helped me forge my beautiful collection of ribbons; Rex Stark, Bob Coup, David Frent, Tom French, Chick and Ceil Harris, and the countless dealers and APIC-ers who were patient with me when I was on such a learning curve collectively taught me how to look beyond the surface of each item and delve into its past.

The more I learn about the historical backgrounds, the more personally involved with each item I become, the more I appreciate and yes, love each item…almost as though they were my children! I won't forget a Sunday afternoon when my folks joined me for the Maryland Fairgrounds Antique Show. To my delight, I found the colorful, metal Massachusetts window-sign bird. I paid $150.00 for this treasure, and my Dad thought I was nuts…How I love that sign and display it proudly. It is amongst my favorite items.

I am often asked what item is my favorite. How do I explain that a common button that reads "59 cents" is as important to my collection as a most treasured suffrage artifact? They are all important. These items represent the true history, the feelings, the sentiments and proof of how women have fought the battle for equality.

Ronnie Lapinsky-Sax
President,
Woman Suffrage APIC Chapter

FROM THE EXECUTIVE EDITOR

It seemed simple when the idea was first proposed: "Let's do a suffrage issue." How difficult could that be? We figured several hundred items, a few articles, and its done. Now, two years later, with nearly 1000 items pictured, we had to set a cut-off date for new material or we would never get this out. We know there is more material out there, but we think this is the vast majority of non-paper items available. Our pleasure has come from having several very experienced collectors express amazement at some of the material we have unearthed. We know there are estimated to be over 4500 postcards. We have shown some examples, but postcard collectors will have to wait for another publisher. We will be posting additional materials and corrections on www.apic.us in the future, and we hope to achieve as near complete a listing of non-paper items as possible.

We have not tried to separate British and American suffrage items for two reasons. First, there was a feeling of solidarity between the groups on both sides, and suffrage figures from each visited the other. Alice Paul, for instance, spent time with the Pankhursts in London, and adopted some of their tactics on returning to America. Second, some of the items were used by both groups, and cross-importation of items was not uncommon.

There are probably a few color or size errors in our depictions. We have tried, in the case of buttons and other small items, to get the sizes right (or very close to it). If you have a particular item and the size is appreciably different, wrongly described or if you do not see your item at all, please let us know.

Ribbons are a different story. We have not been as careful with ribbon sizes for space considerations, knowing that, if you see a pictured ribbon but the size is different, it almost certainly is the same ribbon, while there may be several different sizes for a button. Ceramics, paper items, games, and miscellaneous items are probably not the correct sizes, but easily recognizable.

We thank the WSAPIC Clarion, Ronnie Lapinsky-Sax, Chris Hearn, Ken Florey, Chase Livingston, Julie Powell and other collectors, The National Women's Museum at London Metropolitian University, The Library of Congress and other museums and libraries that provided our images, as well as those captured from eBay and other sources over the years by our Illustrations Editor, Germaine Broussard. Germaine, at great sacrifice of her own time and other activities, took on the responsibility for all aspects of this issue--except running the printing presses. More than anything, this issue is a tribute to her hard work and perseverance.

DEMOCRACY—a government for all the people by all the people

Robert Fratkin
Executive Editor
The Keynoter

THE EDITOR'S MESSAGE

Whew! This massive triple issue was almost a year in the making and missed several deadlines but I hope you find this issue to have been worth the wait. I can only echo Bob Fratkin's praise for Germaine Broussard, whose passionate dedication to the production of this issue went so far above and beyond the call of duty as to amaze. This issue was a labor of love for all concerned but Germaine's labor dwarfed us all.

Of course, those readers not interested in cause items or women's suffrage, preferring items from straight electoral politics, may need some patience but there are even a few articles there for them about candidates from Ma Ferguson to Margaret Chase Smith. Even those not normally into cause items can't help but be intrigued by the wealth of material and the range of items.

Historians will note one underlying factor: the battle for women's suffrage took place during an era when the Republican Party was the more progressive party and the Democrats the more reactionary. Democrats, then based mainly in the South and rural areas, were more virulently opposed to concepts like equality while the Republicans, based mainly in New England and the Upper Midwest, tended to be more receptive to new ideas. Those general views may still be found in those geographic areas but our two major parties have gone through one of their periodic changes of positions in the interim.

I hope that the brief articles and diverse illustrations in this magazine will stimulate you to do some reading on the subject. The drama and dangers, tragedies and triumphs, of this battle is filled with fascinating stories and individuals. Political history demonstrates over and over again how the radical upheaval of one era becomes the cliché of the next. But that does not diminish the courage of individuals who were willing to place their reputations at risk and their bodies in physical danger to achieve their goals. It should also give us a bit more patience and respect for our contemporary radicals. Odds are that many of the causes that today seem extreme will one day be mainstream and even conservative. After all, it isn't hard to be an Abolitionist in 2009 but it was somewhat more difficult in 1844.

I owe special thanks to Larry Norris and Norman Loewenstern for the illustrations in the last issue (about Texas politics). Larry and Norm helped with gathering some key illustrations for that issue but were left out of the acknowledgements, so I wanted to give them their proper due.

Michael Kelly
Editor,
The Keynoter

RIP: Robert Rouse

News of the death of Robert Rouse (APIC #1582) came in the mail when I received a copy of a newspaper article from Daniel Maxime (APIC #6334). The headline of the article read "Collected over 20,000 political campaign buttons." Robert Rouse was a wonderful collector. Not only did he collect buttons, he researched buttons. My dealings with him related mainly to coattail items, those buttons listing a presidential candidate with a local candidate. Rouse was the acknowledged expert on these. Want to know who the Prokop on the "Kennedy/Prokop" button was? What about the Doutrich on the "Landon/Doutrich" button? Bob Rouse was the man with the answers.

Over the years, Robert Rouse was a frequent contributor to the pages of this magazine, most recently in the Winter 2007 issue. In all, he published more than 50 articles in The Keynoter over the years. A professor at Elmhurst College in Illinois, Robert Rouse was elected to the APIC Hall of Fame in 1989. Our field has lost a valuable source of information and a good friend with his passing.

THE KEYNOTER

Volume 2008 • Number 2-4

Features

CONTRIBUTORS--The editor wishes to thanks the following for contributing text and/or illustrations to this issue: Autry National Center, Sarah Baldwin, Germaine Broussard, Robert Cooney, Frank Corbeil, Ken Florey, Robert Fratkin, Jo Freeman, Tom French, David and Janice Frent, Harvey Goldberg, Chick Harris, Chris Hearn, Heritage Auctions, William Kirsner, Library of Congress, Chase Livingston, Norman Loewenstern, London Metropolitan University, Maine Antique Digest, the National Women's History Museum, New Jersey Historical Society, Pomegranate Publishing, Robin and Julie Powell, Bren Price, Dave Quintin, Ronnie Lapinsky Sax, Phil Shimkin, Rex Stark, Hilda Watrous and Jack Wilson.

FRONT COVER--A handsome 6" Alice Paul button decorated with the flags of the World War I Allied nations.

SUBMISSIONS--*This is your publication. Please feel free to share your ideas, suggestions, illustrations and stories. The Keynoter is delighted to share pictures of interesting political Americana with its readers. When submitting an illustration, send it as an .eps, .jpg or .pdf file to mkelly@mcc.edu. Illustrations should be in color and submitted in digital format with at least 300 dpi resolution (preferably higher). Files must be created at 100% of actual size or larger (smaller risks loosing clarity). Digital electronic images should be saved to a minimum of 300 dpi as TIF, GIG, JPEG or EPS files, preferably in Adobe Photoshop.*

If you don't have access to a scanner or high-resolution digital camera, you can take your items to graphic service bureaus, such as Kinko's, and have them scanned in the specification mentioned above. You can then send the file by e-mail, on a CD or on a zip disk. If sending by zip disk, please supply return address.

COVER ART

This 6" button celebrates suffragist leader Alice Paul. In 1913, Paul organized a huge parade with floats and banners on the eve of the inauguration of President Woodrow Wilson. Over the next few years, she helped stage pickets, demonstrations, mass meetings, and hunger strikes. In 1917, they began picketing in front of the White House. The police began arresting protesters and they were jailed in deplorable conditions. Miss Paul herself was imprisoned three times. Finally, in 1919, after nearly 70 years, Congress passed the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. However, 36 states still needed to ratify the Amendment and many feared it would take many more years. Under Alice Paul's leadership, lobbying campaigns all across the nation resulted in ratifying the Amendment in time for women to vote for the first time in 1920. Alice Paul knew this was only the beginning of securing equal rights for women. In the early 1920s, she authored the Equal Rights Amendment and spent the rest of her life trying to get Congress to pass it. Miss Paul lived to see it passed in 1920, but the Amendment ultimately died because two-thirds of the states did not ratify it in the required time.

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Belva Lockwood for President

By Jack Wilson

In 1872, stockbroker-publisher Victoria Woodhull ran for president on the Equal Rights Party ticket, advocating equal suffrage, marxism and free love, among other progressive platform planks. Her candidacy was regarded by most of the public as another clever self-promotion scheme on her part.

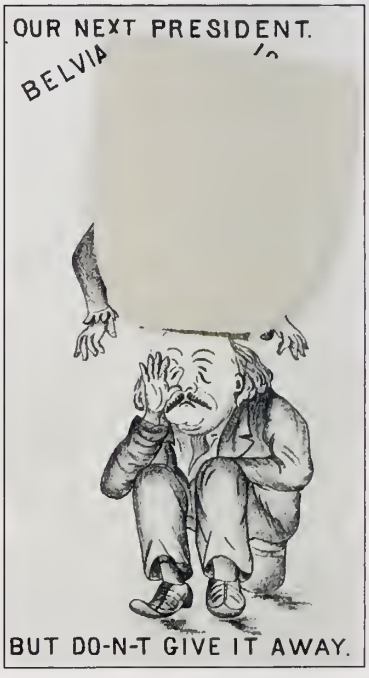
In 1884, the time seemed right for a second woman to run for President. That woman was Belva Lockwood (1830-1917). She was the nominee of the short lived National Equal Rights Party. As a teacher and lawyer she dedicated her life to fighting discrimination against women and worked to improve the status of women.

Having been initially denied the right to practice law before the Supreme Court, she drafted a law that passed within three years which lifted the restriction. She was then appropriately honored by being the first woman admitted to practice before our highest court. In 1872, she made speeches on behalf of the first woman to run for president, Victoria Woodhull.

As the National Equal Rights Party standard-bearer, she looked at her opportunity as a means of publicizing the feminist cause. The Party platform called for equal rights for all, including Negroes, Native Americans and immigrants; curtailment of the liquor trade; uniform marriage and divorce laws; and universal peace. However, most of the other prominent suffragists, such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton disavowed her. They had decided to work within the two-party system and supported the Republican nominee James Blaine.

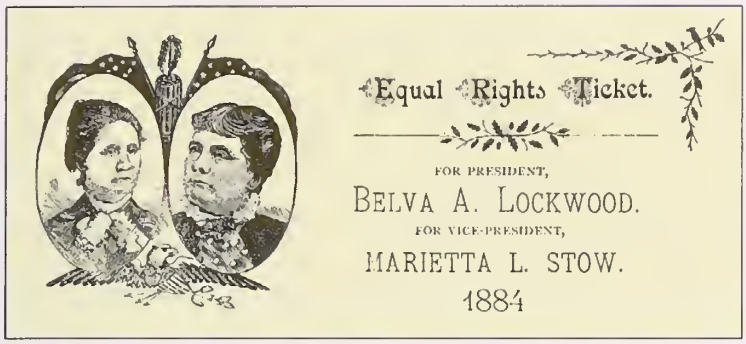
Undeterred, Lockwood worked extremely hard to be a formidable candidate. She was paired with Marietta L. Stow of California for Vice President and had such noted suffragists as Matilda Gage of New York as an elector. In the end, she received 4,149 votes in the six states which allowed her on the ballot.

Article continued on page 12.

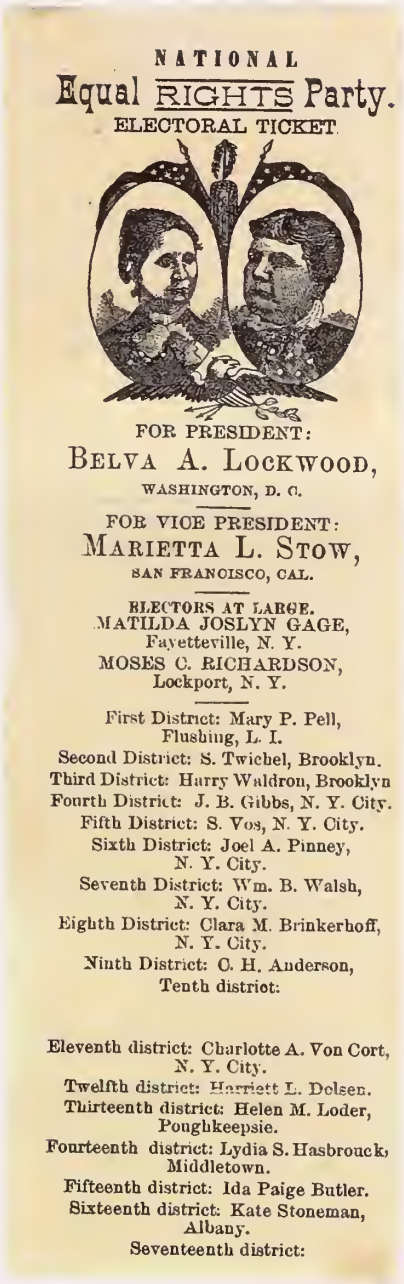


1888 Stickpin and mechanical paper card showing Benjamin Butler hiding under Belvia's skirt.

Civil War general and then MA Congressman, Butler had introduced legislation seeking equality for women in 1871. Butler ran for president in 1884 on the Greenback and Antimonopoly Parties' tickets.


Equal Rights Ticket.
FOR PRESIDENT,
BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.
FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,
MARIETTA L. STOW.
1884


For President
V
1888.


NATIONAL
Equal RIGHTS Party.
ELECTORAL TICKET
FOR PRESIDENT:
BELVA A. LOCKWOOD,
WASHINGTON, D. C.
FOR VICE PRESIDENT:
MARIETTA L. STOW,
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
ELECTORS AT LARGE.
MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE,
Fayetteville, N. Y.
MOSES C. RICHARDSON,
Lockport, N. Y.
First District: Mary P. Pell,
Flushing, L. I.
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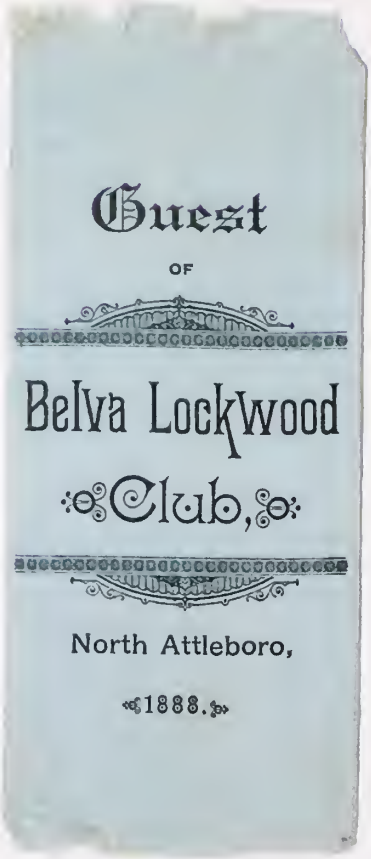
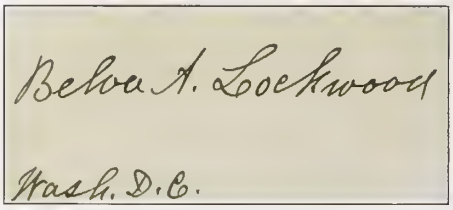
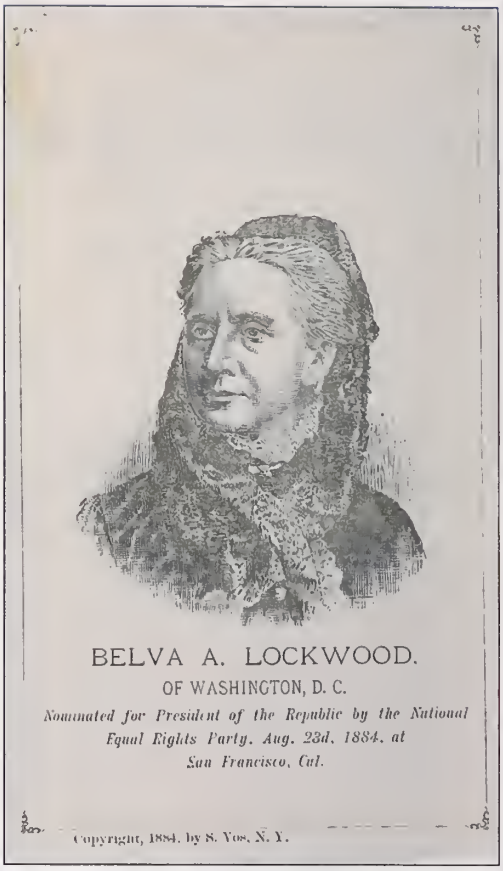
Sixth District: Joel A. Pinney,
N. Y. City.
Seventh District: Wm. B. Walsh,
N. Y. City.
Eighth District: Clara M. Brinkerhoff,
N. Y. City.
Ninth District: C. H. Anderson,
Tenth district:
Eleventh district: Charlotte A. Von Cort,
N. Y. City.
Twelfth district: Harriett L. Dolsen.
Thirteenth district: Helen M. Loder,
Poughkeepsie.
Fourteenth district: Lydia S. Hasbrouck,
Middletown.
Fifteenth district: Ida Paige Butler.
Sixteenth district: Kate Stoneman,
Albany.
Seventeenth district:


For President
V
1888.







Article continued from page 10.

Four years later, Belva Lockwood was again nominated for President by the party at their convention in Des Moines, Iowa. Her running mate was Alfred Henry Love of Pennsylvania and in other states Charles S. Wells appeared on the ballot. The results were less impressive, however, and the final tally of votes remains unknown.

Following her political career she continued her efforts to secure the right of women to vote. She also authored suffrage amendments for three states, and the law which secured women the equal right to own property in the District of Columbia.

The cartoon appeared in the Puck magazine in 1884. The title is "The Busted Side-Show" and shows Belva Lockwood, General Benjamin Butler, Thomas Grady of Tammany Hall and editor Charles Dana returning from their failed attempts for the Presidency.

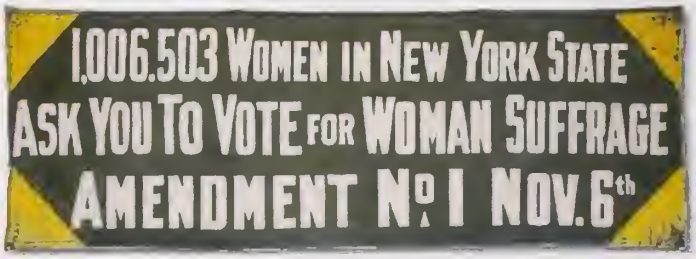
A Political Miracle

By Sarah Baldwin

As true of American politics generally, New York State exerted an enormous influence on the woman suffrage movement. Its two primary leaders, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, lived there. Anthony's campaign in the 1870s to test the 14th Amendment and women's right to vote largely was carried out in New York. Yet New York also was home to a strong anti-suffrage movement. In 1894 a young Elihu Root successfully led opposition to women serving as delegates at the New York State Constitutional Convention and to revising the state constitution to allow women to vote. Although western states continued, state by state, to enfranchise their women, opposition remained entrenched in the East.

By 1909, Harriot Stanton Blatch was, like her mother, stirring things up. She insisted that working women be brought into the movement and that Americans adopt open air meetings and other tactics of their English sisters. In New York City, suffragists established their own political party — The Woman Suffrage Party. That year the city fathers devised a new political structure which divided the five boroughs into 63 assembly districts with a total of 2,127 election districts. Tammany Hall long had recognized the value of a political organization which paralleled voting districts. Quickly seeing the potential edge this could give on Election Day, other political parties adopted a similar structure. The Woman Suffrage Party, with this successful model before it, set up committees responsible for each assembly district and, within each assembly district, each election district. It required a massive effort—sorting out geographical boundaries for existing organs and committees and creating new ones where there were none. As difficult as this task proved to be, it laid the groundwork for the achievements of the following decade.

In 1915, suffragists persuaded legislators in four key Eastern states—Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania—to send the woman suffrage issue to its voters. The NAWSA printed and distributed many broadsides, flyers and pamphlets which could be used in any of the four states, though these often appeared under the imprint of the state organization. One poster, in blue and gold, urged "Votes for Women 1915." Posters with "Oct. 19th", "Nov. 2nd" or "Nov. 6th", the voting dates for New Jersey and the other three states used the same design.



Banner

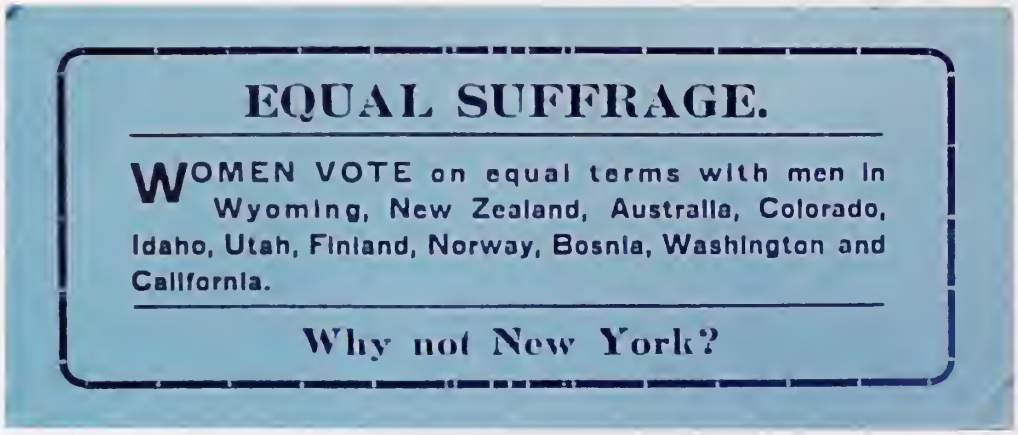
Elizabeth Smith Miller

Paper drinking cup.

Stamps

In New York, Carrie Chapman Catt agreed to spearhead the referendum campaign. As Ida Husted Harper notes in History of Woman Suffrage, "Mrs. Catt had no superior in organizing ability." She immediately established a coordinating committee with the heads or representatives of various suffrage groups and called their joint effort "The Empire State Campaign." In addition to the New York State Woman Suffrage Association (the state arm of the NAWSA) were the Equal Franchise Society (whose members were largely wealthy society matrons), the Woman Suffrage Party of New York, the College Equal Suffrage League and the Men's League for Women Suffrage. The Committee took its logo from the New York State official seal which depicts two classical figures, Justice and Liberty, standing on either side of a rising sun. The logo appeared on pins, buttons, and drinking cups as well as other suffrage artifacts.

The Committee divvied up responsibility for different campaign tasks. The Equal Franchise Society, for instance, undertook "Literature" and calculated by campaign's end 149,533 posters had gone up, 1,000,000 buttons distributed, 200,000 matches with "Vote Yes on the Suffrage Amendment" and 35,000 fans printing the suffrage map had been given out.



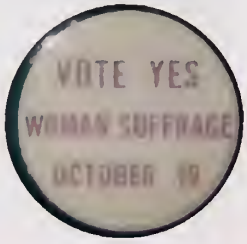
Ink blotter

One hundred fifty assembly district leaders and some 5,000 election district captains worked under Mrs. Catt's direction. She sent out the pamphlet, "Program for Election District Campaign Work in New York", which outlined 35 key campaign principles. First, the captain should have a map of her election district with its boundaries clearly defined and then a list of enrolled voters and registered voters. Catt emphasized the importance of meeting directly with influential men and women whether they supported suffrage or not; of personal invitations to secure large audiences; and of enthusiasm to carry one's convictions. She also discussed specifics such as the decoration of automobiles to help advertise and arouse interest in a scheduled meeting, the passing of "yellow slips" (pledge forms) during meetings and displaying signs and cards declaring support for woman suffrage. She set clear tasks for each month and a fundraising goal for each election district.

The campaign sought to make the "Votes for Women" issue ubiquitous. There were parades, automobile caravans, outdoor meetings, street speeches, posters in movie theater lobbies, storefronts with "silent speeches", i.e. broadsides, special suffrage sections in newspapers — foreign language dailies as well as mainstream American papers, suffrage booths at county fairs, suffrage schools and house-to-house canvassing. Supporters gave speeches in movie theaters and vaudeville halls with slides [see page 127]. *History of Woman Suffrage* records that "comedians were asked to make references to suffrage…and jokes [were] collected for them and appropriate lines suggested." The campaign's Art Committee prevailed upon artists and cartoonists to illustrate suffrage articles and broadsides. One particularly memorable piece by Art Young, a cartoonist who worked for the *Chicago Evening Mail* and the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* and also contributed to *The Masses*, hoisted the anti-suffragist on a very deft petard. Suffragists gave a Fourth of July celebration at the Statue of Liberty. They cultivated different professions by honoring them with a special "day": "Firemen's Day;" "Barbers' Day;" etc.

Harriot Stanton Blatch and her Women's Political Union pursued their own separate campaign. The purple, green and white colors, adopted from the WSPU, appeared on their buttons. The WPU sometimes printed their flyers and handbills in their signature purple. A traveling van carried WPU activists throughout the state to speak out for the amendment and to circulate literature.

Two buttons for the Women's Political Union. The WPU campaigned independently in 1915, in large part because of Mrs. Blatch's increasing dislike of Carrie Chapman Catt. The WPU and the ESCC generally cooperated in urban areas but skirmished over turf in rural upstate New York.



On October 30, 1915, just three days before the election, the WPU hosted an Elizabeth Cady Stanton Centennial Luncheon at the Hotel Astor in New York City. Nearly 1,000 women—among them Alva Belmont, Anna Howard Shaw and, of course, Harriot Stanton Blatch—attended. It proved a last hurrah for the WPU. After the 1915 election it merged with Alice Paul's National Woman's Party.

The work of some 200,000 women on behalf of the woman suffrage amendment, however, failed to persuade New York voters to give them the vote. On November 2 the referendum on woman suffrage went down to defeat in New York as it did in Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Two nights later the women held a mass rally at Cooper Union in New York City. They vowed the question would be on the ballot again in 1917 and this time they would win.

"The campaign had been one of the highways, and of spectacular displays; that of 1917 of the byways, of quiet intensive work to reach every group of citizens." [History of Woman Suffrage]. The NAWSA turned to Carrie Chapman Catt after these resounding defeats of 1915 and convinced her to reassume the presidency. The 1915 drive had validated the general effectiveness of Catt's organization, but further implementation, and a more tightly-knit organization was needed. Upstate rural New York continued to resist woman suffrage and the ESCC had not been as effective there as in New York City and other urban areas. The various suffrage societies consolidated into the New York State Woman Suffrage Party under the leadership of Vera Whitehouse.

Suffragists declared in the 1915 campaign that 1,000,000 New York women wanted suffrage. Opponents sneered at the claim and declared it an empty boast. In 1917 the women determined to prove their claim true and initiated a statewide petition in support of woman suffrage. The results would be given dramatic play that fall.

Handbills and broadsides continued themes suffragists considered salient. The suffrage map, updated to show the latest gains, appeared on postcards and other suffrage pieces. Campaign literature targeted more specific groups: farmers, laborers, factory workers, etc. One flyer, for instance, intended for farmers, argued "any work that needs doing is Woman's work" and pointed out that women do chores, milk cows, and use butter and egg money to help pay taxes on the farm. "[T]he farmer and his wife are partners.../They work together./Why not vote together?" Suffragists held all kinds of events — stints and stunts Catt called them — to bring in voters. This ticket advertises a barn dance.

Two major factors, however, forced the 1917 New York State Campaign into new territory: public reaction to the picketing of the White House by Alice Paul's Woman's Party beginning in January 1917; and, U.S. entry into World War I in April.

Many considered the picketing unseemly and disrespectful. Once Wilson committed American soldiers to the war in Europe, suffragists often found themselves attacked as "Pro-German." The NAWSA and the New York State Suffrage Association struggled to make it clear their members neither picketed nor approved of Paul's tactics.

With the war, women found themselves asked to give their energies to a host of patriotic duties. From April through August, the referendum campaign stalled as the women sorted out what they needed to do and what they could do. Mrs. Catt emphasized suffragists had to exert themselves to support the war effort and to continue to work for the franchise. The NAWSA maintained an Overseas Hospital in France; many suffrage supporters donated time and material to the Red Cross. Campaign literature began to incorporate themes which highlighted the highly visible role and wide-ranging responsibilities of American women during wartime at the same time that they enjoyed only limited citizenship. In the flyer "Suffrage as a War Measure," the campaign emphasized the contrast between the rights accorded American women and those of allied countries. Elsewhere the campaign focused on ways in which women could make a difference at home as in the "Garden Primer" put out by the Albany branch of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party.

That fall Maine voters decisively turned away a woman suffrage referendum. It looked as though New York voters might do the same. Suffragists noted a marked fall off in newspaper coverage of the campaign and in voter interest. Finally, however, President Woodrow Wilson declared his firm support for woman suffrage. The New York Woman Suffrage Party printed a leaflet entitled "What President Wilson Says" quoting the President with the demand, "Stand by Our President and make our own glorious country a Democracy...Show that you are a true American."
Suffrage supporters held the last great suffrage parade in New York City on October 27, 1917. They had succeeded in obtaining the signatures of over 1,000,000 women and suffragists proudly gave the mammoth statewide petition pride of place.
"Smaller by far than that of 1915, [the 1917 parade] was perhaps even more effective. Along with 2,500 women carrying placards enumerating the signatures of more than a million women to a suffrage petition came divisions of farmerettes, women workers in industry, doctors, and Red Cross nurses for overseas service. What the parade dramatized was taking place in life in every city and at every crossroads in the country. How then, by any manner of logic, could women still be denied the rights of citizenship?" [Century of Struggle]

How indeed? Once again voters found themselves faced with a confusing ballot, a favorite stratagem of anti-suffrage forces that certainly had added to anti-suffrage votes in 1915. Once again, as they had two years before, suffragists put out massive numbers of flyers illustrating the ballot and exactly where the voters should make their mark.

This time voters were persuaded that they needed to accord justice, equal rights and full citizenship to women. Catt declared the victory "a political miracle." She thought it the lever that made passage of a federal amendment giving women the vote an inevitability. Later analysts and scholars concur. The 1917 New York State referendum campaign, laid on the careful groundwork of the1915 drive, made the enfranchisement of women a question of when not if.

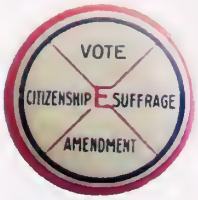
Obverse

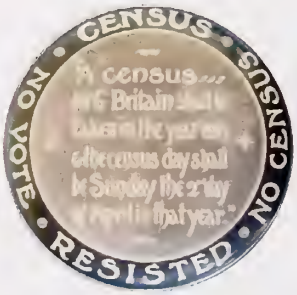
Reverse

Paper Disk

Two button blanks
"Your picture here"

Celluloid and metal dime bank





Cloth patch

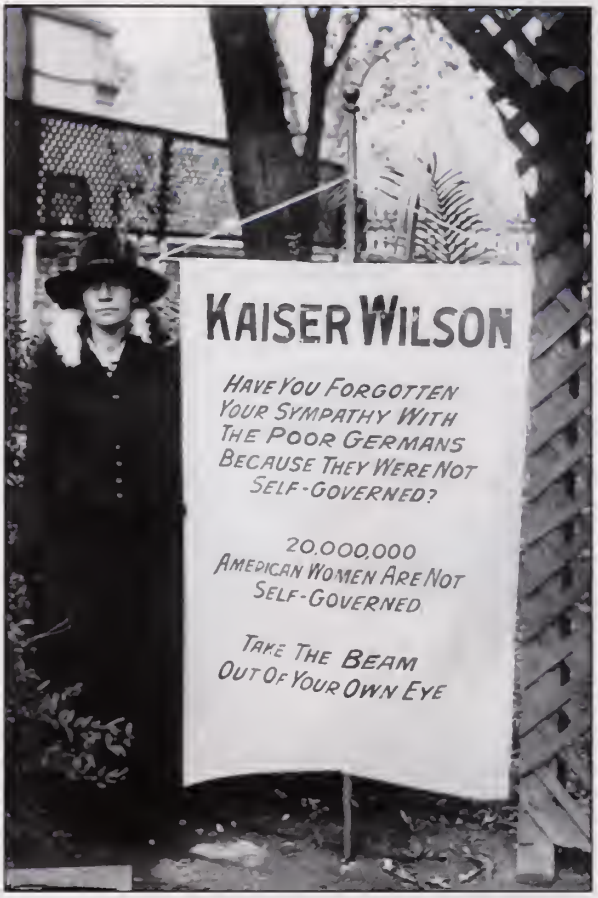
Tin Shield

Mechanical Calendar paperweight

Lithographed metal bird issued by the Massachusetts Suffrage Association. Shown reduced.

Silent Sentinels

The Silent Sentinels were a group of women in favor of woman's suffrage organized by Alice Paul to protest in front of the White House during Woodrow Wilson's presidency. The protests started January 10, 1917 and lasted until June 1919 when the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution passed both the House of Representatives and Senate. During those 18 months, more than a thousand different women picketed every day and night except Sunday.



The following are examples of banners held by the women:

"Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?"

"Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?"

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts--for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments." (a quotation from Wilson's April 2, 1917 speech before a joint session of Congress seeking a declaration of war against Germany)

"Democracy Should Begin at Home"

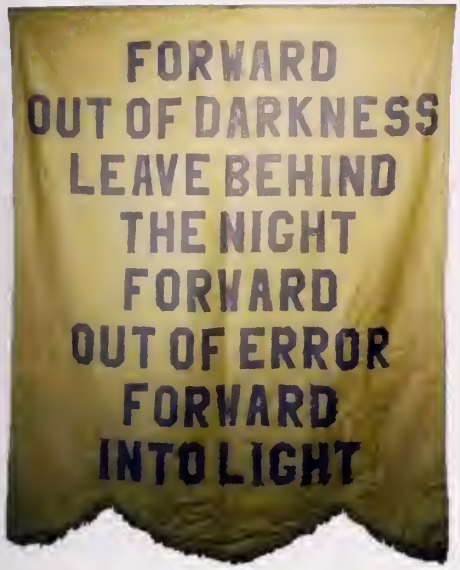
"The time has come to conquer or submit, for us there can be but one choice. We have made it." (another quotation from Wilson)

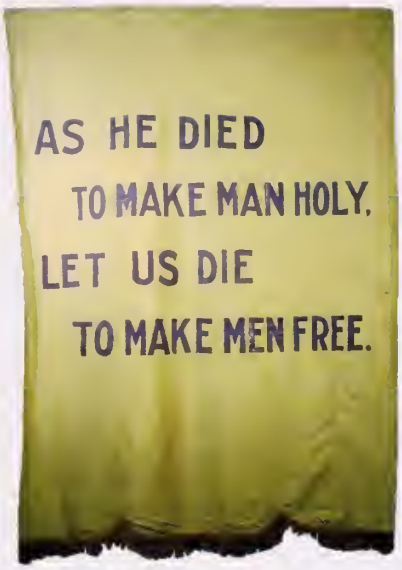
"Kaiser Wilson, have you forgotten your sympathy with the poor Germans because they were not self-governed? 20,000,000 American women are not self-governed. Take the beam out of your own eye." (comparing Wilson to Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, and to a famous quote of Jesus regarding hypocrisy)

At first, Wilson ignored the protestors. But public opinion about the protests changed after April 6, 1917, when the United States entered World War I. Spectators assaulted the protestors, both verbally and physically. However, police did nothing to protect the protestors.

On June 22, 1917, police arrested protestors Lucy Burns and Katherine Morey on charges of obstructing traffic because they carried a banner quoting from Wilson's speech to Congress: "We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts--for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments." These charges were dropped. Then on June 25, 12 women were arrested, including Mabel Vernon and Annie Arneil from Delaware, again on charges of obstructing traffic. They were sentenced to three days in jail or to pay a $25 fine. They chose jail. On July 14, 16 women, including Florence Bayard Hilles were arrested and sentenced to 60 days in jail or to pay a $25 fine. Again, the women chose jail. After serving three days in the Occoquan Workhouse in Virginia (now the Lorton Correctional Complex), Wilson pardoned the women.

Continued on page 28.





Silent Sentinel Banners


NATIONAL
WOMAN
SUFFRAGE


MR PRESIDENT
HOW LONG
MUST
WOMEN WAIT


WE PROTEST AGA
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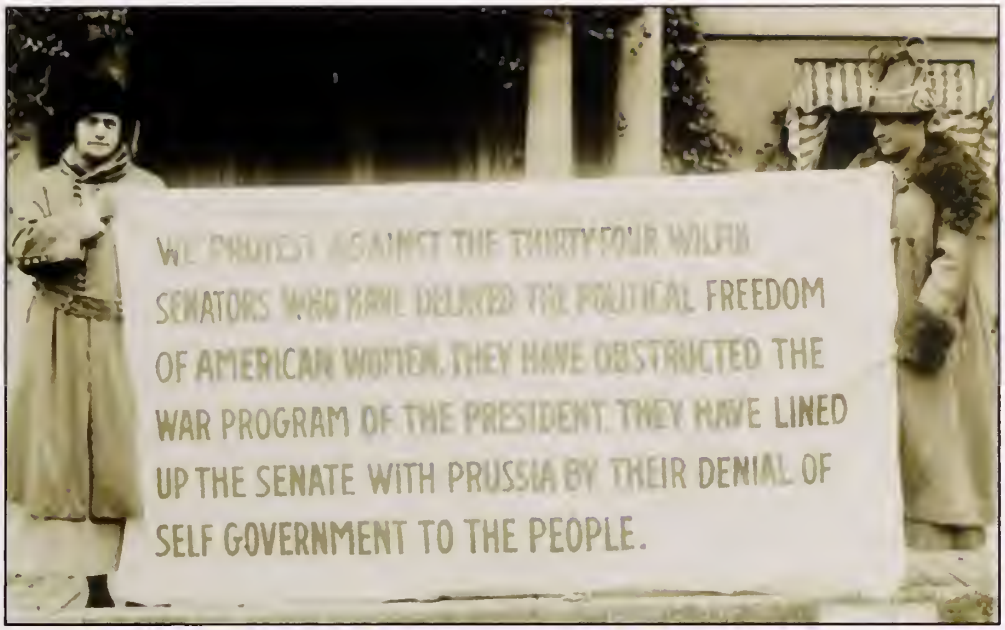
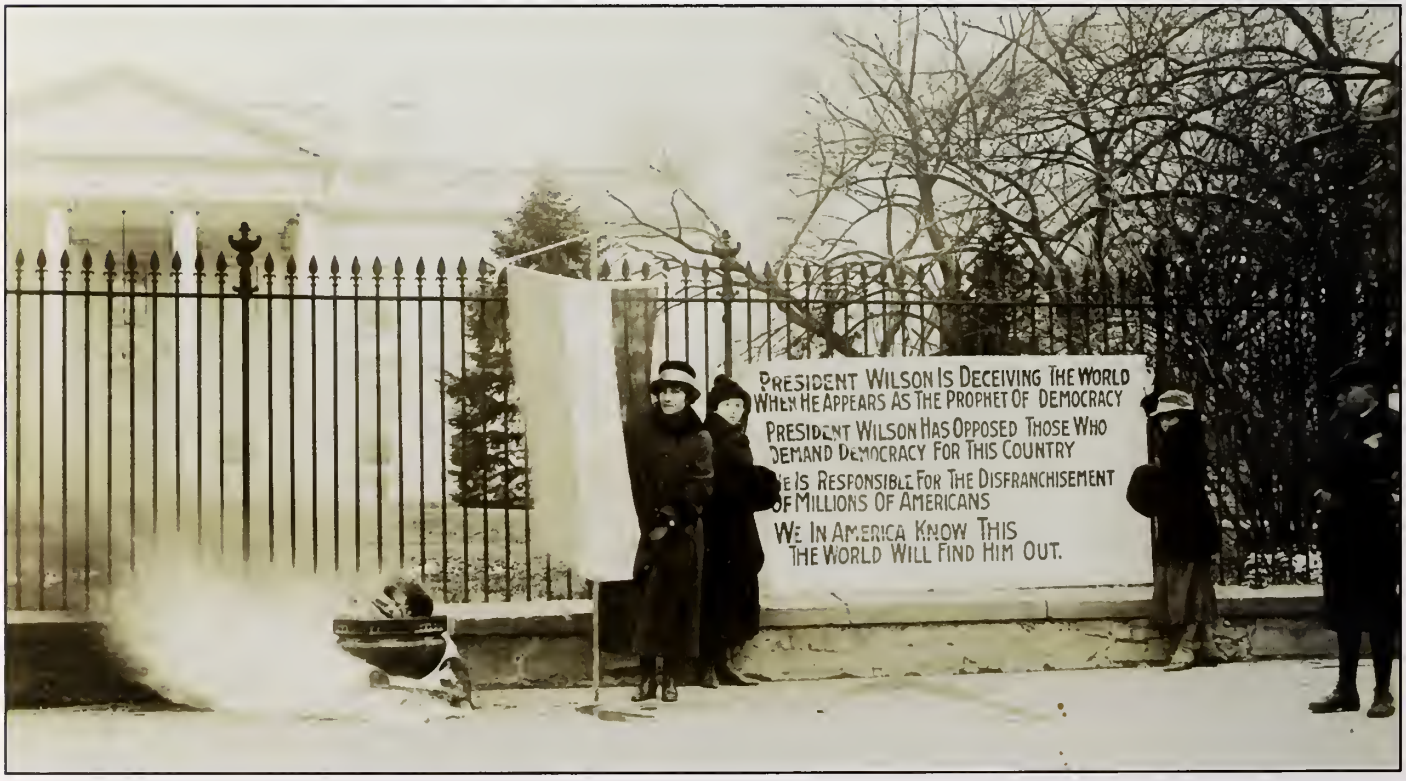
WHEN WILL THE RE


MR PRESIDENT
WHAT
WILL YOU DO
FOR
WOMAN SUFFRAGE


SENATORS WHO HAVE DELAYED THE POLITICAL FREEDOM
OF AMERICAN WOMEN. THEY HAVE OBSTRUCTED THE
WAR PROGRAM OF THE PRESIDENT. THEY HAVE LINED
UP THE SENATE WITH PRUSSIA BY THEIR DENIAL OF
SELF GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE.


MR PRESIDENT
WHAT
FOR
MR PRESIDEN
HOW LON
MUST
WOMEN WT
FOR LIBE TY


WOMAN SUFFRAGE 60 YEARS AGO
MR. PRESIDENT YOU BLOCK THE
WHY ARE YOU BEHIND LINCOLN?
DENMARK
ON THE VERGE OF WAR
GAVE WOMEN THE VOTE
WHY NOT GIVE IT TO
AMERICAN WOMEN NOW
FOR POLITICAL FREEDOM, THEY WERE
TOLD TO WAIT. THIS IS THE NEGRO'S
HOUR. IN 1917 AMERICAN WOMEN STILL ASK
FOR FREEDOM, WILL YOU MR. PRESIDENT
STILL TELL THEM TO WAIT-THAT THIS IS
"THE PORTO RICAN'S HOUR"


PRESIDENT WILSON IS DECEIVING THE WORLD
WHEN HE APPEARS AS THE PROPHET OF DEMOCRACY
PRESIDENT WILSON HAS OPPOSED THOSE WHO
DEMAND DEMOCRACY FOR THIS COUNTRY
IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISFRANCHISEMENT
OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS
WE IN AMERICA KNOW THIS
THE WORLD WILL FIND HIM OUT.

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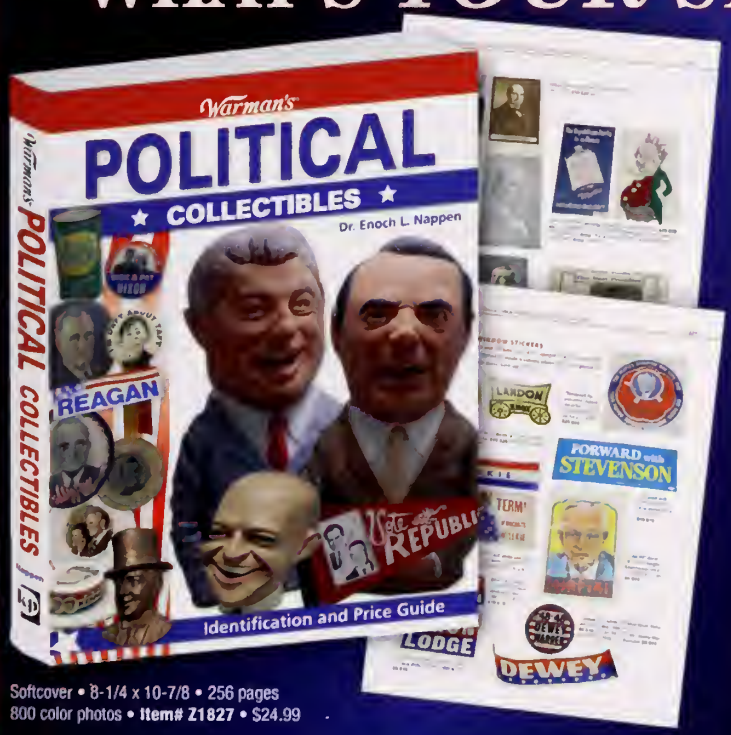
WHAT'S *YOUR* STUFF WORTH?



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As the suffragists kept protesting, the jail terms grew longer. Finally, police arrested Alice Paul on October 20, 1917, while she carried a banner that quoted Wilson: "The time has come to conquer or submit, for us there can be but one choice. We have made it." She was sentenced to seven months in prison. Paul and many others were again sent to the Occoquan Workhouse, where Paul was placed in solitary confinement for two weeks, with nothing to eat except bread and water. She became weak and unable to walk, so she was taken to the prison hospital. There, she began a hunger strike, and others joined her. In response to the hunger strike, prison doctors placed Paul in a psychiatric ward and threatened to transfer her to St. Elizabeth's Hospital, an insane asylum. She still refused to eat. Doctors became afraid that she might die, so three times a day for three weeks they forced a tube down her throat and poured liquids into her stomach. One physician reported that she had "a spirit like Joan of Arc and it is useless to try to change it. She will die but she will never give up."

Despite this seeming regard for Paul's health, those at the prison deprived her of sleep. They directed an electric light at her face and turned it on briefly every hour of every night. There were also reports of worm-infested food and unsanitary conditions for the jailed protestors.

On the night of November 15, 1917, the superintendent of the Occoquan Workhouse, W.H. Whittaker, ordered the nearly forty guards to brutalize the suffragists. They beat Lucy Burns, chained her hands to the cell bars above her head, and then left her there for the night. They threw Dora Lewis into a dark cell and smashed her head against an iron bed, which knocked her out. Her cellmate, Alice Cosu, who believed Lewis to be dead, suffered a heart attack. According to affidavits, guards grabbed, dragged, beat, choked, pinched, and kicked other women.

Newspapers carried stories about how the protestors were being treated. The stories angered some Americans and subsequently created more support for the suffrage amendment. On November 27 and 28, all the protestors were released, including Alice Paul after spending five weeks in prison. Later, in March 1918, the Washington Court of Appeals declared all suffrage arrests, trials, and punishments illegal.

On January 9, 1918, Wilson announced his support of the women's suffrage amendment. The next day, the House of Representatives narrowly passed the amendment but the Senate refused to even debate it until October. When the Senate voted on the amendment in October, it failed by two votes. And in spite of the ruling by the Washington Court of Appeals, arrests of White House protestors resumed on August 6, 1918.

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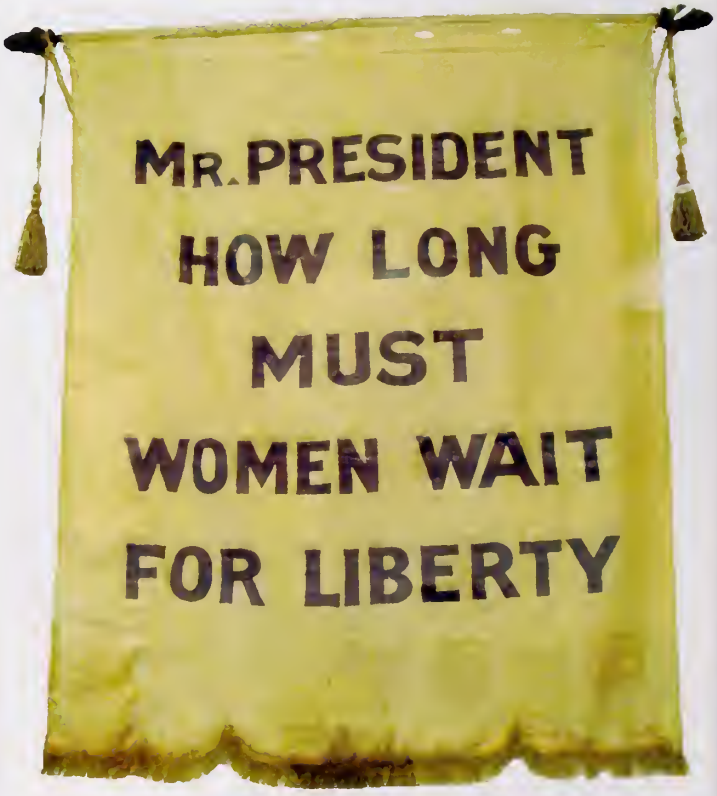
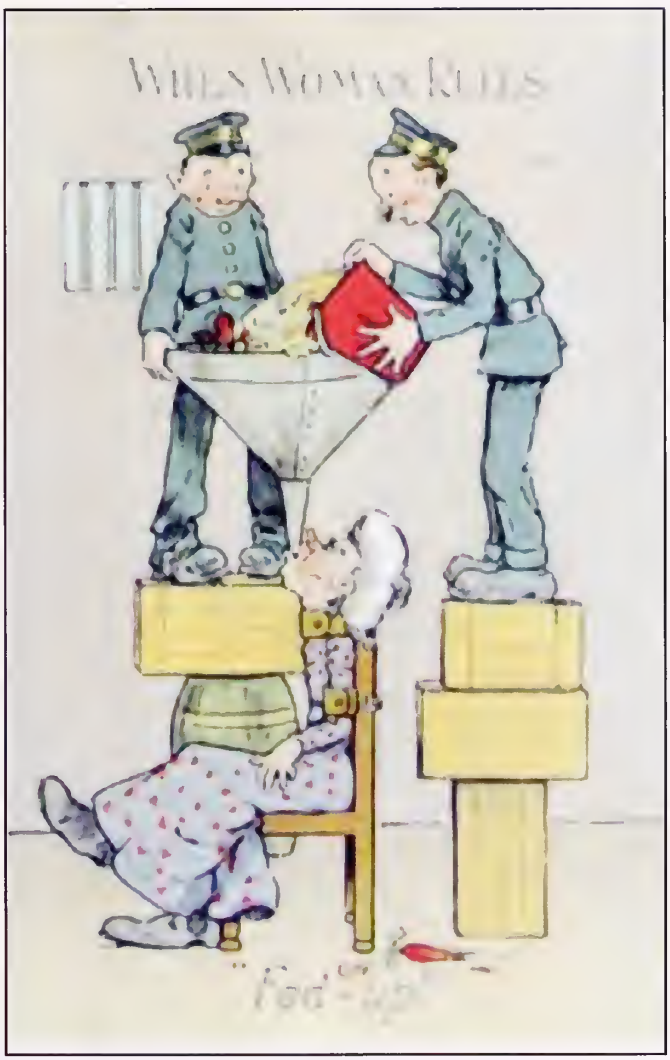


"Jailed for Freedom" Pin

In December, 1917, at a meeting in their honor, the pickets who had been jailed were presented with small silver pins in the shape of prison doors with heart-shaped lockets. Pin shown enlarged.

Vida Millholland in her cell in Occoquan Workhouse.



Postcard

Continued from page 28.

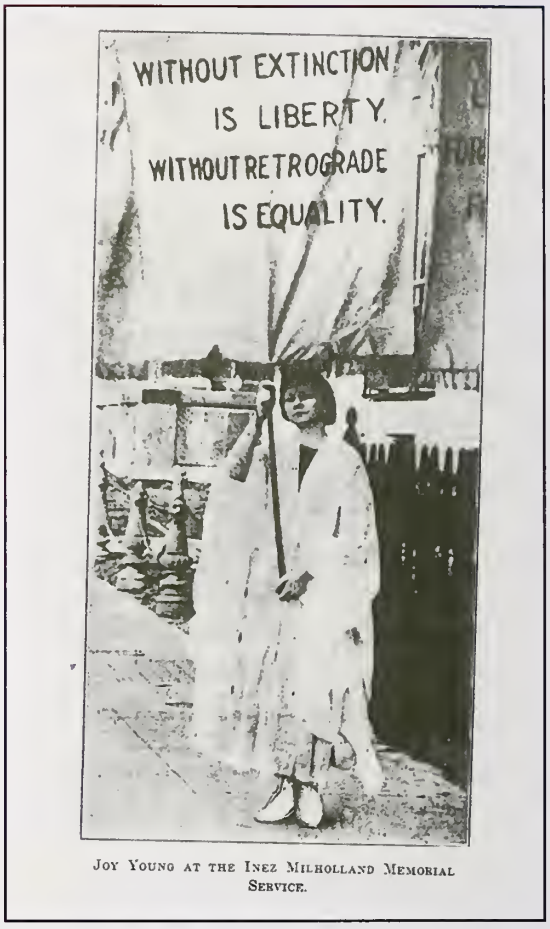
On another front, the National Woman's Party, led by Paul, urged citizens to vote against anti-suffrage senators up for election in the fall of 1918. After the 1918 election, most members of Congress were pro-suffrage. To keep up the pressure, on December 16, 1918, protestors started burning Wilson's words in watch fires in front of the White House. On February 9, 1919, the protestors burned Wilson's image in effigy at the White House. On May 21, 1919, the House of Representatives passed the amendment, and 2 weeks later on June 4, the Senate finally followed. With their work done in Congress, the protestors turned their attention to getting the states to ratify the amendment.

The "Silent Sentinel" Picketing Pin

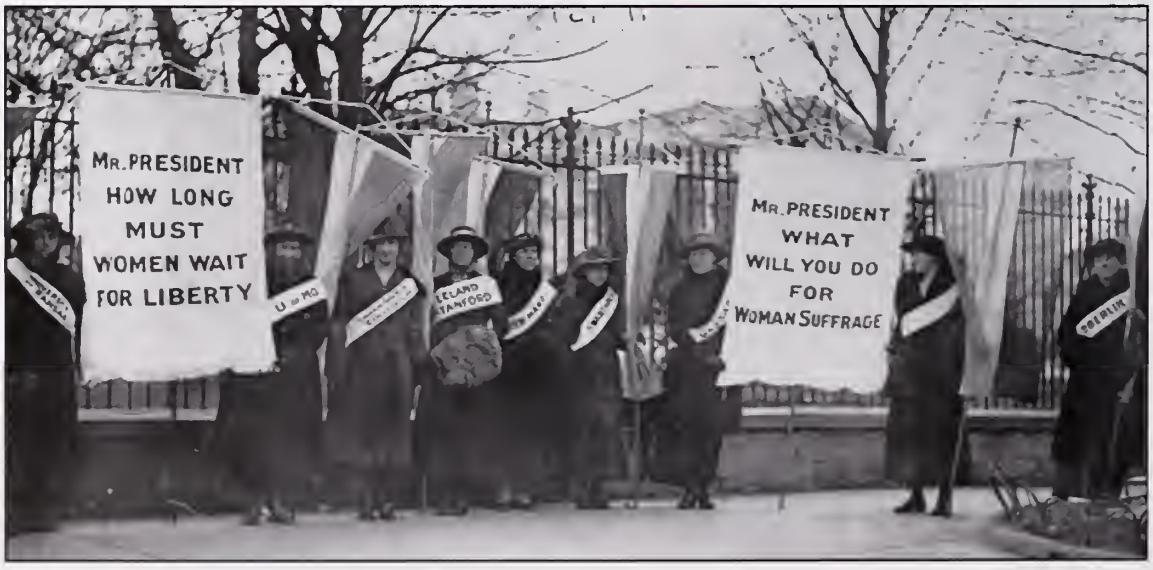
On January 10, 1917, the first "Pickets" were posted outside the White House. They were present all day "as a perpetual reminder to President Wilson that they held him responsible for their disfranchisement." They stood there unmolested for three months.

However, once the United States entered World War I, the pickets began to be looked on as un-American. On June 27, police started arresting "Silent Sentinels" for "obstructing the traffic." Before the arrests ended, 200 suffragist would be taken into custody. They refused to pay their fines and were sentenced from three days to seven months at the jail and workhouse at Lorton, Virginia.

Hunger strikes quickly followed, then forced feedings. The public outcry grew so loud that President Wilson pardoned all of the prisoners. They simply returned to the White House to continue their efforts. The exact number of these pins is unknown. However, the number is estimated at between 150-200. Each pin is in the shape of a protest banner, with the words "WITHOUT EXTINCTION IS LIBERTY," the last word of suffragist martyr Inez Mulhulland. On the back of the pin are words "FOR SERVICE IN THE CAUSE OF THE FREEDOM OF WOMEN PRESENTED BY THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S PARTY."



Joy Young at the Inez Milholland Memorial Service.

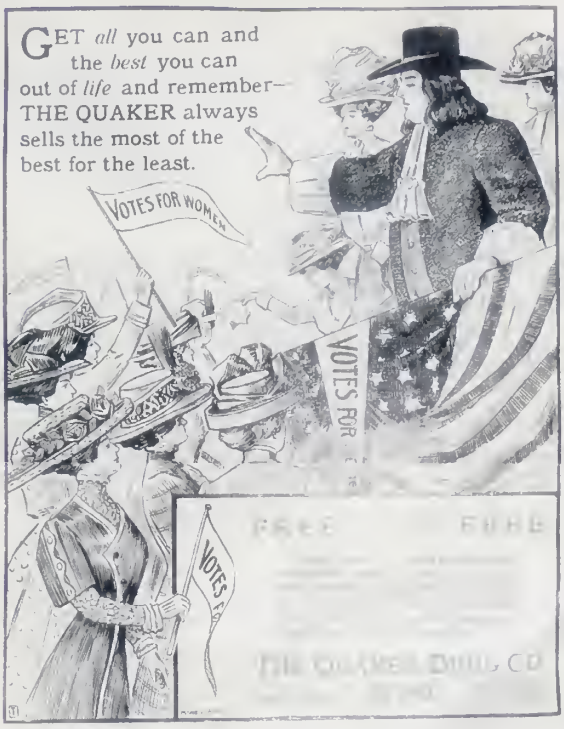


College students join the picketers.

WOMEN
bring all
VOTERS
into the world

~

Let Women Vote



"Votes For Women"

Two million women will have a right to vote in the next Presidential election. Twenty million women have voted for the emancipation of American womanhood by serving

Shredded Wheat

in their homes. Every biscuit is a vote for health, happiness and domestic freedom—a vote for pure food, for clean living and clean thinking.

The housewife who knows the nutritive value of Shredded Wheat and the many delicious fruit combinations that can be made with it may banish kitchen worry and household care.

Shredded Wheat is ready-cooked, ready-to-serve. It is a natural, elemental food. It is not flavored or seasoned with anything and hence does not deteriorate in the market. The consumer flavors or seasons it to suit his own taste. It is delicious for breakfast with milk or cream or for any meal with fruits.

The Only Breakfast Cereal Made in Biscuit Form

Made only by
THE SHREDDED WHEAT COMPANY, NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.

THE SUFFRAGE BLOUSE

It was Miss Agnes Morgenthau, a leader among the "Y. S. S." (Younger Suffrage Set) who recommended that a "ready-to-wear - to - anything - and - not - at - all - expensive suffrage blouse" would meet a long-felt want among suffragists. A manufacturer has acted upon her suggestion and placed the above garment on the market.

In Our Own Words

If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.

- Abigail Adams

Men their rights and nothing more; women their rights and nothing less.

-Susan B. Anthony

Failure is impossible.

-Susan B. Anthony

[T]here never will be complete equality until women themselves help to make laws and elect lawmakers.

-Susan B. Anthony

Justice is better than chivalry if we cannot have both.

-Alice Stone Blackwell

Mr. Darwin ... has failed to hold definitely before his mind the principle that the difference of sex, whatever it may consist in, must itself be subject to natural selection and evolution.

-Antoinette Brown Blackwell

If society will not admit of woman's free development, then society must be remodeled.

-Elizabeth Blackwell

The world has never yet seen a truly great and virtuous nation, because in the degradation of women, the very fountains of life are poisoned at their source.

-Lucretia Mott

I have no idea of submitting tamely to injustice inflicted either on me or on the slave. I will oppose it with all the moral powers with which I am endowed. I am no advocate of passivity.

-Lucretia Mott

When a just cause reaches its flood-tide, as ours has done in that country, whatever stands in the way must fall before its overwhelming power.

-Carrie Chapman Catt

Just as the world war is no white man's war, but every man's war, so is the struggle for woman suffrage no white woman's struggle, but every woman's struggle.

-Carrie Chapman Catt

Everybody counts in applying democracy. And there will never be a true democracy until every responsible and law-abiding adult in it, without regard to race, sex, color or creed has his or her own inalienable and unpurchasable voice in government.

-Carrie Chapman Catt

The argument of the broken pane of glass is the most valuable argument in modern politics.

-Emmeline Pankhurst

Trust in God: She will provide.

-Emmeline Pankhurst

As long as women consent to be unjustly governed, they will be; but directly women say: "We withhold our consent," we will not be governed any longer as long as government is unjust.

-Emmeline Pankhurst

Because man and woman are the complement of one another, we need woman's thought in national affairs to make a safe and stable government.

-Elizabeth Cady Stanton

So long as women are slaves, men will be knaves.

-Elizabeth Cady Stanton

I think, with never-ending gratitude, that the young women of today do not and can never know at what price their right to free speech and to speak at all in public has been earned.

-Lucy Stone(1893)

I expect to plead not for the slave only, but for suffering humanity everywhere. Especially do I mean to labor for the elevation of my sex.

-Lucy Stone(1847)

If women want any rights they had better take them, and say nothing about it.

-Harriet Beecher Stowe

When you get into a tight place and everything goes against you till it seems you could not hold on a minute longer, never give up then for that is just the place and time that the tide will turn.

-Harriet Beecher Stowe

Frances Perkins (to Carrie Chapman Catt), commenting on her position as Secretary of Labor in the FDR Cabinet (the first woman Cabinet member):
"The door might not be opened to a woman again for a long, long time and I had a kind of duty to other women to walk in and sit down on the chair that was offered, and so establish the right of others long hence and far distant in geography to sit in the high seats."

The test for whether or not you can hold a job should not be the arrangement of your chromosomes.

- Bella Abzug

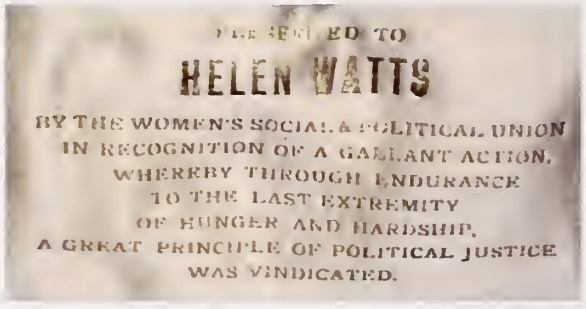
British Hunger Strike Medals and the Holloway Brooch

The Hunger Strike Medals were first presented in August 1909. They were issued in recognition of those suffragettes who engaged in hunger strikes while in prison for the crime of seeking the right to vote. The medal is comprised of a silver pin bar engraved "For Valour," a hanging length of tri-color ribbon, and a silver bar, from which is suspended a silver round medal with the name of the presentee on one side and "Hunger Striker" on the other. The silver bar is engraved with the date of the owner's arrest.

Some medals have more than one silver bar, a new bar being issued for each arrest during which they went on a hunger strike. Enameled purple, white and green bars, with the legend on the reverse "Fed by Force [date]" were awarded for each imprisonment in which the recipient was force fed.

Each medal was presented in a dark purple box, with a green velvet lining. Each was printed in gold on white silk on the inside lid with the following: "Presented to (name) by the Women's Social and Political Union in recognition of a gallant action, whereby through endurance to the last extremity of hunger and hardship a great principle of political justice was vindicated." These medals were produced by Toye and cost the WSPU one Pound each. The exact number of medals issued is unknown, however, the number probably is around 100.

Helen Watts



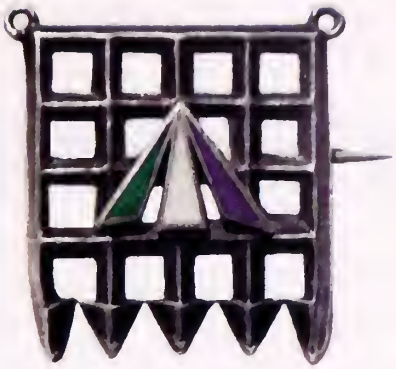
From the presentation case for the medal shown on the left. Mary Richardson's Medal on right.

Mary Richardson

This Women's Social and Political Union medal for valor was awarded to Mary Richardson, the Canadian-born militant suffragette who, in protest at the re-arrest of Emmeline Pankhurst in March 1914, slashed the "Rokeby" Venus painting with an axe at the National Gallery, saying: "You can get another picture, but you can not get another life, and they are killing Mrs. Pankhurst."

The silver medal, hallmarked for Birmingham 1912, is believed to carry the greatest number of tri-color enamel award bars given by the WSPU during the hunger strikes - an indication that no one was forcefed more often than 'Slasher' Richardson.

Hunger strike medal awarded to Norah Dacre Fox.



Shown enlarged

The Suffragette movement in England wanted to recognize those women who endured great sacrifice and hardship in the pursuit of the right to vote. To do so, Sylvia Pankhurst in 1909 designed the "Holloway" brooch as the "Victoria Cross" of the Woman's Social and Political Union. The brooch was awarded to released WSPU prisoners. Its design is of the portcullis symbol of the House of Commons; the gate and hanging chains are in silver, with a superimposed broad arrow in purple, white and green enamel, representing the image used on prison uniforms in Britain. Some are also dated with the time of imprisonment. The exact number of brooches issued is unknown. However, the number is estimated at no more than 100.

Enlargement of above medal, struck in America to commemorate Emmeline Pankhurst's visit, 1914. Reverse shows forced feeding.

Postcard showing prison force feeding and prison clothing design, represented as an "arrow" on the gate pin.

The Suffrage Harvest Week Medal

Originally thought to be a Suffrage Paperweight promoting Harvest Week for the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, research by Samuel Pennington, printed in the November 2007 Maine Antique Digest, identifies the "paperweight" as a medal awarded by the NYSWSP in 1916.

As part of a state wide effort to recruit new workers for the woman suffrage cause in 1916, the state committee devised an award to be presented to the "person who secured the greatest number of new workers for suffrage." The "Harvest Week" would run from October 16 to the 21st. The award would be presented at the State Convention, held in Albany, NY in November 1916.

The winner of the medal was Mrs. Cornelia de Zeng-Foster of Syracuse, NY. Mrs. Foster, who was originally from Auburn, NY had only recently moved to Syracuse.

The 3-1/2" cast uniface (one-sided) medal features five women gathering wheat – and symbolizing the gathering of supporters for woman suffrage. The year, 1916, appears to the right and a circular border of embossed lettering reads – "NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY – HARVEST WEEK" and has the initials "AMW". The medal was designed by Alice Morgan Wright. Ms. Wright was a native of Albany and a graduate of Smith College. While studying abroad in 1912, she attended a Suffrage demonstration in London and was later arrested and interned in Holloway Prison with Emmeline Pankhurst. She returned to the US in 1914 and continued her efforts for the cause. She opened a studio in New York City. She returned to Albany in 1920 and became very active for the humane treatment of animals.

It is interesting to note that there are at least 2 examples of this medal known. There may be more but usually when an artist produces a medal, they produce what are known as "strike" medals that are test medals to see that the medal is what they envisioned and are satisfied with before they produce the final issue. This allows the artist to examine the medal for any flaws or needed corrections. Also, artists often strike a medal for themselves for future exhibitions. This may account for the second or any additional examples.

The First Suffrage Button

By Kenneth Florey

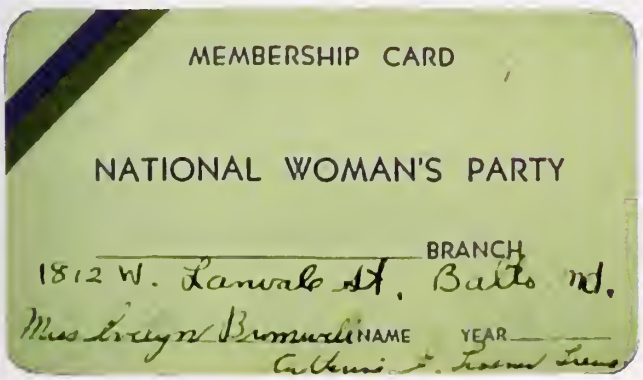
NAWSA insignia

The first suffrage button or pin was probably the small 5/8" stickpin pictured here, featuring the numeral "1848," a commemoration of the Seneca Falls convention of that year. The number was set in gold on ruby glass encased in a scalloped metal sunflower frame, a derivation of the symbol of the state of Kansas. The piece, which could have been worn as either a lapel item or a hatpin, was issued by the National American Woman Suffrage Association around 1896, its first real venture into lapel material beyond convention identification ribbons. The piece was also made into a badge with a hanger that contained the organization's initials "NAWSA." At the same time, NAWSA made stationery featuring the Kansas inspired logo, which they used as their official envelope. Susan B. Anthony used this design for a period on her personal stationery. Sometime later, probably between 1910 and 1920, NAWSA commemorated the logo on a small 5/8" celluloid button that is also pictured.

The use of the Kansas sunflower design had historical significance for the early suffragists. In 1887, Kansas women chose a yellow ribbon to represent what they stood for, and called the resultant lapel piece a "sunflower badge." A writer in the *Woman's Journal* for November 26, 1887 noted that just as "the sunflower follows civilization, follows the wheel-tract and the plow, so woman suffrage inevitably follows civilized government."

The use of the sunflower ribbon in various manifestations quickly caught on and was soon adopted by suffragists in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, partly through the influence of Mary Livermore. Although the sunflower itself eventually dropped from suffrage iconography, the color "yellow" did not, and it quickly became the "official color" of many of the mainstream suffrage organizations in America, including NAWSA. It should be noted, though, that despite the lead of the Kansas suffragists, this first pin was issued in ruby red, not yellow.

There is record of an earlier lapel piece than the NAWSA stickpin, although this item probably was more of a formal hanging badge than a button. The *Woman's Journal* of July 30, 1892 records the account of a California woman who refers to a badge created by a Los Angeles club as an "object lesson." It featured the NAWSA flag in a field of blue, emblazoned with one star, a symbol of the state of Wyoming, which, at the time, was the only state wherein women were fully franchised. The anonymous California woman also noted that: "By causing me to be questioned, my badge has many times led to conversation of the subject of woman's political position in the government . . ." Whatever form this California piece took, no copies have surfaced among collectors, and, accordingly, to the NAWSA 1848 stickpin must go the title of the first true suffrage pin.



What do the Stars Mean?

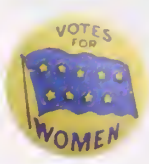
One of the most common similarities in "Votes for Women" buttons is the stars on the pins. The use of the stars as symbols for the states with suffrage for women was started by Suffragists in 1894, at the Twenty-Sixth annual convention of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in Washington, DC.. Over the platform was draped a large suffrage flag, bearing two full stars for Wyoming and Colorado. The flag also had two more stars merely outlined in gold for Kansas and New York, which had equal suffrage amendments pending that year. The hope was to add stars to the "galaxy" when the amendments passed. Instead of "Old Glory," the equal rights banner was referred to as "New Glory." Susan B. Anthony received a silk flag with the two stars in honor of her seventy-fourth birthday, on the first evening of the convention, a gift from the enfranchised women of Wyoming and Colorado.

At the Twenty-Seventh annual NAWSA Convention, two flags hung over the platform. One, that of the association, had the two stars representing, once again, Wyoming and Colorado, the second on which the host ladies from Georgia ingeniously depicted the relative standing of the different States on the suffrage question. The States where women had no form of suffrage were represented by black stars. Those where they could only vote for school committee or on certain local questions had a golden rim. Kansas and Iowa had a wider golden rim, to indicate municipal and bond suffrage.

In 1897, Susan B. Anthony responded to criticism that the suffrage banner with its four stars (Idaho and Utah were added in 1896) desecrated our country's flag. She stated the "no one ever heard anything about the desecration of the flag during the political campaign, when the names and portraits of all the candidates were tacked to it. Our critics compare us to Texas and its lone star. We have not gone out of the Union, but four States have come in... Keep your flag flying, and do not let anyone persuade you that you are desecrating it by putting on stars for the States where government is based on the consent of the governed, and leaving them off for those which are not."

In 1900, on the occasion of her eightieth birthday, Miss Anthony was presented with a brooch, a little American flag made of gold and jewels by Mrs. Helen M. Warren, wife of the Senator from Wyoming. The brooch flag had on its field forty-one common stars and four diamonds, representing the four progressive (suffrage) states--Wyoming, the banner state; Colorado, Utah and Idaho. The back of the flag bears this inscription: "Miss Anthony. From the ladies of Wyoming, who love and revere you. Many happy returns of the day."

The movement continued to use the symbol of the stars throughout the suffrage struggle. The next star was added in 1910 when Washington State adopted a constitutional amendment on suffrage. In 1911, the great state of California added its star to the flag. The next year, 1912, Oregon, Kansas and Arizona were added. Two years passed before the next stars, Montana and Nevada, were added. It took five more years before the star of New York could be added in 1917.



Then in 1918, Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma were added to the flag. The magic number remained 36 stars, the number of states needed to pass the 19th amendment to the US Constitution. Following the end of World War I, the state legislatures passed the needed resolution that ratified the 19th amendment.

When the 36th state passed ratification, Alice Paul, leader of the radical wing of the movement unfurled the "Ratification Flag" with 36 stars in Washington, D.C.

Individual states like Ohio and Oklahoma used the symbol to their advantage by issuing buttons which did not necessarily say suffrage but would play on the patriotism of the state residents. In Ohio the "Ohio Next" button refers to the "next star" on the flag. In Oklahoma, where the suffrage question was on the ballot at the same time as the question of statehood, a button which said "Oklahoma The Next Star" was probably also used by the movement to support its cause.

With the understanding of the significance of the stars we can now understand that their presence was not simply for artistic value but a reminder of where they were in regards to states which had secured suffrage, and also how far they had to go to secure suffrage for all women in the United States.

Large rubber ink stamp (2-1/2" x 9-1/2") Shown reduced.

The Origin of the Clarion Design

By Kenneth Florey

What is probably the most essential and desirable of all designs for suffrage buttons and banners is that of the clarion figure, which graces the *Clarion* newsletter cover of APIC's Woman Suffrage Chapter.

What many collectors do not realize, however, is that the design is ultimately English, and that it had a fascinating history before being borrowed by Harriot Stanton Blatch for the Women's Political Union. The figure was the creation of Caroline Watts, and was originally titled "The Bugler Girl." It was first published by the Artists' Suffrage League to advertise a procession by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies that took place on June 13, 1908. The Artists' Suffrage League in an article in the Manchester Guardian explained the symbolism of the image was that "the Amazon who stands on the battlements of the fort may be said to be heralding the new day of which the sun is just seen rising."

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) was formally constituted in England on October 14, 1897. The intent was to bring together under one organization the various district organizations that had made women's suffrage their sole object in Parliamentary elections. Its official colors were red, green, and white, which were reflected in the 1908 Bugler Girl poster. While not as well known today, NUWSS actually had more members than the Women's Social and Political Union, founded in part by Emmeline Pankhurst. Although NUWSS and the WSPU did share a common purpose and occasionally worked together, there was generally distrust and sometimes acrimony between the two suffrage societies. NUWSS was the more conservative of the two groups, and its leadership believed that the militant acts of Pankhurst's followers were hurting not helping the cause of woman's suffrage.

The Artists' Suffrage League, of which Caroline Watts was a member, was formed in January of 1907 to assist the NUWSS in a demonstration in that year that was later termed the "Mud March." The league consisted of a group of professional women artists who utilized their talents for the NUWSS by designing posters, post cards, and other ephemera. Unlike the members of a comparable group, the Suffrage Atelier, league artists never received any income from the sale of their works.

Watt's design, while used for several other NUWSS events, was not without its controversy within the organization. The image of the militant woman was more in keeping with the activities and philosophy of Pankhurst's WSPU than that of the non-confrontational NUWSS, and several officers of the NUWSS were inclined to repress the design. In 1913, Maud Royden, the editor of the NUWSS's official paper, the Common Cause, decided to abandon the image for that very reason, but she was overruled by the governing council of the organization.

10 Star Pennant

10 Star

5 Star

6 Star

10 Star

10 Star

11 Star

12 Star

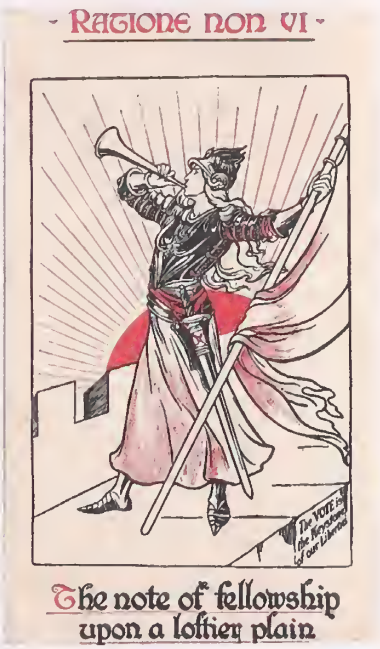
In the November 1913 issue of the *Common Cause*, the Council glossed Watt's design with a quotation from one of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's poems, "Now press the clarion to thy woman's lip," resulting in another term for the image, that of the clarion figure. One Council member, sensitive to the organization's stance against militant acts, called the image instead a reflection of "constitutional militancy." She further went on to argue: "Does she represent Joan of Arc? No—except as far as Joan of Arc herself embodies for women the spirit of courage and love. . . Our Bugler Girl carries her bugle and her banner; her sword is sheathed by her side; it is there, but not drawn, and if it were drawn, it would not be the sword of the flesh, but of the spirit. For ours is not a warfare against men, but against evil; a war in which women and men fight together . . .We are militant in the sense that the Christian Church is militant. . . We are against wrong, but we inflict none."

When Harriot Stanton Blatch, the daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, returned to the United States in 1902 from England after approximately a twenty-year absence, she felt the need to reinvigorate the American suffrage movement, which appeared to many to have become tired after a lack of major successes. She formed in 1907 the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, which later became the Women's Political Union, an organization that merged with Alice Paul's Congressional Union in 1915. Although no longer in England, Blatch followed the activities of various suffrage organizations in that country with considerable interest and was impressed especially by those that were confrontational. Her WPU was based largely on Emmeline Pankhurst's WSPU, modifying not only its name in her own organization, but borrowing its official colors of purple, green, and white, and one of its slogans, "Deeds Not Words." Yet she saw in the iconography of Pankhurst's rival organization, the NUWSS, a figure that she had to adopt, that of Caroline Watt's Bugler Girl. Watt's image was modified, her colors changed from red, green, and white to purple, green, and white, and was placed not only on posters, but on at least six different celluloid buttons, as well as on stationery and post cards. The Bugler Girl or the Clarion even appeared on the front cover of a piece of sheet music entitled "Marching on to Victory," by Schuyler Greene and Otto Motzan.

In adapting the Clarion figure, Blatch was not at all apprehensive about the militancy that the image portended. Rather, it was in keeping with her own philosophy, a philosophy that at times was at odds with the more traditional National American Woman Suffrage Association. And while American collectors tend to see the Clarion figure as one of their country's own, it is important to realize that it is one of a series of icons that was borrowed from the English movement and also a pivotal piece in the bridge of women's rights between the two countries.

Paper tag

Sheet music



Postcard

Poster

Postcard

Pennants

Poster

Postcard

Poster

Celebrating 25 years of the Woman Suffrage and Political Issues Chapter of the A.P.I.C.

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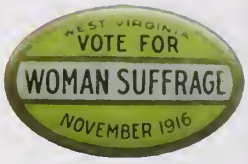
1916: A New Party and a New Plan

By Robert Cooney



The election year of 1916 marked the first time that four million women in the eleven equal suffrage states plus Illinois could help choose the next president of the United States. In addition, the entire House and one-third of the Senate were up for election. New energy and organization marked the state-oriented National American Woman Suffrage Association, and a heightened vitality and spirit characterized the Congressional Union in the capital.

One of Carrie Chapman Catt's first major moves as NAWSA president in early 1916 was to pressure the Democratic and Republican parties to include woman suffrage in their platforms. She and other NAWSA officers also traveled to the non-suffrage states to strengthen organizations and encourage cooperation with national, headquarters. Three more referendum campaigns were underway in Iowa, West Virginia, and South Dakota.

The CU, expanding nationally, laid plans to form an entirely new political party which would have as its sole purpose suffrage for women. Continuing its strategy of opposing Democrats as the "party in power," the CU, much to NAWSA's chagrin, focused public attention on how the Democrats continued to block progress on the Federal amendment. Despite persistent opposition and the growing specter of war, members of both suffrage organizations continued working to make women's enfranchisement a pressing political issue which neither party could afford to ignore.

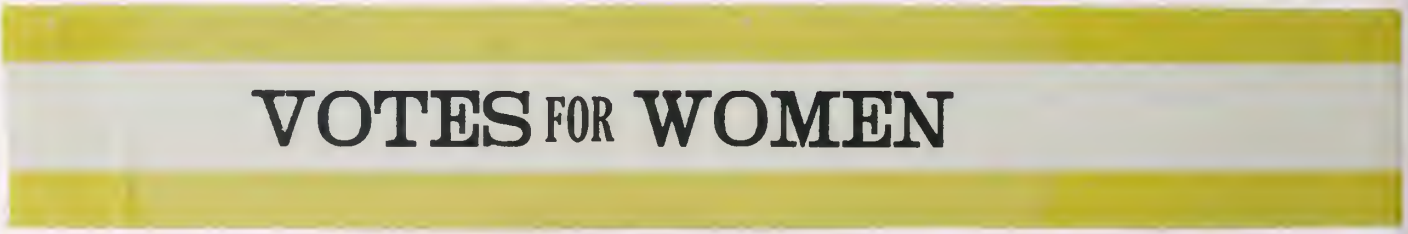
Believing that suffragists' strength lay with enfranchised women of the western states, Alice Paul proposed that the Congressional Union help voting women organize an independent political party with the potential of becoming a determining factor in the upcoming election.

To recruit delegates for the new party, the CU sent two dozen envoys west in early April 1916 aboard a gaily decorated railroad car they named "The Suffrage Special." The envoys included Lucy Burns, Harriot Blatch (now "National Political Chairman"), Alva Belmont, Abby Scott Baker, and other experienced and persuasive speakers. During the well-organized four week tour the women addressed large and enthusiastic crowds in many of the principal cities and created considerable interest in a new political party.

Throughout the year the CU kept drawing politicians' attention to the potential power of the four million women voters in the equal suffrage states. Alice Paul had hoped that the very suggestion of women voting as a block would force action by politicians in the capital, but more was needed.

The Congressional Union had worked for two years to expand nationally and by April 1916 had branches in 26 states. With greater resources following the merger with Harriot Blatch's Women's Political Union, Alice Paul and the CU made bolder plans.

On May 11, after the four week tour by The Suffrage Special, western women voters gathered for a convention in Salt Lake City, Utah. There they selected delegates to a June convention in Chicago to form the new political party. They also chose three women to act as "emissaries" to politicians and supporters in the east. Returning on The Suffrage Special, the emissaries received a triumphal welcome in Washington D.C. on May 16. A beautiful procession of white-clad suffragists wearing purple, white, and gold sashes and carrying tricolor flags accompanied the representatives to the Capitol. The Senate recessed and nearly 100 congressmen heard the women voters' message and the repeated demand for the Federal amendment.



Sash

A grueling schedule drove several suffrage organizers to exhaustion during the Congressional Union's 1916 campaign in the West, but their message was heard by a substantial number of voters. Angry Democrats and hostile audiences, however, made the going rough in some areas. The women also faced accusations of being "fronts" for the Republicans.

Democrats in Arizona hired messenger boys to "counter-picket" and in Denver Elsie Hill was arrested for distributing "anti-Democratic" literature. The suffragists were pressured to withdraw but Alice Paul remained steadfast. "We must make this such an important thing in national elections that the Democrats will not want to meet it again."

Holding the majority party, the "party in power," responsible for legislative progress continued to be one of the most divisive issues separating NAWSA and the CU. NAWSA members were particularly outraged when long-standing allies were targeted for defeat just because they were Democrats. But the CU pointed out that any man would still have to represent his pro-suffrage constituents.

While the strategy's merits were clear to politically-minded women like Harriot Blatch, Maud Younger, and Alice Paul, it made few friends among mainstream suffragists. Staunch opponents included Alice Stone Blackwell, Carrie Catt, and Nevada suffragist Bird Wilson who remarked, "It may be politics, but I don't think it's good politics."

Much to their surprise, many western Democrats who thought that "suffrage wasn't an issue" in the 1916 campaign were forced by Congressional Union and Woman's Party activists to repeatedly explain and defend their party's position. Democratic loyalists, both male and female, deeply resented the "interference" of the suffragists and tried to counter their accusations with literature and speakers who emphasized Wilson's support of suffrage on a state-by-state basis.

Towards the end of the close contest, resentments boiled over into violence. On October 19, one hundred members of the Woman's Party staged a silent protest outside the Chicago auditorium where President Wilson was making a speech. A mob of men gathered and suddenly attacked the women, knocking several down, tearing their banners and clothing, seizing their signs and trampling them in what newspapers the next day called a "near riot."

Alice Paul condemned "the violent attack by Democrats" and chimed that it showed "the seriousness with which they take our campaign." The violence further publicized the suffragists' efforts and caused many to join the new Woman's Party.

The climax of the drive came at a mass rally on November 5, just before the election, when Harriot Blatch called up a series of twelve mass meetings by long distance telephone from the stage of Chicago's Blackstone Theater and issued a final appeal to western voters.

The full effect of the suffragists' campaign will never be known, but Wilson won only 57 electoral votes from suffrage states as opposed to 69 in 1912. The Woman's Party claimed success since suffrage had been forcefully raised as an issue in the election, politicians had taken note, and women voters had gained new respect as a political force. "Again many women had stood together on this issue;" observed Doris Stevens, "and put woman suffrage first."

Sash

Campaigning against the Democratic Party, the eloquent and beautiful Inez Milholland Boissevain acted as "flying envoy" to tie together the Congressional Union's efforts in the twelve states where women could vote for president. Despite being in poor health, the thirty-year-old attorney kept up a grueling pace, speaking in eight states in three weeks during her whirlwind tour. Late in October 1916 she collapsed on a Los Angeles stage after reportedly asking one last time, "President Wilson, how long must women wait for liberty?"

The Los Angeles Times reported, "It was a dramatic scene. A moment before, this remarkable woman, the charms of whose personality have not been exaggerated, held the great audience with the fire and emotion of her oratory. In the middle of an intense sentence she crumpled up like a wilted white rose and lay stark upon the platform, while one of those eloquent silences befell the expectant crowd."

Suffering from exhaustion and undiagnosed anemia, Boissevain lay ill for a month and then died on November 25. Her sacrifice, *The Suffragist* editorialized, "illustrates the waste of life and power that the cruel and bigoted opposition to the political freedom of women is costing the nation. With the nation in sore need of women's help, this long struggle for the power to help it is arousing the deepest resentment and indignation in every independent woman throughout the country." Inez Milholland Boissevain's death "has fanned that resentment into a burning flame."

Suffragists waged three state campaigns in 1916, the first coming to a vote in Iowa at a special election on June 5, 1916. After the legislature placed the measure on the ballot, Iowa activists waged a vigorous campaign, sending speakers and automobile tours across the state. The Iowa Equal Suffrage Association under president Flora Dunlap organized in every one of the ninety counties and an active Men's League grew to include branches in forty cities. Carrie Catt gave six weeks of her time and workers distributed over five million circulars. Anti-suffragists countered with literature and speakers of their own, particularly in the final weeks. Election results were delayed for several days before it was announced that the measure had been defeated by just over 10,000 votes, 173,024 to 162,683. Supporters more than suspected foul play but realized that it would be futile to contest the vote. Instead they began preparing for another campaign.

The Iowa defeat in June was a discouraging reminder of the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of the state-by-state route to suffrage. Still, two more state campaigns were focused on the November 7, 1916 election.

After the West Virginia legislature placed the measure on the ballot, a ten month drive was led by Lenna Lowe Yost, president of the state Equal Suffrage Association. The campaign received considerable aid from NAWSA as well as from other states, and welcomed speakers including Desha Breckinridge from Kentucky, Pattie Ruffner Jacobs from Alabama, and Minnie Fisher Cunningham from Texas. Opponents played up racial anxieties and resentment over prohibition, which had passed the previous year, and the suffrage measure was overwhelmingly defeated by a vote of 161,607 to 63,540.

Pencils 7-1/2" - Shown reduced.

In South Dakota the ongoing drive for enfranchisement was led again by Mary Shields Pyle, president of the state association. Suffragists covered the state in a familiar but exhausting pattern trying to convince enough men of the justice of their demand. NAWSA provided substantial assistance which helped counter the open campaign waged by opponents. The result was a close contest but the measure was defeated for a fifth time, 58,350 to 53,432, by less than 5,000 votes. Heartened by the close race, South Dakota suffragists prepared for one more campaign. Similarly, women in other unenfranchised states continued their long efforts.

The most unexpected result of the 1916 contest, however, was the election of the first woman to Congress in U.S. history. She was suffragist Jeannette Rankin from Montana. Rankin had run a well-organized campaign that capitalized on her visibility and on women's support just two years after they had won suffrage in the state. The former NAWSA organizer was suddenly thrust into the national spotlight.

The war was more a deciding factor in the election than suffrage, but the well-publicized campaign against Democrats in the west succeeded in sending chills through many politicians in Washington D.C. who became increasingly concerned about the potential power of organized women voters.

1916: Taking the Republicans by Storm in Chicago

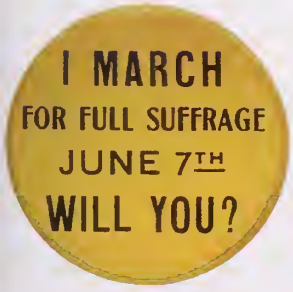
Following the founding convention for the Woman's Party, thousands of members of NAWSA gathered in Chicago to demonstrate at the Republican Convention for a platform plank endorsing woman suffrage. NAWSA organizers planned an elaborate parade to impress delegates and for months had been recruiting women to march.

On Wednesday afternoon, June 7, 1916, in a cold, pelting rain, more than 5,500 suffragists paraded down Michigan Avenue led by two "GOP" elephants, Jennie and her nine-month-old son Chinchin, wearing rubber blankets. Marchers were organized by state, club, ward, and precinct. Many wore yellow raincoats because of the heavy downpour. The parade also included two dozen marching bands, the Women's Liberty Bell from Pennsylvania, and a large wooden "Suffrage Plank" as a "gentle hint."

High and dry in their hotel rooms, delegates from around the country looked down on the hour-long parade of thousands of women marching in the rain.

Calling it a "show of strength as well as a plea for justice," Mary Peck noted that there was also something profoundly moving about the spectacle, "Many a man turned away from it with a lump in his throat and shame in his heart."

The successful demonstration culminated when wave after wave of wet but triumphant marchers reached the convention hall. There they dramatically burst into a meeting of the Resolutions Committee just as an antisuffrage speaker was claiming that women did not want to vote. The speaker looked up aghast, quickly finished, and then fled as exuberant paraders filled the room.



Mirror

1916: Theatrical Tactics Bring Suffrage Message to Democrats

A week after the parade in Chicago, suffragists gathered in St. Louis, Missouri, to pressure the Democratic National Convention to adopt a suffrage plank as well. NAWSA staged a demonstration for the Democrats that The Woman Voter called "the most beautiful of any ever made by suffragists."

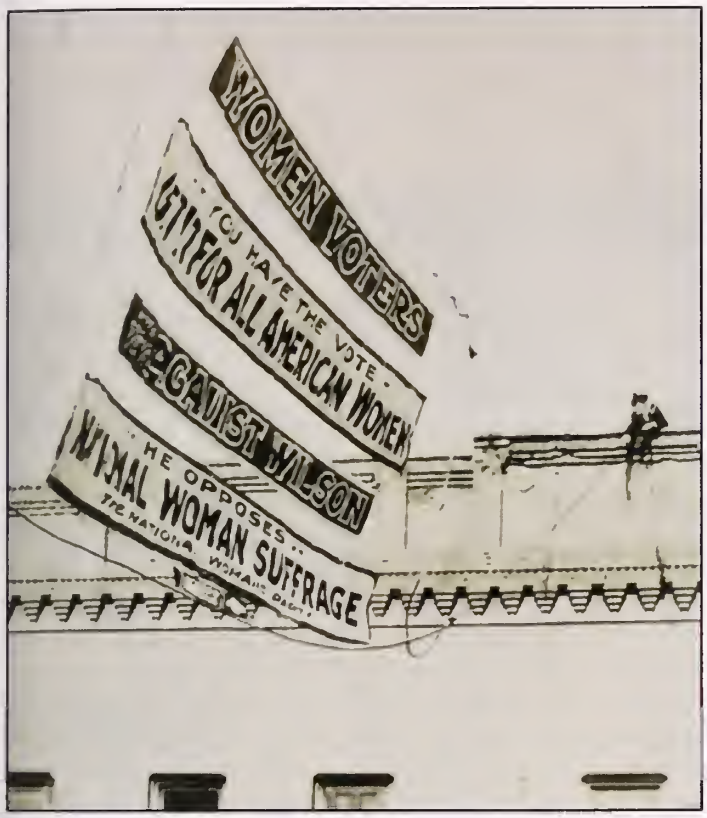
On June 14, the opening day of the convention, Democratic delegates were greeted by a remarkable protest, a "walk-less parade" called The Golden Lane, devised by state publicity chair Emily Newell Blair. 8,000 suffragists of all ages, dressed in white with gold sashes and carrying yellow Votes for Women parasols, stood side-by-side along the curb on both sides of the main thoroughfare for nearly a mile. For two hours they formed a brilliant but silent lane through which the delegates had to pass to get to the Convention Center.

The Democrats, like the Republicans, refused to back the Federal amendment and instead passed a plank that endorsed suffrage by state means only. Still, these conditional endorsements put both parties on record for the first time as supporting votes for women. The press regarded the Democratic plank as a great achievement for the suffrage forces, and the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* even took to verse:

> Citizen and Democrat, Marching down the Golden Lane
> 'Neath the eyes of Mrs. Catt, Marching down the Golden Lane,
> Marching out to nominate Wilson for their candidate -
> How the Democrats did hate Marching down the Golden Lane!

Concerned about the upcoming election and the publicity-generating activity of the new Woman's Party, Carrie Catt called an Emergency Convention of NAWSA for early September and invited both presidential candidates to address the Atlantic City meeting. Republican Charles Evans Hughes, who announced that he backed the Federal amendment, sent his regrets but President Woodrow Wilson accepted.

Painted under glass.


WOMEN VOTERS
YOU HAVE THE VOTE
GIT FOR ALL AMERICAN WOMEN
AGAINST WILSON
HE OPPOSES
NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY


IT MEANS
FREEDOM
for WOMEN
TO VOTE
AGAINST
THE PARTY
THIS DONKEY
REPRESENTS.


WOMEN VOTERS
VOTE AGAINST
WILSON·ASHURST·HAYDEN
NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY
THEIR PARTY OPPOSES NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Images of the Woman's Suffrage Movement

By William Kirsner

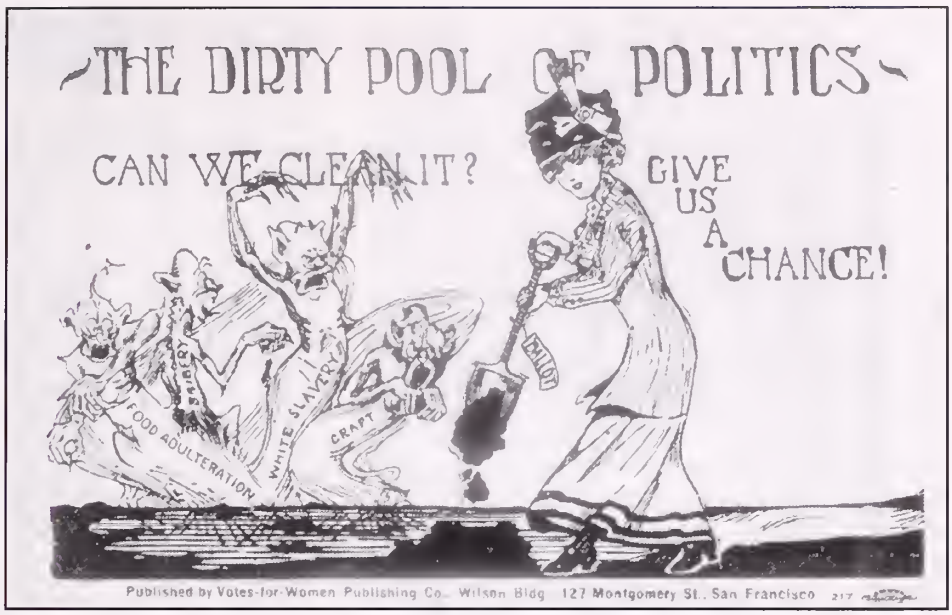
The ephemera that has survived from the Woman's Suffrage Movement and those fighting against suffrage, buttons, ribbons, postcards, posters and other similar objects, contain the images and slogans of those movements. Both the supporters and opponents of suffrage expressed their hopes and fears in the objects they produced and used. The images on these artifacts reflect a pictoral dichotomy. The women's suffragist movement presented two visually different images of themselves and their present and future goals. Although there were two types of images used, both convey the same message: that the vote was a means to make women better in their already established sphere of housewife and mother. The anti-suffrage postcards and buttons attempted to provide a glimpse into a future in which women had the right to vote. They pictorialized a world in which there had been a revolution that changed the traditional roles of men and women.

In one group of items, suffragists were characterized as lovely flowing women with outstretched arms. This imagery, frequently using images of an idyllic mother, was used to combat the fears that with the vote, women would leave their traditional role as mother and housewife. One postcard pictures a motherly figure guiding her ship through the dangerous straights lined with "sweated labour" and "white slave traffic." "The Scylla and Charybois of the Working Women" presented a real threat to the woman in the boat, yet, she was given no visual means of protection for herself, and in turn, her family and home were at risk.

The suffragists presented the vote as the protection needed to assure women security in their lives. "The Dirty Pool of Politics" postcard demonstrated how women, with the right to vote, which is depicted as a shovel labeled "Ballot," could clean up the graft, white slavery, bribery, and food adulteration which existed in American Society. Although the dress of the woman had changed, she was no longer an idyllic mother, she was now able to protect her family with the vote. The postcard presented the argument that society had changed and that a woman could no longer adequately provide a secure home for her family without the vote. Jane Addams said in 1909 that:

". . . If the street is not cleaned by the city authorities no amount of private sweeping will keep the tenement free from grime; if the garbage is not properly collected and destroyed a tenement house mother may see her children sicken and die of diseases from which she alone is powerless to shield them, although her tenderness and devotion are unbounded. . . If women would effectively continue their old avocations they must take part in the slow upbuilding of that code of legislation which is alone sufficient to protect the home from the dangers incident to modern life."

It was with the ballot that women would be able to carry out their duties to their homes and families. The suffragist postcard is visually pointing out that with the right to vote, women would more effectively solve the problems facing their homes.



There are very few pieces of memorabilia in which the pro-suffragist movement portrays the vote as a means to break free from oppression. One rare button in the Smithsonian does depict a woman breaking free. Although these rare pins may be an adequate representation of the true spirit of the National Woman's Party, the mass production of items which expressed this sentiment would work against their cause. Suffragists "correctly perceived that demanding the vote to achieve 'equality' would never bring them their desired goal. Only if the drive were couched in terms of making the vote a necessary tool for carrying out competently woman's role in her 'proper sphere' would suffrage become a reality." Many men feared that women were interested in taking over traditionally male roles in society. Thus, material that expressed a break from the old roles could by viewed by men as supporting a perceived threat to their established role in society.

The suffragists were put in the position of justifying their goals as a means to protect their homes and not as a way of replacing the male as legislator. The issue of white slavery, for instance, was used to demonstrate the threats to the home. When the women cleaned up the specter of prostitution, they would be fulfilling their role as protector.

"Frances Willard extended her campaign against liquor to encompass prostitution because she recognized that men's right to transmit venereal disease to their wives, made a mockery of women's alleged ascendancy in the home. Prostitution, then, represented not only a physical threat of infection but also a man's license, because of a sexual double standard, to inflict that threat on his wife . . ." The banner with the words "Votes for Women" perhaps best depicts the image that women were trying to get out to the public. The poster shows a lovely motherly figure in a flowing gown with her arms outstretched toward the U.S. Capitol. There is a sun rising, perhaps symbolizing the dawn of a new progressive era upon the nation and its legislation. This is all conveyed in a manner which poses no threat to the male role in society.

Vote No On Suffrage

The antisuffragists used postcards and buttons as a tool to help defeat the suffragist movement by establishing or enforcing certain stereotypes. There were two common types of imagery used, both of which depicted a role reversal in which men seemed to lose power as the head of household. In many postcards, "the man is left at home alone to care for his child while the wife goes out. Where the wife is going is answered in the postcard entitled "Where, Oh where is my wandering wife tonight?" The question is answered in the drawing of women at a meeting whose purpose is stated as "Let the women run the Government."

Similarly, a cartoon postcard depicts a father at home with a crying child on election day while his wife goes to vote in all her finery.

The antisuffragists were expressing their fear that the result of the ballot being given to women was that men would be forced to stay at home to care for the children while women took control of the government.

The question as to "What Will Men Wear When Women Wear [the pants]" expresses the real fear of a shift in the male and female roles in society. This fear was also expressed in a button which reads, with miniature pants attached, "Who shall wear them, you or I." The antisuffragists evidentially believed that it was not possible for both men and women to wear the pants in the family. It was one group or the other, and in the mind of the antisuffragists, the vote would radically change the established male position.

The suffragists attempted to discourage this viewpoint through their paraphernalia. The NAWSA banner carried in a 1916 parade in Chicago before the Republican convention read "For the Safety of the Nation/To the Women Give the Vote/For the hand that Rocks the Cradle/Will Never Rock the Boat!" Despite this statement from the Suffragists, the antisuffragists came back on a postcard with unflattering depictions of a suffragette shouting "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world and it is WE who rock the cradle."

Although it is impossible to measure the effects that these positive and negative representations had on the eventual outcome, both sides found them useful enough to produce a plethora of material to disseminate their viewpoints. The suffragists and the antisuffragists thus used these objects as a form to disseminate images that reflected their hopes and fears about the future

While the suffrage movement was ultimately successful, the use of their idealized images came at a cost. The use of idyllic images of women as mothers and home bodies may have been partially responsible for the perpetuation of that image. Women got the vote, and then as they promised in their images, to a large degree, retreated back into the home, to wait until the next generation would again reexamine the image and role of women in society.

Postcards shown reduced.

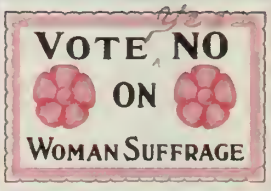
Razor Blade cover.

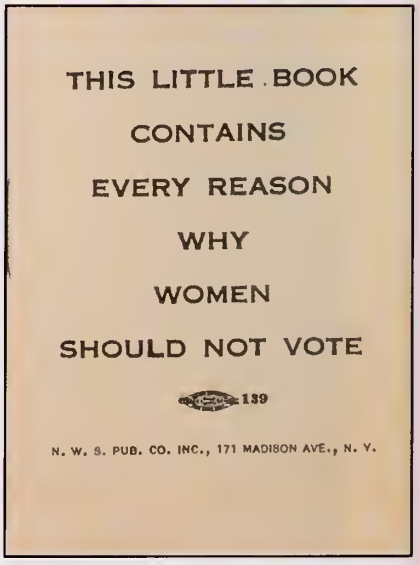
Referencing Amelia Bloomer and women wearing pants.

These four pieces come in both color and black and white.

Enamel

Celluloid





Binding Up The Wounds - Suffragists In World War I

When the United States entered World War I the United States Army Nurse Corps had a grand total of 400 nurses, while the Navy had 150. When the war ended 21,480 nurses served with the Army Nurse Corps and 1,500 in the Navy. Yet, even before the United States entered the war, the need for nurses was quite demanding from our future allies. France had traditionally relied on nuns to serve the wounded. However, quarrels between church and state left the military almost completely without nurses at the outbreak of hostilities. The same was true for Serbia and Russia. To fill the void nurses from the United States and Great Britain volunteered for front line duty.

Throughout the war they served with honor. Some were wounded. They fought all the hardships that the men in the trenches fought - fatigue, dirt and disease. Nurses were trained to change the bandages of wounded soldiers twice a day. The nurses, some as young as 21, endured working in so-called "hospitals" without proper supplies or sanitary facilities. To help the war effort, American Suffragists and British Suffragettes raised funds and sent nurses and hospital supplies to Europe. The American units were the "Women's Oversea Hospitals, U.S.A." The British units were operated as the Scottish Women's Hospitals.

At the 1917 National Suffrage Association Convention the organization voted to support a hospital unit in France and undertook to raise $125,000 for its maintenance for one year. Since the US Government did not accept women in its Medical Reserve Corps, the unit was offered to the French Government. The first volunteers sailed on February 17, 1918 and before they could set up shop behind the lines were instructed to proceed to the war zone. Half of the unit was then sent to the south of France to aid refugees. Due to these extraordinary women, another unit was formed to organize a 300-bed hospital for gas cases. The hospital, established in Lorraine, cared for 19,037 cases in three months.

With the armistice signed, these women stayed on to help repatriate Allied prisoners of war in Germany. A grand total of seventy-four women served in France. Three obtained the Croix de Guerre and two were decorated with the Medaille d'Honneur. A total of $178,000 had been raised and helped purchase a number of trucks and ambulances. These valiant women continued to work in France and Germany until September 1, 1919. On that day the hospital at Rheims and all its equipment was turned over to the American Fund for French Wounded. The equipment at the smaller hospitals was turned over to the French Government.

When Dr. Caroline Finley returned to the US, she was honored by the Prince of Wales, who conferred on her the Order of the British Empire in recognition of her work near Metz, where British prisoners were cared for on their arrival from Germany.

As women aided the war effort they realized that they would not have to abandon the cause of suffrage until the end of the war. Many desks at the state headquarters may have been empty because of this commitment but the spirit of full suffrage remained with the volunteers. Most of the volunteers believed that by serving their country during war they were also serving their cause and proved that they could be as brave as any man and serve in any stricken region in the world. They were right.


British charity flags.

Harriet May Mills (1857-1935)

By Hilda R. Watrous

Harriet May Mills, born in Syracuse, NY in 1857, was a prominent leader in the struggle for political equality for women, both in New York State, where she helped to build one of the largest suffrage organizations in the country; and nationally. A tireless traveler and public speaker in support of the enfranchisement of women, she traveled and organized all over New York State, and was called to help lead suffrage campaigns in California, Michigan, Ohio and other states. She testified before Congress and frequently addressed national suffrage conventions. Both a gifted speaker and an effective organizer, Mills was a friend and respected associate of the leading suffragists of the day - Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Carrie Chapman Catt and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Harriet May Mills came from a family of prominent abolitionists, and she graduated from Cornell University, having entered the school just two years after it first opened its doors to women. Mills never married, dedicating her life to the cause of suffrage and earning an independent living first as a teacher, then as a paid statewide organizer and finally in appointed positions she received in recognition of her work on behalf of the New York Democratic Party.

Following the ratification in 1920 of the 19th amendment to the Constitution extending the vote to women, Harriet May Mills turned her considerable political experience and organizing energies to the need to bring women into the mainstream of American political life. That year she was herself a candidate for statewide elective office, running for secretary of state on an unsuccessful ticket with Alfred E. Smith, candidate for reelection as governor. She continued to be active in the Democratic Party, supporting Smith when he successfully campaigned for governor in 1922 and in later years, and for the presidency in 1924.

She became acquainted with Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, and she and Eleanor worked together in state party politics. In 1928 Mills accompanied Franklin while he toured the state campaigning for governor, joining him on the speakers' platform particularly to address women voters. At the age of 75, she was a member of the Electoral College that sent Franklin D. Roosevelt to the White House in 1933, and an honored guest at his inauguration.

She also found time to involve herself in other civic and political causes of her day. In 1919 she had founded the Onondaga County Women's Democratic Club, the first such organization in the state; and served as its president for 16 years. In 1923, she was appointed the first female State Hospital Commissioner, concerning herself primarily with the problems of the mentally ill. Mills died in Syracuse on May 16, 1935, after a period of illness.

This article, is a reprint from the Harriet May Mills Website. Additional information on the Harriet May Mills House, the original 18 page biography, written by Hilda R Watrous, etc. can be found on : www.harrietmaymills.org

Badges worn by Harriet May Mills.

MISS HARRIET MAY MILLS

Ex-President New York State Woman Suffrage Association

WILL SPEAK

FOR

VOTES FOR WOMEN

AT

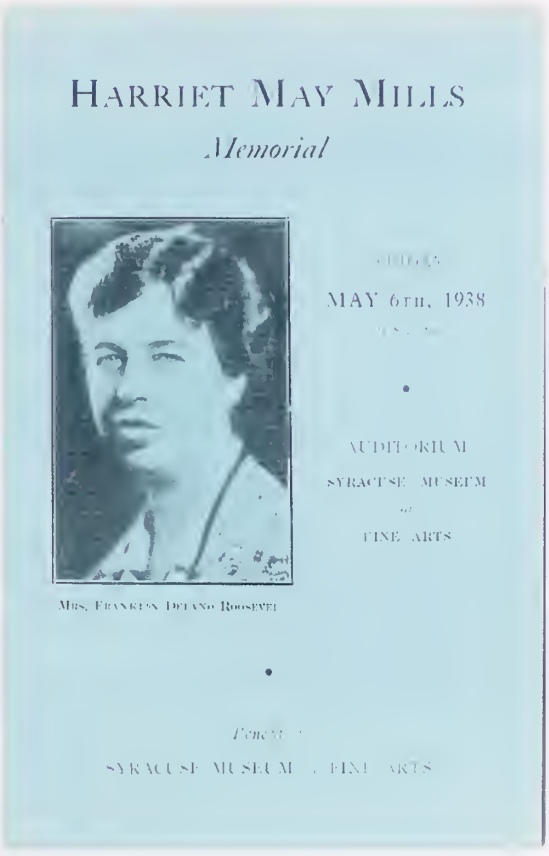
OWASCO

SATURDAY, JUNE 19

AT 8 P. M.

AT ODD FELLOWS HALL

EVERYBODY WELCOME



HARRIET MAY MILLS

Memorial

MRS. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

MAY 6TH, 1938

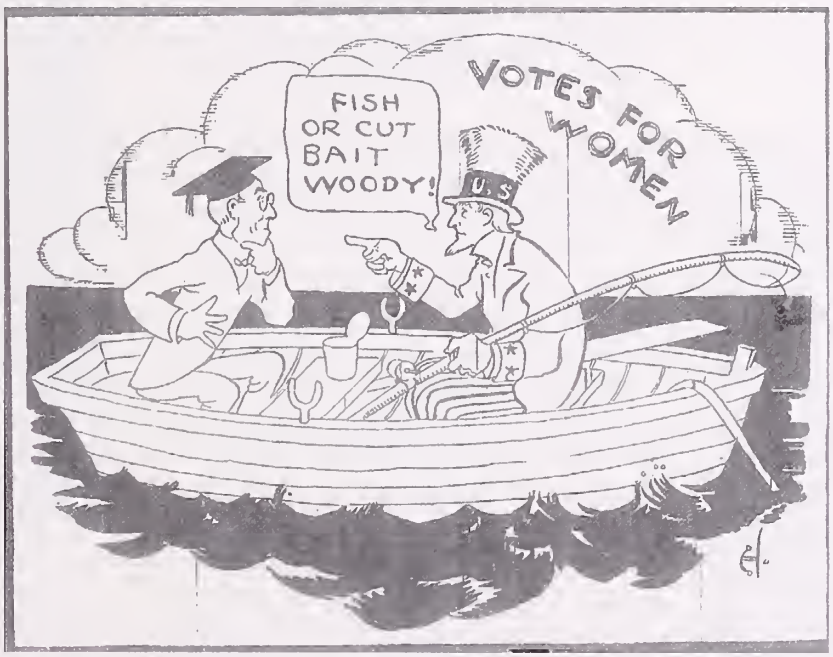
AUDITORIUM

SYRACUSE MUSEUM

OF

FINE ARTS

SYRACUSE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS



Original pen & ink drawing.

Who's Who in Women's Suffrage

Susan B. Anthony

Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906). While Elizabeth Cady Stanton functioned as the philosophical soul of the suffrage movement, Anthony was its tactical leader. Anthony often elevated Stanton to the role as president of suffrage organizations, knowing Stanton's powerful persuasive abilities would better serve the cause. Thus, Anthony was often the vice-president or secretary to Stanton's presidency, not assuming the presidential role herself until 1892 when she assumed the presidency of NAWSA after Stanton's retirement. Her career as spokesperson and leader of the women's rights movement spanned 56 years. Originally, she spoke to temperance issues but eventually began mobilizing women to rally on their own behalf. Along with Stanton, Matilda Joslyn Gage and Ida Harper, she published 4 volumes of The History of Woman Suffrage. One of her most powerful symbolic actions occurred in 1872 when she voted in the national elections. During her 1873 so-called trial, after she was found guilty, she responded to the judge's question if she had anything to say prior to sentencing: "In your ordered verdict of guilty you have trampled under foot every vital principle of our government. My natural rights, my civil rights, my political rights, my judicial rights, are all alike ignored. Robbed of the fundamental privilege of citizenship, I am degraded from the status of a citizen to that of a subject; and not only myself individually but all of my sex are, by your honor's verdict, doomed to political subjection under this so-called Republican government."

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902). Stanton, along with Anthony, functioned as the backbone of the suffrage movement for decades. She summarized her philosophical foundation for the movement, and generally for the ideal of liberal citizenship, in her 1892 farewell address to the movement, "The Solitude of Self." Originally working in the temperance and abolition movements, she felt the compulsion to work for women's rights when in 1840 the World Anti-Slavery society refused to seat women delegates at its London meeting. There, she and Lucretia Coffin Mott began planning the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, at which the Declaration of Sentiments (which she authored with 4 other women) was read, cataloguing women's grievances. She was a founder and president of NWSA (1869-1890), president of the merged NAWSA (1890-1892) and was the first woman to run for the US Congress, in 1866. In her 1892 "Solitude of Self" speech, she makes clear women's need for independence: "Whatever the theories may be of woman's dependence on man, in the supreme moments of her life, he cannot bear her burdens. Alone she goes to the gates of death to give life to every man that is born into the world; no one can share her fears, no one can mitigate her pangs; and if her sorrow is greater than she can bear, alone she passes beyond the gates into the vast unknown."

Carrie Chapman Catt (1859-1947) Carrie Clinton Lane trained as a teacher, briefly studied law, and graduated from Iowa State College. She married newspaper editor and publisher Leo Chapman, but in 1885, just after moving to California, he died, leaving his new wife to make her own way. She soon joined the woman suffrage movement as a lecturer, moved back to Iowa where joined the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association, and in 1890 was a delegate at the newly formed National American Woman Suffrage Association. In 1890 she married wealthy engineer George W. Catt, who supported her efforts in support of woman's suffrage. Her effective organizing work brought her quickly into the inner circles of the suffrage movement. Carrie Chapman Catt became head of field organizing for the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1895 and in 1900, having earned the trust of the leaders of that organization, including Susan B. Anthony, was elected to succeed Anthony as President. Four years later Catt resigned the presidency to care for her husband, who died in 1905. Rev. Anna Shaw then served as NAWSA president. Carrie Chapman Catt was a founder and president of the International Woman Suffrage Association, serving from 1904 to 1923 and was until her death its honorary president. In 1915 Catt was re-elected to the presidency of the NAWSA, and led the organization in fighting for suffrage laws at both the state and federal level. She opposed the efforts of the newly-active Alice Paul to hold Democrats in office responsible for the failure of woman suffrage laws, and to work only at the federal level for a constitutional amendment. This split resulted in Paul's faction leaving the NAWSA and forming the Congressional Union, later the Woman's Party. Her leadership was key in the final passage of the 19th Amendment in 1920: without the state reforms -- an increased number of states in which women could vote in primary elections and regular elections -- the 1920 victory could not have been won.

Carrie Chapman Catt was also one of the founders of the Women's Peace Party during World War I, and helped to organize the League of Women Voters after the passage of the 19th Amendment.

Alice Paul (1885-1977) Alice Paul, raised as a Quaker, attended Swarthmore College, and the New York School of Social Work. Paul left for England in 1906 to continue her studies. She returned to get her Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania (1912).

In England, Alice Paul took part in more radical protests for woman suffrage with Emmeline Pankhurst, including participating in the hunger strikes. She brought back this sense of militancy, and back in the U.S. she organized protests and rallies and ended up imprisoned three times.

Alice Paul was chair of the congressional committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) while still in her mid-twenties, but a year later (1913) Paul and others withdrew from the NAWSA to form the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. This organization evolved into the National Woman's Party in 1917.

Despite the often strong acrimony between the National Woman's Party and the National American Woman Suffrage Association, it's probably fair to say (in retrospect) that the two groups' tactics complemented each other: the NAWSA's taking more deliberate action to win suffrage in elections meant that more politicians at the federal level had a stake in keeping women voters happy, and the NWP's militant stands kept the issue at the forefront of the political world.

Inez Milholland (Boissevain) (1886-1916) remains famous as the beautiful Joan of Arc-like symbol of the suffrage movement. She appeared dramatically astride a white horse leading more than 8,000 marchers at the head of the March 3, 1913, suffrage parade held the day before Woodrow Wilson's presidential inauguration in Washington, D.C. In 1916, she went on a tour in the West, speaking for women's rights.

During a speech in Los Angeles that September she suddenly collapsed. Ten weeks later, on November 25, 1916, she died at the age of 30. Her last public words were, "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?" She was known as the martyr of the woman's suffrage movement.

Vida Milholland, (1888-?) New York City, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John E. Milholland and sister of Inez Milholland Boissevain. She was a student at Vassar College and studied singing abroad. Upon the death of her sister, she gave up her musical career to work full-time for equal suffrage. She was arrested July 4, 1917 for picketing and served three days in District Jail. In 1919 she toured the United States as part of the "Prison Special" tour of NWP speakers. She sang at all the meetings.

Anna Howard Shaw (1847-1919) Born in England, Anna Shaw came to America as a young child. She was educated at Albion College in Michigan, Gained a degree at Boston University School of Theology in 1878 and earned her M.D. from B.U. in 1885. She was a confidant of Susan B. Anthony in the woman's suffrage movement, leading the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1904 to 1915. She was succeeded by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. She was also active in the temperance movement; and served as national superintendent of franchise for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union 1886-1892. During World War I, she was head of the Women's Committee of the United States Council of National Defense, for which she became the first woman to earn the Distinguished Service Medal.

Bina West (1867-1954) A 24 year-old school teacher in rural Michigan, West founded the first company to specifically provide insurance to women. Previously, most women were unable to obtain insurance due to the high mortality risk associated with pregnancy and child birth. She was a well known speaker for women's rights in the US and Canada, and represented the US National Council of Women at the International Council of Women meeting in Geneva, Switzerland in 1908.

Antoinette Brown Blackwell (1825-1921) helped found the New Jersey Woman's Suffrage Association in 1867. She was one of a handful of early New Jersey suffragists who voted in the presidential election of 1920.

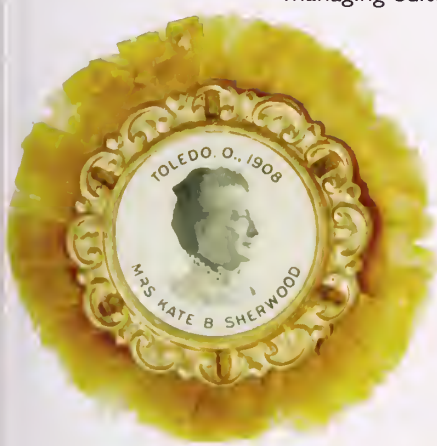
She was born in Henrietta N.Y., on May 20, 1825, and began to speak publicly in the services of the local Congregational church at age nine. She was graduated from Oberlin College in 1847 and completed its theological seminary in 1850, though she was not granted her degree. (Oberlin later conferred on her an honorary A.M.[Master of Arts], in 1878, and a D.D.[Doctor of Divinity], in 1908.) Refused ordination at first because of her sex, she held a Congregationalist pastorate in South Butler, N.Y., for four years; she became the first ordained woman minister in the United States.

In 1856 she married Samuel C. Blackwell, whose brother, Henry B. Blackwell, had married her Oberlin College friend Lucy Stone. Blackwell was active as a speaker and writer for women's rights, temperance, abolition of slavery, and other causes. She preached her last sermon when she was 90 years old, and her last book appeared when she was 93.

Henry Browne Blackwell (1825 – 1909) was an American advocate for social and economic reform. He was one of the founders of the Republican Party and the American Woman Suffrage Association. He published Woman's Journal starting in 1870 in Boston, Massachusetts with Lucy Stone.

Lucy Stone (1818-1893). An active women's suffrage and abolition campaigner, in 1847 she gave her first lecture on women's rights, and the following year she was engaged by the Anti-Slavery Society as one of their regular lecturers. She co-founded the AWSA in 1869. From 1872, she was a co-editor of *The Woman's Journal*.

Katharine Brownlee Sherwood (1841-1914) graduated from Poland Union Seminary in Ohio. In 1859, she married Isaac Sherwood. When Sherwood left to serve in the Civil War, Katherine became managing editor of the Williams County Gazette in Bryan, Ohio. She used her position to further social causes including woman suffrage. She later became a Washington correspondent for a newspaper syndicate and served as the first president of the Ohio Newspaper Women's Association (1902).



In 1870, she joined the original Sorosis Club in New York City and in 1893 became the first president of the Sorosis Club of Canton, Ohio. Through this organization she pushed for the rights of women and woman suffrage. In 1908, to recognize her many efforts, including woman's suffrage, a testimonial was held in her honor in Toledo.

After the war, Brigadier General Sherwood went into politics, and eventually served in Congress from 1907-1925. With her husband in Congress, she became active behind the scenes as a supporter of the Suffrage Amendment. She used her skills to influence Congressmen on the issue. When she died in 1914, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan read at her funeral service, and the pallbearers included eight congressmen.

Lillian Feikert (1877-1945) At twenty-five, she married Edward Foster Feickert, a banker. The couple moved to Plainfield, New Jersey. In 1910, Edward became Vice President of the State Trust Company. Lillian had joined the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association (NJWSA). In 1910, Lillian was appointed enrollment chair of the NJWSA and became a public figure for the first time.
She was indefatigable, supervising house visits, meetings and the mass distribution of suffrage literature. In two years, the association grew from a few hundred to 1,200 members. In 1912, Lillian became the president of the NJWSA. By 1920, the NJWSA had grown to 120,000 members!

Early in 1920, the vice-chairman of the Republican State Committee tapped Lillian to organize Republican women in the state. Years later, Feickert said that her acceptance of the vice-chairmanship of the State Committee was part of a bargain she had struck with Edward C. Stokes, Republican chairman and former governor. By May 1921, this "bargain" resulted in the passage by the Republican-dominated legislature of several bills that advanced women's political and legal status.

In 1928, she ran unsuccessfully as a pro-Prohibition Republican candidate for the United States Senate.

Sarah Moore Grimke (1792 – 1873) wrote Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman in 1838, one of the first essays by an American on the subject.

Anna E. Dickinson (1842-1932) As a Quaker, her early public advocacy consisted of abolition work. She spoke at many small meetings, but her career as a speaker took off during the 1863 election campaigns, which would determine which states would be governed by those who supported the federal government's war policies. She would speak in later campaigns, and her success would earn her an invitation to speak in the House of Representatives to members of Congress and their guests. She was introduced by Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin as a Joan of Arc sent by Providence to save the nation. Once the Civil War was over, Dickinson's speaking shifted from the political stump to the lyceum circuit. By 1872, she was known as the "Queen of the Lyceum" and was grossing over $20,000 a year, an amount bested only by two other male lecturers (at this time, the President's salary was only $25,000. It is this fact that gives her distinction: she was the first women to achieve financial success as a public speaker. Her speaking ended in the mid-1870s as she opposed monopoly capitalism and criticized the growing trade-union movement, as well as opposing Grant's re-nomination for the presidency.

Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) was a British author whose 1792 book, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, was one of the first to claim that women should have equality with men. Her daughter wrote the famous horror novel *Frankenstein* in 1818.

Julia Ward Howe (1819 – 1910) was a prominent American abolitionist, social activist, and poet most famous as the author of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Frances Willard (1839–1898) organized both a national and an nternational temperance union in the late 1800's. She was an advocate of women's suffrage, and her statue represents Illinois in the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C.

Phoebe Ann Coffin Hanaford (1829 - 1921) was a close friend of Susan B Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Julia Ward Howe. She was a cousin of Lucretia Coffin Mott, and spoke from the pulpit alongside Mary Wright Sewell and Olympia Brown. Phoebe Hanaford officiated at the funeral services for Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B Anthony. Hanaford knew them both well. One of the nation's first female ministers, an author, feminist, and Nantucket native, Hanaford was intimately involved in the women's rights campaign for nearly the entire span of the seventy year movement.

Lillie Devereaux Blake (1835-1913). A reformer, author, journalist, and lecturer, Blake is not well-remembered, as the recent book Lillie Devereux Blake: Rediscovering a Life Erased (2002, by Grace Farrell) bemoans. She was a central figure in trying to open the doors of Columbia University to women, and also played a vital role in the unification of the AWSA and NWSA into the NAWSA.

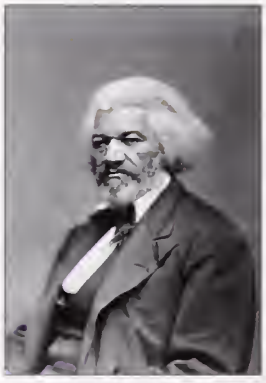
Lucretia Coffin Mott (1793 – 1880) was an American Quaker minister, abolitionist, social reformer and proponent of women's rights. She is credited as the first American "feminist" in the early 1800s but was, more accurately, the initiator of women's political advocacy.

Mary Livermore (1820-1905). On February 11, 1869, she called to order the first women's suffrage meeting ever held in Chicago, the Chicago Woman Suffrage Convention. In addition to working for suffrage, she also was a Sanitary Commission organizer and hospital worker, writer, reporter, editor (from 1868-1870 of The Agitator, the first feminist journal and from 1870-1872 she co-edited *The Woman's Journal*).

A founding member of the American Woman Suffrage Association, Livermore was president of the organization between 1875 and 1878. Livermore was also one of the leaders of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and, like so many other suffrage activists, also was active in abolition movements.

Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896). Most famous for authoring *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. When Stowe met President Lincoln in 1862, he is said to have exclaimed, "So you are the little woman who wrote the book that started this great war!" Although not extremely active in campaigns for women's rights, she did believe women possessed such rights, writing: "If women want any rights they had better take them, and say nothing about it."

Sojourner Truth (1797?-1883). Truth is perhaps one of the best well known anti-slavery and women's rights agitators. Born into slavery, she originally spoke Dutch, not learning English until she was around nine years old. As a slave, she was denied access to education, never learning to read or write even after she became a freed Black woman. Accordingly, what survives of her speaking is what was transcribed by audiences. Her most famous speech, often referred to as "Ain't I a Woman," probably is more accurately "Aren't I a Woman," given that Truth prided herself on correct English usage. The Southern black dialect was probably added by the woman who took notes during the speech. Regardless of dialect, that speech is one of the most resounding and powerful statements regarding Black women's rights and inherent human dignity ever written. In it, she proclaims: "Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud puddles or gives me any best place (*and raising herself to her full height and her voice to a pitch like rolling thunder, she asked*), and aren't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! (*And she bared her right arm to the shoulder, showing her tremendous muscular power*)"

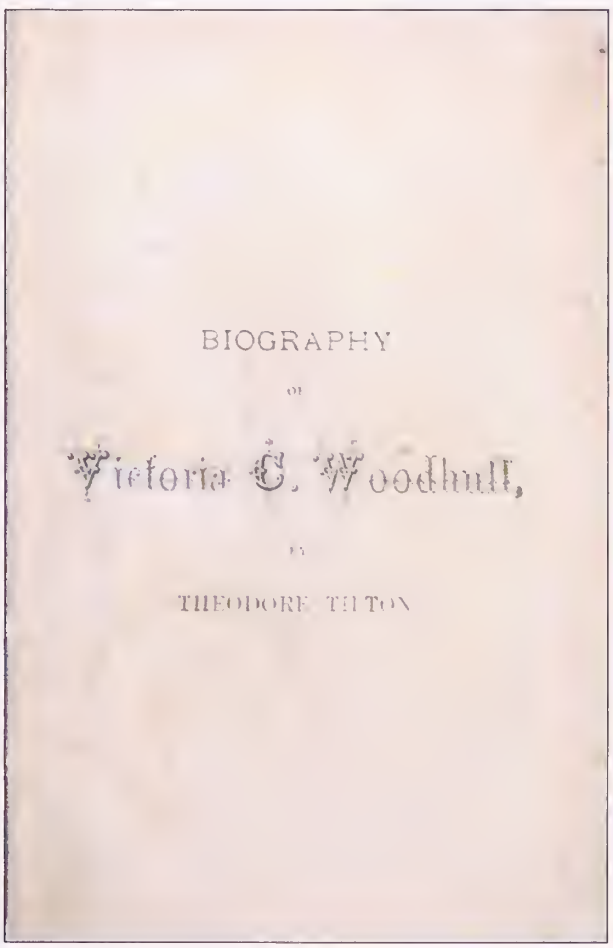


Frederick Douglass (1818-1895). Most arguably the most famous African American of the 19th century, Douglass was a self-educated former slave. Douglass escaped from slavery and devoted his life to fighting for freedom and equality. He gained renown as a remarkably eloquent speaker, denouncing the immorality and brutality of slavery, things he had experienced first hand. In fact, some argue that his personal relationship with Lincoln helped convince him to make emancipation a cause of the Civil War. Even as many women's suffrage advocates would turn to ethnocentric and racist arguments for (white) women's voting rights, Douglass remained a committed proponent of equal suffrage for all. In fact, he participated in the 1848 Seneca Falls convention, signing the *Declaration of Sentiments*. The masthead for his paper once read: "Right is of no Sex - Truth is of no Color."

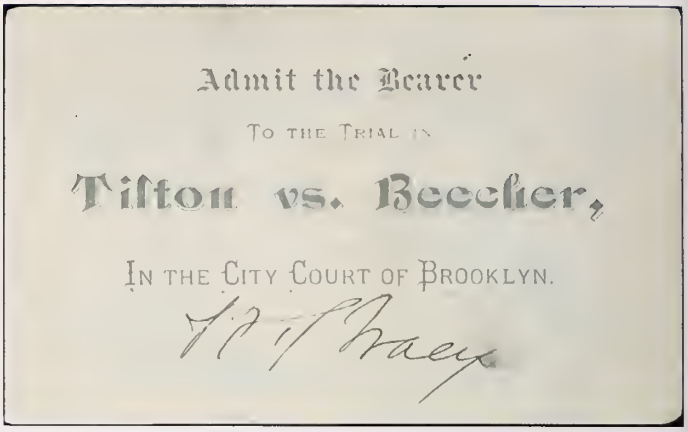
Victoria Claflin Woodhull (1838-1927). Woodhull was one of the most radical advocates for women's rights during the suffrage era, and in 1872 was the first woman to be a candidate for the nation's presidency. She ran for the presidency, in her own words, "chiefly for the purpose of bringing home to the mind of the community woman's right to fill any office in American, from the Presidency down." In the 1870s, along with her sister Tennessee, she published *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, which she used to promote her views on women's rights and other social matters, including free love, Marxism, and birth control. As time dragged on in the struggle for suffrage, she voiced her frustration in increasingly more radical comments. However, radicalism was always a part of her. As she explained in June 1872, to the Equal Rights party she created, and which nominated her for the presidency (with Frederic Douglass as her running mate): "I am not much given to the habit of conforming to conventionalities. In fact, if there be one thing that I hold more lightly in esteem than any other, it is the doing, or the refrain from doing, anything, simply because it is in accordance with an established custom to do so."

Miss Tennessee "Tennie C." Claflin, (1846–1923). Born in Ohio, along with her sister Victoria, they were known for their beauty and wildly eccentric behavior. The *Weekly* which she published with her sister, in 1872 published the first English translation of The *Communist Manifesto*. In 1872, the paper also reported a love affair between Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton and the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher which sparked a national scandal.

Victoria Woodhull protesting her inability to vote in 1872.


BIOGRAPHY
OF
Victoria C. Woodhull,
BY
THEODORE TILTON

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher (1813-1887). Beecher was an American Congregational preacher, orator, and lecturer and was brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe. He was a leader in the antislavery movement, a proponent of woman suffrage, and an advocate of Darwin's theory of evolution.



Theodore Tilton (1835-1907) & **Elizabeth Tilton**
Theodore Tilton was a journalist and popular Lyceum speaker. He supported various social reforms including woman's suffrage. Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton and her husband were parishioners of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, NY. Claflin Weekly, Victoria Woodhull's newspaper, accused Beecher, a well known abolitionist and advocate for social reform and equal suffrage, of having an adulterous relationship with Mrs. Tilton. Eventually, Tilton sued Beecher, but after a 6 month trial at which Mrs. Tilton stood by her husband, Beecher was acquitted, in what may have been the most famous scandal trial of the 19th century. Mrs. Tilton admitted to the affair two years later, but despite this, Beecher continued to be a popular national figure.

Mary Church Terrell was born the same year that the Emancipation Proclamation was signed, and she died two months after the Supreme Court decision, Brown v. Board of Education. In between, she advocated for racial and gender justice, and especially for rights and opportunities for African American women. Terrell was an active member of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. She was particularly concerned about ensuring the organization continued to fight for black woman getting to vote. Activist on behalf of African Americans and women, Mary Church Terrell was a charter member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and helped integrate the American Association of University Women (AAUW).

Suffragist or Suffragette

By Denise Stanford

According to Marcie Kligman, author of *The Effect of Militancy in the British Suffragette Movement*, the term suffragette was first used as an insult by the *London Daily Mail*, and was later adopted by the women involved in the movement. *Webster* defines suffrage as "a vote or political support" and "the right of voting" or "the exercise of such right." A suffragette is a "woman who advocates suffrage for her sex." Prior to looking up these definitions, I had not realized that the "suffragette" referred specifically to women who advocated suffrage for women, and the term "suffragist" referred to anyone who advocated suffrage, male or female. I had assumed that the terms were synonymous.

Sash

Mrs. Havemeyer, being welcomed by a Syracuse policeman on arrival of the Prison Special train.

Passing the Liberty torch.

Louisine Waldron Elder Havemeyer (1855-1929) was a perceptive collector of impressionist art and friend of Mary Cassatt and other well-known artists of the time, a feminist, and a philanthropist. She was one of the more prominent contributors to the suffrage movement in the United States. After her husband's death in 1907, Mrs. Havemeyer focused her attention on the suffrage movement. In 1913, she founded, with Alice Paul, the National Woman's Party (the organization was previously known as the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage). With the financial backing of Mrs. Havemeyer and others like her, Ms. Paul launched an increasingly confrontational series of protests that agitated for the right to vote. Louisine Havemeyer became a well-known suffragette. She participated in marches, much to the dismay of her children, down New York's famed Fifth Avenue and addressed a standing room only audience at Carnegie Hall upon the completion of a nationwide speaking tour. A famous photograph of Mrs. Havemeyer shows her with an electric torch, similar in design to that of the Statue of Liberty, among other prominent suffragettes. Her attempt to burn an effigy of President Wilson outside the White House in 1919 drew national attention. She is today best known as the founder of the Shelburne Museum near Burlington, Vermont.

Laura Clay (1849-1941). Clay was an active women's rights activist, Democratic Party politician and social reformer in Kentucky and throughout the South. Although a staunch advocate of women's rights (as a mechanism to control the power of a patriarchal central government), she opposed the 19th amendment because even as it granted women the vote, it also gave the federal government too much power to oversee state elections. Clay was a product of the South and her time, and so it is unsurprising that racism influenced many of her arguments for women's suffrage. She disagreed with many states' attempts to disenfranchise Black voters on the basis that such actions were not constitutional. A better solution, for her, was to enfranchise white women. In 1890, she explained: "What the South has a right to complain of is not that Negroes have a representation at the ballot box, but that they have a representation all out of proportion to the intelligence and virtue they bring to the support of Republican government, and the true problem set before the South is how she may restore a due supremacy of the more highly developed race without corrupting the ballot box, or repudiating the principles of true Democracy, which defends the right of every class to representation."

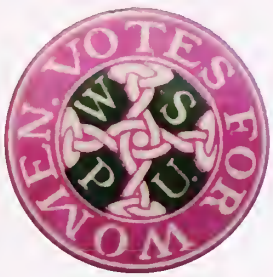
Emily Howland (1827 – 1929) was a philanthropist and educator. An active abolitionist, Howland taught at Normal School for Colored Girls in Washington D.C. from 1857 to 1859. During the Civil War she worked in Arlington, Virginia teaching freed slaves to read and write as well as administering to the sick during a smallpox outbreak. In 1882 she assumed control over the Sherwood Select school as owner and consulting head, a position she held up to her one hundredth year in 1927, at which point it was renamed the Emily Howland high school by the New York State Board of Regents. She became the first female director of a national bank in the United States, at the Aurora National Bank in Aurora, New York in 1890, where she served up to her death, at age 101. Howland was also active in women's suffrage and peace. Active in temperance, she was a member of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. In 1926 she received the Litt.D. degree from the University of the State of New York. She was the first woman to have this honor conferred upon her from this institution. She was also the author of the book Historical Sketch of Friends in Cayuga County.

Emmeline Pankhurst

Christabel Pankhurst

Sylvia Pankhurst

Under the banner of the Woman's Social and Political Union (WSPU), Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928) and her daughters, Christabel (1880-1958), Sylvia (1882-1960) and Adela (1885-1961) led the activist women's suffrage efforts in England. Many of the confrontational tactics they developed in England were adopted by Alice Paul and the woman suffrage movement in America. The Pankhursts' personal courage and influence on the suffrage movements in both countries cannot be overestimated.



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Cover designed by Christabel Pankhurst

* *Designed by Christabel Pankhurst*

Mary Edwards Walker (1832-1919) In her youth, Mary became an early enthusiast for women's rights, and passionately espoused the issue of dress reform , whose most famous proponent was Amelia Bloomer . In June 1855 Mary graduated from the Syracuse Medical College at age 21 .

When the Civil War broke out, she tried to join the Union Army. Denied a commission as a medical officer, she volunteered, serving as an acting assistant surgeon -- the first female surgeon in the US Army. In September 1863, Walker was appointed assistant surgeon in the Army of the Cumberland. She wore a slightly modified male officer's uniform while in the army. She was then appointed assistant surgeon of the 52nd Ohio Infantry. During this assignment it is generally accepted that she also served as a spy. She was taken prisoner in 1864 by Confederate troops until she was exchanged, with two dozen other Union doctors, for 17 Confederate surgeons.

On November 11, 1865, President Johnson presented Dr. Mary Edwards Walker with the Congressional Medal of Honor for Meritorious Service, to recognize her contributions to the war effort without awarding her an army commission. She was the only woman ever to receive the Medal of Honor, her country's highest military award.

In 1917 her Congressional Medal, along with the medals of 910 others was taken away when Congress revised the Medal of Honor standards to include only "actual combat with an enemy" She refused to give back her Medal of Honor, wearing it every day until her death in 1919. An Army board reinstated Walker's medal posthumously in 1977. After the war, Mary Edwards Walker became a writer and lecturer here and abroad on women's rights, dress reform, health and temperance issues. Often, she donned full men's evening dress to lecture on women's rights. She was also an inventor, coming up with the return postcard for registered mail.

People We Know.

Lillian Hollister and Lulu Ramsey

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

Anna Shaw

President Women's Relief Corps.

Emmeline Pankhurst

Elizabeth Miller Smith

People We Don't Know.

Postcard autographed by Christabel Pankhurst.

Door hanger

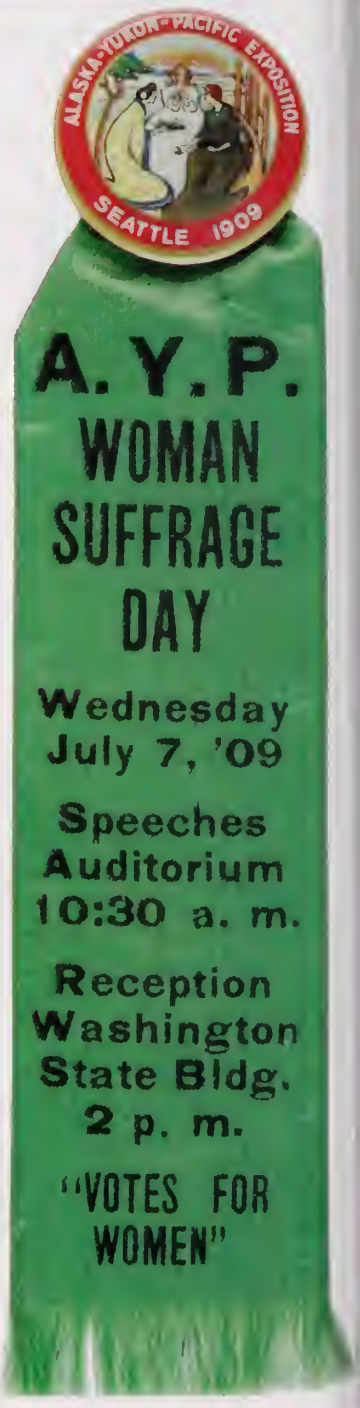
NWSPU postcard

Suffrage Day at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition 1909

The Suffrage Day at the Exposition was planned by the exposition organizers to follow the national convention of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association being held in Seattle, Washington on 1-6 July 1909.

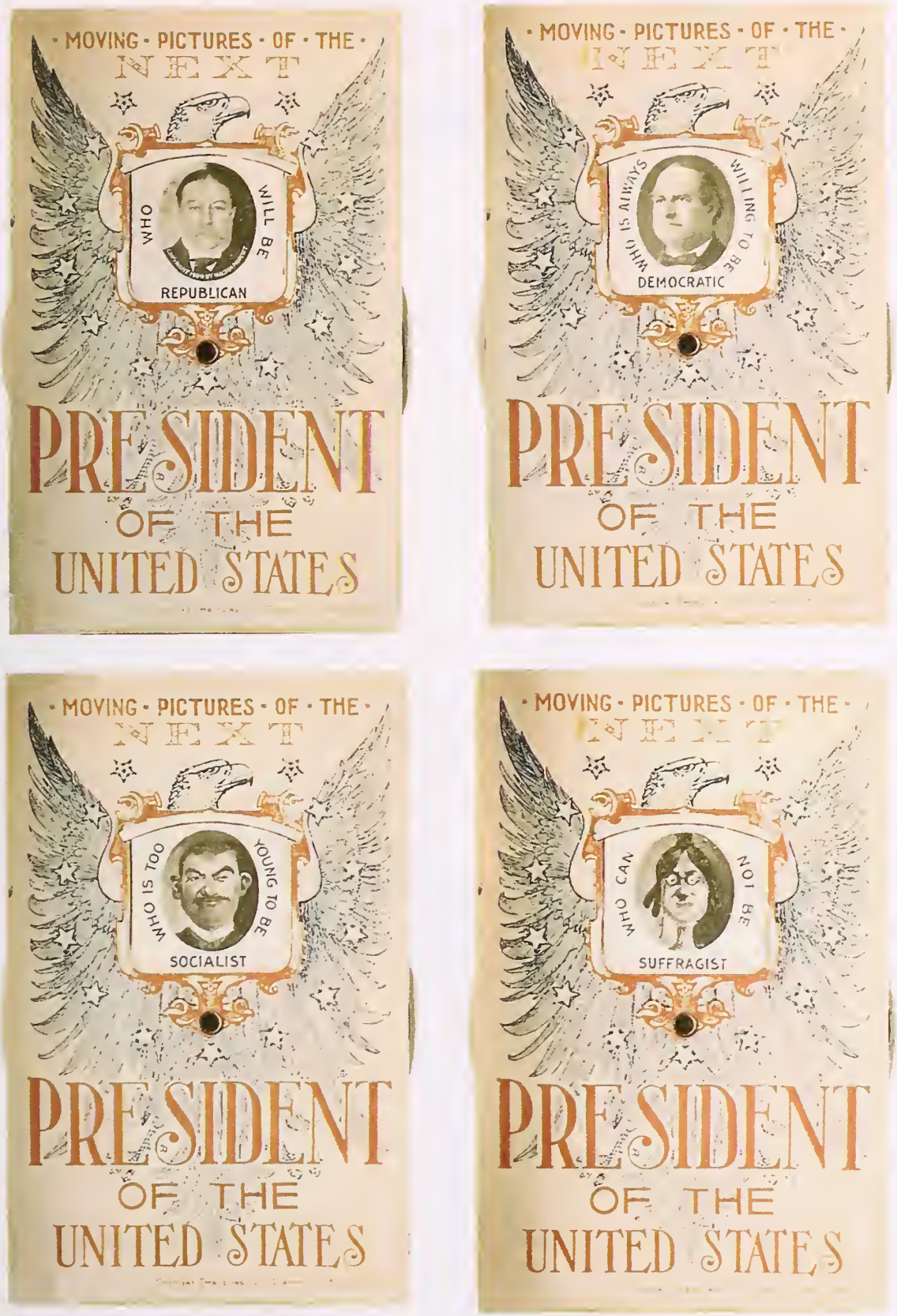
Those attending the festivities were greeted at the main gate with a large banner overhead inscribed "Woman Suffrage Day." All those who entered the Exposition grounds were presented with a special button and a green-ribbon badge representing the Equal Suffrage Association of Washington. The green was to represent Washington, the Evergreen State. Over the Exposition flew a very large "Votes For Women" kite. All the balloons sold at the Exposition that day carried the "Votes For Women" slogan. The colors were yellow, red, white and green but mostly green.

Speeches were given at the grand auditorium throughout the day calling for the enfranchisement of women. They stopped only long enough to have lunch and then a fine dinner. The festivities lasted late into the night with everyone enjoying the amazing electronic lights of the Exposition.



St. Louis World's Fair 1904

Suffrage cup from St. Louis World's Fair.

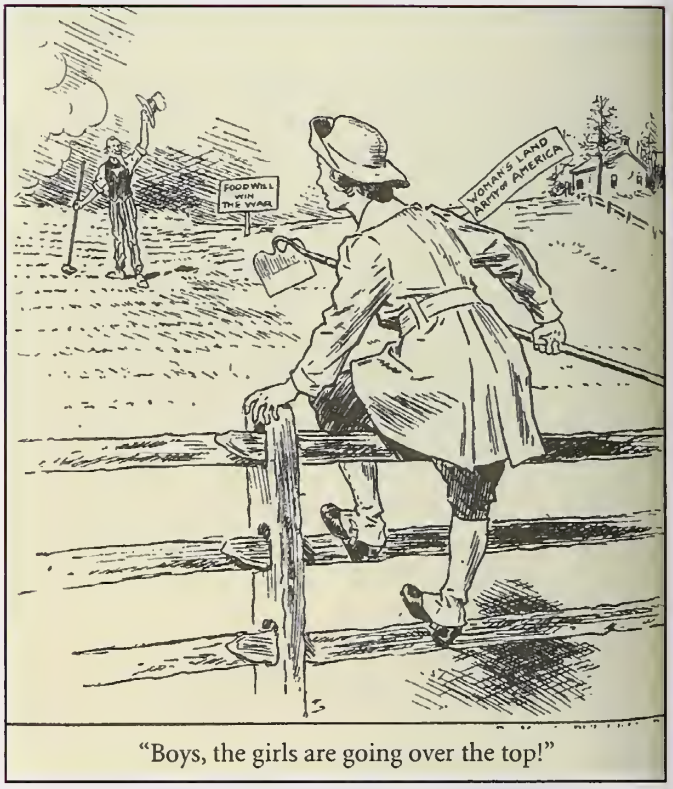


Mechanical Wheel Postcard.

The Woman's Land Army Aids Farmers

As the war continued and fewer and fewer men were available to tend the crops, worried farmers began to turn to women for help. In answer, the Woman's Land Army was established in thirty states under the Woman's Advisory Committee, and within months had placed roughly 15,000 women on the land for the critical harvest of 1918. Suffrage leaders even consulted with an overalls company to produce a suitable farm uniform for women.

The mostly untrained volunteers cared for animals, learned to operate farm machinery, and helped bring in the harvest from truck farms, orchards, and home gardens. Their hard work and efficiency won the appreciation of both the U.S. government and farmers who depended on their wartime aid.



"Boys, the girls are going over the top!"


WOMEN'S LIBERTY LOAN
CAPTAIN
288
4TH LOAN
COMMITTEE


LIBERTY
I HAVE SOLD
A
VICTORY
LIBERTY
BOND
CONNECTICUT WOMAN'S LOAN COMMITTEE


GIRLS
UNITED WAR WORK CAMPAIGN


VICTORY GIRLS
I AM ENROLLED


VICTORY GIRLS
VOTE


WOMEN'S LIBERTY LOAN
4322
4TH LOAN
COMMITTEE


LIBERTY
I HAVE SOLD
A
VICTORY
LIBERTY
BOND
CONNECTICUT WOMAN'S LOAN COMMITTEE


WOMEN'S
SERVICE
WAR SAVINGS


WOMEN'S
SERVICE
WAR SAVINGS


WOMEN'S
SERVICE
WAR SAVINGS


WOMEN'S
SERVICE
WAR SAVINGS


WOMAN'S LIBERTY LOAN
COMMITTEE
4050


WOMANS AUXILIARY
BELMONT
PUBLIC SAFETY

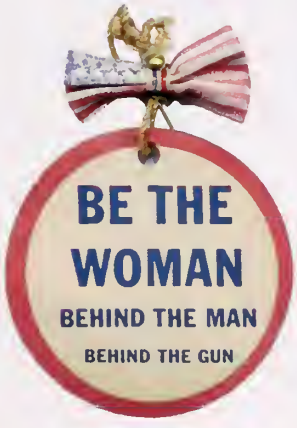

WOMAN'S COUNCIL OF DEFENSE
NEBRASKA


WOMAN'S COMMITTEE


WOMAN'S LIBERTY LOAN
COMMITTEE
LIBERTY LOAN 1918

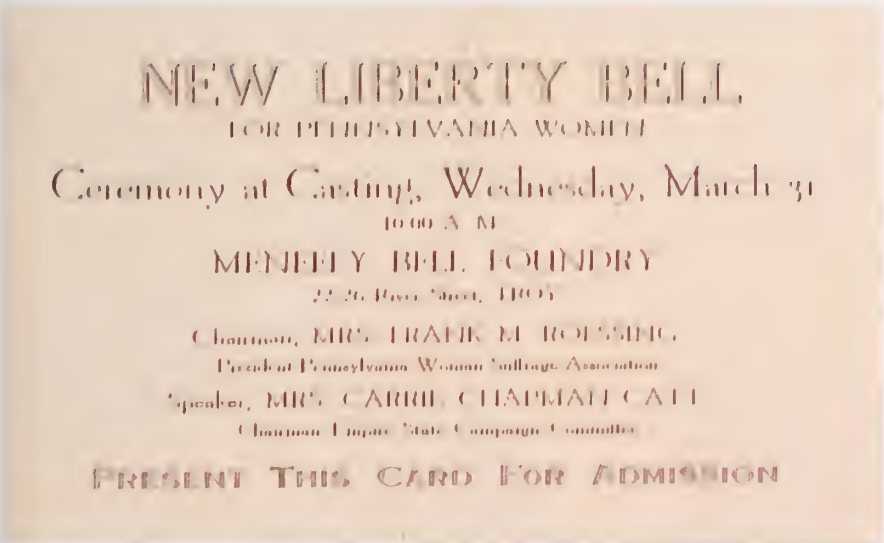

Women's Committee Council
of
National Defense
OFFICIAL
REGISTRAR
Pennsylvania Division


WE'RE BEHIND THE MAN BEHIND THE GUN


BE THE
WOMAN
BEHIND THE MAN
BEHIND THE GUN


WOMEN!
HELP AMERICA'S SONS
WIN THE WAR
BUY
U.S. GOVERNMENT BONDS
2ND LIBERTY LOAN
OF 1917

Real Soldiers who stand for real democracy "over-here" and are ready to fight for world democracy "over there". These banners were carried in Grand Rapids.

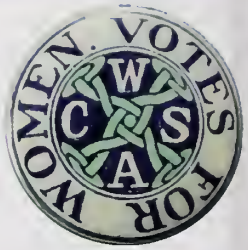

NEW LIBERTY BELL
FOR PENNSYLVANIA WOMEN
Ceremony at Casting, Wednesday, March 31
10:00 A. M.
MENEELY BELL FOUNDRY
Chairman, MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING
President Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association
Speaker, MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
Chairman Empire State Campaign Committee
PRESENT THIS CARD FOR ADMISSION

In 1915, Katherine Ruschenberger commissioned a bell foundry to create a replica of the Liberty Bell to further the cause of the Suffrage Amendment. This bell came to be known as the "Woman's Liberty Bell" or the "Justice Bell." During the summer of 1915, the replica bell was displayed in every county in Pennsylvania. Women suffragettes accompanying the bell would encourage men to vote for suffrage in the November election. The bell's clapper was chained so that the bell could not be rung and would be unchained only when women received the right to vote.

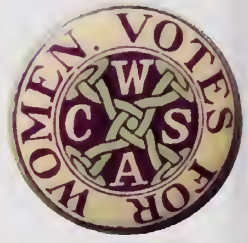
The Connecticut Suffrage Association

By Frank Corbeil

The Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association was founded in 1869 to promote the cause of woman's suffrage in the state. Throughout its history, the Association sought, through every means possible, enactment of state and federal legislation granting women the right to vote. From its founding until 1906, the Association was led by Hartford's Isabella Beecher Hooker, who favored a state-by-state approach to enfranchisement. In 1910, a younger generation, led by Katherine Houghton Hepburn, assumed control of the Association and began urging federal legislation as the best method to achieve enfranchisement. Hepburn and other members of the Association's leadership inaugurated a more active approach to achieving enfranchisement, holding rallies, parades and meetings with state and federal legislators to pursue their goals.



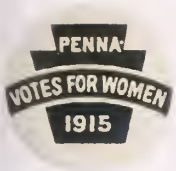
In May 1914, the first state-wide suffrage parade was held in Hartford. Specially-designed banners and pennants, created by Greenwich's Grace Gallatin Seton, were carried in this parade, which stretched for nearly a mile through the streets of Hartford. Numerous banners, highlighting- different occupations, were produced and carried in this and subsequent parades. Each city and town which sent a delegation to these parades had its own banner, emblazoned with the town's name, the state seal, "CWSA" and "VOTES FOR WOMEN,"

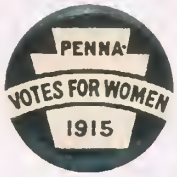


Finally, in 1920, with passage of the 19th Amendment, women's right to vote was secured. The Connecticut Women Suffrage Association was dissolved and the Connecticut League of Women Voters organized in its place. With the demise of the suffrage association, its records and artifacts were transferred to the Connecticut State Library. Housed in the State Archives and the Museum of Connecticut History are the documents, photographs, scrap books, banners and pennants which document the Association's history,

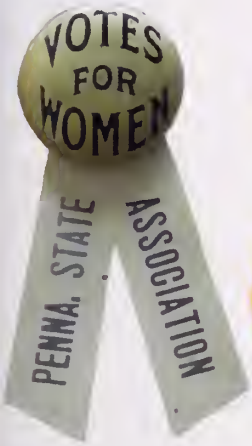
Maryland

Katherine Houghton Hepburn (1878-1951) In 1910 a group of young, middle-class women led by Katherine Houghton Hepburn, took control of the CWSA. Mrs. Hepburn was President of the CWSA for 10 years (1910-1920). Working closely with the Connecticut National Woman's Party, organized in 1916 by Alice Paul and other militants, they concentrated on a new strategy of building support for the Federal Amendment. Katherine frequently involved her children in suffrage parades and activities, encouraging her children, including future actress Katherine Hepburn (on right), to give out balloons marked "Votes for Women." This photo is of Mrs. Hepburn with her children at a CWSA event. "The story of the women in my family is truly the story of the women's rights movement," said Katharine Houghton, Katherine Hepburn's niece and Houghton Hepburn's granddaughter.





"Mother" Eliza Daniel, who started the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association



Postcard

Poster

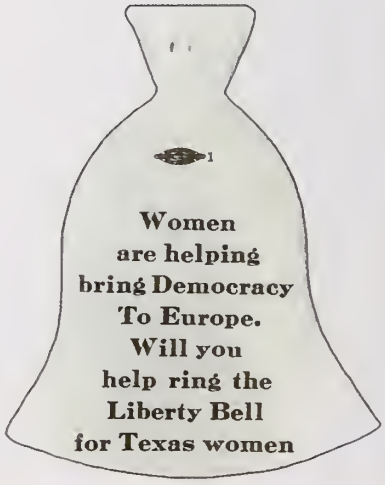
WWSA: Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association

Poster

Rev. Olympia Brown. First president of the WWSA, vice president of the NWSA.

Portrait of Theodora Youmans (Mrs. Henry), President of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association, 1913-1920.

General Rosalie Jones gallantly leading her forces into battle.
See page 86-7

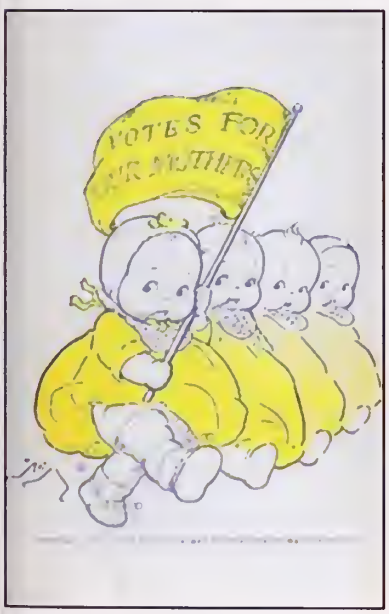


Rose O'Neill and the Suffragette Kewpies

In 1909, illustrator and artist Rose O'Neill had a dream about plump little creatures she called Kewpies®, short for Cupid. "Cupid gets you into trouble and the Kewpies get you out," explained O'Neill. The purpose of these creatures is to perform good deeds in a funny way.

They were often seen battling injustice or promoting women's suffrage, and they always made the reader laugh.

Kewpie comics appeared in newspapers during those years, and O'Neill became one of the first female cartoonists in America. Ignoring publicized criticism of her association with the women's movement, O'Neill utilized the immense popularity of the Kewpie character to endorse and garner attention to her favorite political causes which included woman suffrage. The National Woman Suffrage Association distributed postcards and posters that utilized her Kewpie and artistic illustrations. A Los Angeles Tribune article reported, "The most celebrated of America's black-and-white artists, Rose O'Neill, creator of 'The Kewpies,' is an ardent suffragist and an active member of the Press and Publicity Council of New York City."



Postcard

Postcard

Poster

Abolitionist Women and the Suffrage Movement

Of all the just causes of the 19th Century that women felt bound to enter, the abolition of slavery was among the highest. These same women would also lead the fight for woman's equality. Their first leader was Lucretia Mott, 1793-1880. A Quaker, her small size and gentle nature were contrasted with her dynamic energy and purpose in pursuing justice for all. She became a recognized minister in 1821. In 1825 she turned her efforts towards the abolition of slavery, declining thereafter to use products such as cotton, and going as far as to convince her husband, a cotton-dealer, to change his merchandise to wool.

In 1833, when William Garrison formed the American Anti-Slavery League, Lucretia Mott's efforts to join were denied because all women were excluded. She then simply formed her own Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. She became its chief spokesperson and in so doing brought down the wrath of the pro-slavery opposition.

Meeting halls were burned; the Motts were mobbed and stoned. Some male supporters were tarred and feathered. She even criticized one crowd that refused to tar and feather her simply because she was a woman.

In 1836, Ms. Mott was joined by two other female Abolitionists, Sarah and Angelina Grimke. They moved to New York and extolled the need to abolish slavery wherever possible. They addressed large mixed audiences pleading for the cause. They were responsible for linking women's rights with anti-slavery. Yet their influence waned after 1840 except for their writings for the movement.

In 1840, on a visit to London to attend the World Anti-Slavery Convention Ms. Mott was refused admittance as a delegate. Refusing to go quietly, she held news conferences and public meetings and became known as the "Lioness of the Convention."

Upon her return to the US she carried the fight for justice to Pennsylvania's legislative bodies and to the President. She was willing to break any law she thought unjust, including offering refuge in her house to escaping slaves.

The success of the Abolitionist movement was left to others like Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose Uncle Tom's Cabin, published in 1852, was made into a play that showed a vast public the inhuman treatment of the slaves. The book was translated into 23 languages. Stowe then published A Key to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which collected documentation justifying the accuracy of the original. With the successful abolition of slavery, Stowe then turned her efforts to the equality of women, working for its success until her death in 1896.

Obverse Badge

Reverse Badge

Any discussion of women and the Abolition movement must include the efforts of Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth. Tubman's efforts with escaped slaves are legendary. She continued to risk her own life to help escaped slaves to freedom in the north. Truth, who won her freedom in 1827, fought a successful court battle to recover her child, who had been illegally sold as a slave. She used her tall physical stature as a beacon of strength, lecturing and braving mobs that threatened her wherever she went to lecture during the 1840s and 1850s. After the Civil War she also turned her attention to the plight of women. She was an articulate speaker who continued to speak out for the cause of women.

All of these women, and thousands more who risked all for the abolition of slavery, saw the natural progression to the cause of all women. They utilized their skills honed through the earlier movement to push for the emancipation of women and the right to vote. None of these pioneers lived to exercise the right to vote.

However, without their efforts to bring the issue to the public's attention utilizing organizational methods gained from the anti-slavery effort to organize women across the country, the women's movement might have been deferred for decades.

THE "THREE IMMEDIATE WOMEN FRIENDS" OF THE ANTHONY FAMILY. SEE BIOGRAPHY OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY, PAGE 1435, BY MRS. IDA HUSTED HARPER.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT — The Rev. ANNA HOWARD SHAW — "Mrs. R. JEROME JEFFREY"

From Left to Right: Carrie Chapman Catt; The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw; Mrs. R. Jerome Jeffery, Negro woman of Rochester, N. Y. Often "Guest in Anthony Home" with Mrs. Shaw and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of National Woman Suffrage Association, to which all Southern Suffragettes belong.

"Suffrage Democracy Knows no Bias of Race, Color, Creed or Sex."—Carrie Chapman Catt.

"Look not to Greece or Rome for heroes, nor to Jerusalem or Mecca for saints, but for all the higher virtues of heroism, let us WORSHIP the black man at our feet."—*Susan B. Anthony's Official History of Suffrage.*

Anti-suffrage statuette depicting a negative image of Votes for Women advocates. The image is referred to wrongly in the hobby as Sojourner Truth. It also appears with "Votes For Women" wording.

The Actresses Franchise League

The Actresses Franchise League was formed in 1908 when Gertrude Elliot and four hundred friends met in the Criterion Restaurant at Piccadilly Circus, London England. The League was open to anyone involved in the theatrical profession. It was founded to work to enfranchise all women of England. It set out to do so through educational meetings, holding propaganda meetings, selling suffrage literature, and staging plays. They supported all of the suffrage societies.

As members of the League toured England, they would make themselves available to help local suffrage chapters. They charged them a small amount for their performances, either as singers or reciters. Lillie Langtry was one of their most famous members. They provided full slates of performers at the large fund raising exhibitions.

They decorated their offices and stages with the AFL colors - pink and green. In 1912 they affiliated with the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies. By 1913, men could join a "Men's Group." By 1914 the League's membership numbered 900.

With the beginning of World War I, the League formed the "Women's Theatre Camps Entertainments." This troupe traveled to military camps and hospitals boosting the moral of the soldiers. In 1915, the League also organized the "British Woman's Hospital."

Following the war and the victory of woman suffrage, the League lasted until 1934. The banner pictured here now resides in the Museum of London.

The League produced this badge in 1908. It has a green background with a five-sided shield with straight edges in the middle, outlined with a thin blade and green stripe. The shield is divided diagonally from top left to bottom right. The upper half is colored eau-de-nil*.

NOTE: Eau de nil: From the French eau, water, and Nil, the Nile. The color is pale yellowish green.

"Sarah's Suffrage Victory"

By Sarah Baldwin

"Sarah's Suffrage Victory" celebrates Sarah G. Bagley, founder of the Lowell, Massachusetts Female Labor Reform Movement. Born in 1806 in Candia, New Hampshire, Sarah received a common school education. In 1837 she went to work as a weaver at the Hamilton Manufacturing Company in Lowell. She already may have worked as a weaver for she displayed sufficient skill to warrant the top rates paid to weavers. Attracted by the *Lowell Offering*, a periodical edited and written by fellow mill girls, she contributed a piece called "Pleasures of Factory Work" to the December 1840 issue. The article was compatible with the views of editor Harriet Farley who considered it not fitting for female employees to question the policies of the Christian gentlemen who owned the mills.

Within a few months, however, Sarah Bagley decided she had to stand up and publicly oppose that view. Declining wages, deteriorating working conditions, and the speedup of machine operations made mill work increasingly oppressive and dangerous. Bagley insisted the workers needed to organize and protest. In December 1844, she founded and became the first president of the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association (FLRA).

The Association quickly attracted several hundred members, and, under Bagley's leadership, initiated a petition drive calling for a law limiting the working day to ten hours. The campaign became known as the "Ten Hour Movement."

When presented with over 2,000 signatures, the Massachusetts legislature found itself forced to address the issue of conditions in the textile mills. It appointed a special committee which, for the first time in the United States, conducted public hearings on industrial working conditions.

Sarah Bagley with Eliza R. Hemmingway and three other women testified to the long hours and miserable working conditions. Though the legislature eventually buried the issue, mill owners no longer could pose as kindly, paternalistic guardians who put the best interest of their young women employees first.

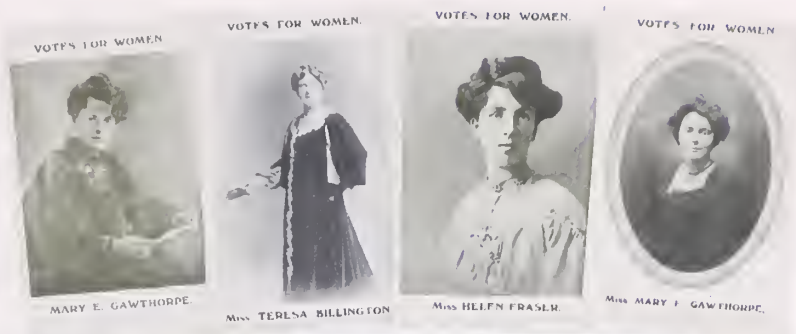
Plunging full time into labor activity, Sarah Bagley organized branches of her Female Labor Reform Association (FLRA) throughout Massachusetts and New Hampshire. She also worked with the New England Workingmen's Association (NEWA) as a member of the nominating committee at its May 1845 convention in Boston and served as the corresponding secretary. On July 4th, 1845 the NEWA and the FLRA hosted a picnic in Wobum, Massachusetts. Some 2,000 attended and heard Bagley denounce the *Lowell Offering* as "controlled by the manufacturing interest to give a gloss to their inhumanity."

Harriet Farley and Sarah Bagley exchanged heated letters through the columns of local newspapers with Bagley finally declaring the editor was "a mouthpiece to the corporations." The popularity of the Lowell Offering plummeted and the journal ceased publication later that year. When *The Voice of the Industry*, a Workingmen's Association periodical, moved to Lowell in October 1845, Miss Bagley served on the publication committee and for a period was Chief Editor.

The next year Sarah Bagley became the nation's first woman telegraph operator when she accepted a job as superintendent of the newly-opened Lowell telegraph office. As a woman doing a 'man's job', she found herself the target of newspaper humor. The *Boston Journal*, for instance, recorded one skeptic as observing: "The long mooted question 'Can a woman keep a secret?' will now become more interesting than ever." She continued working as an operator for two years, but in 1848 returned to the mills and worked as a weaver for five months. When her father fell ill with typhus, she left Lowell to never return.

She then slips from public record and public view. Benita Eisler writes that the disappearance of her name from the masthead and boards of all Bagley's organizations and the total silence surrounding "the end of this extraordinary woman is all the more bizarre given the propensity of labor to eulogize its leaders." If the later life of this feisty woman remains eerily obscure, she continued to be honored for her work on behalf of working women--as the threadholder bears witness.

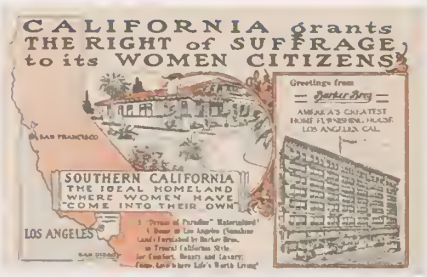
A few examples of suffrage postcards from England. Collectors believe there are over 4500 pro and anti English and American postcards depicting the people, events and issues in the struggle for a woman's right to vote. Images from a recent Heritage Galleries auction.

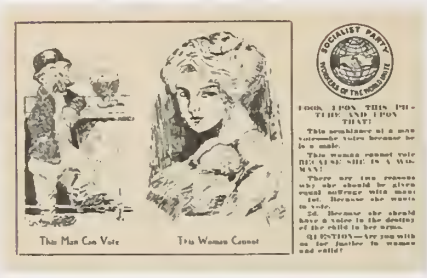

VOTES FOR WOMEN.
MARY E. GAWTHORPE.
VOTES FOR WOMEN.
Miss TERESA BILLINGTON
VOTES FOR WOMEN.
Miss HELEN FRASER.
VOTES FOR WOMEN
Miss MARY F. GAWTHORPE.


VOTES
VOTES
FOR
WOMEN
I want my Vot

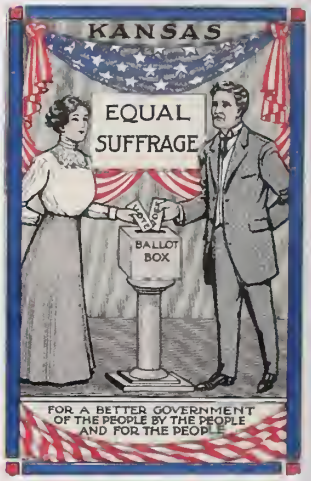

Who Said Votes for Women !!!


OH ONLY A SUFFRAGETTE





The Power of Postcards



So You Think You Know Button History?

Harvey Goldberg

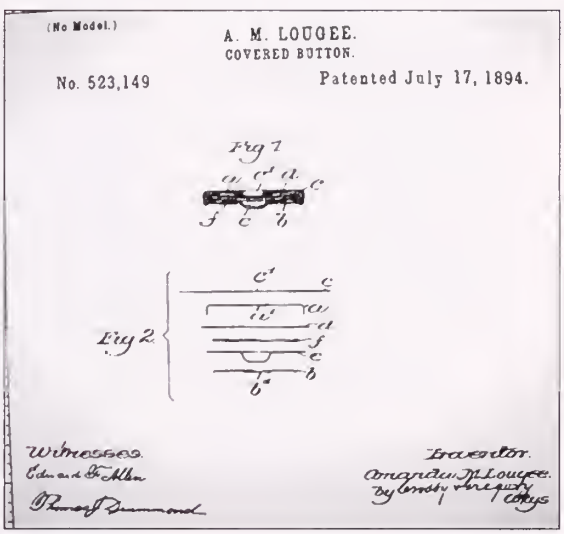
Almost every collector believes they know the history of the items they collect, especially campaign button collectors. But do you really know the complete history? Ask a political collector about this, and the first words they respond with are "Whitehead and Hoag." Just a moment, my friend. You need to check your facts with more accuracy.

Yes, most of the turn-of-the-last-century pins and buttons manufactured by Whitehead & Hoag Company of Newark, New Jersey have backpapers in them announcing the patent date of their celluloid buttons, just like the ones pictured here.

But you need to go back a little further - about two years, to July 17, 1894, to be exact. If you notice, the patent dates on one of these backpapers has three dates, including July 17, 1894. The backpaper on the extreme right has only two dates, excluding July 17, 1894. Why?

You will not see the earlier date on W&H items produced after 1895, because the 1894 date is not one of the Whitehead & Hoag patent dates. That belongs to the original designer of the covered button, which was granted to one Amanda Malvena Lougee of Boston, Massachusetts.

Miss Lougee was an enigma for her time. Born in 1842, in Walmouth, Mass, she became the head of a large rubber gossamer manufacturing plant at Hyde Park, Mass. For years she was a 'silent partner' with her brother, but took over on his death in 1879. She developed techniques for double texture clothing, electrical tape, electrical conduits, and many other things in addition to the U.S. patent #523,149 for "a covered button" in 1894.


(No Model.)

A. M. LOUGEE.

COVERED BUTTON.

No. 523,149 Patented July 17, 1894.

Fig 1

Fig 2

Witnesses.

Inventor.

According to a Boston manufacturing handbook of the day, describing The Clinton Manufacturing Company (Rubber Mfrs.), of 65 Brookside Avenue, Boston, stated that "She employs two hundred and seventy-five men and women, and occupies besides a factory at Clarendon Hills, three floors of a large block in Boston, with offices in New York and Chicago. Probably most men who deal with 'A. M. Lougee, Secretary' do so in utter ignorance that they are dealing with a quiet little elderly woman."

Shortly after she had patented the covered button, Whitehead & Hoag purchased Amanda's patent, developing and patenting their own product, the modern campaign button, in 1896.

In her spare time Amanda Lougee dabbled in woman suffrage issues. She was an auditor for the Massachusetts Women Suffrage Association, treasurer for the Association for the Advancement of Women and the National Council of Women. She also submitted a recipe for the *Woman Suffrage Cookbook* for "Fruit cake" in 1886.

Book Review

Winning the Vote: The Triumph of the American Woman Suffrage Movement

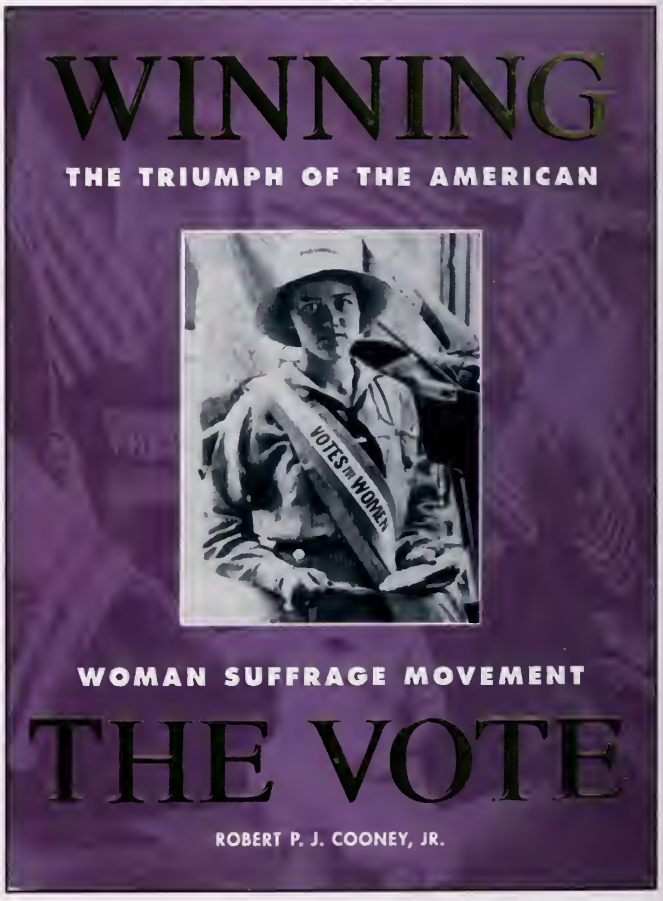
Reviewed By Michael Kelly

Winning the Vote: The Triumph of the American Woman Suffrage Movement by Robert P. J. Cooney, Jr. 479p. maps. photos. reprods. bibliog. index. American Graphic. 2005. ISBN 0-9770095-0-5. LC 2005904560.

For many years items from the battle to gain votes for women were neglected by collectors. Like many cause items, they were overlooked by collectors more interested in the presidential candidates. Those days are over.

In the last decade women's suffrage items have become one of the most keenly sought specialties in the field. Collectors have a rich array of material to pursue; fabrics, china, 3D items, ribbons, posters, postcards, cartoons, badges and, of course, buttons are to be found both supporting and opposing the idea that women should be allowed to cast a vote.

Published in time to mark the 85th anniversary of the ratification of the 19th Amendment, Robert P. J. Cooney, Jr. has produced a magnificent piece of work in Winning the Vote: The Triumph of the American Woman Suffrage Movement. Reminiscent of Stephan Lorant's wonderful Glorious Burden, which focused on presidential campaigns, Cooney's lavishly illustrated volume focuses on the drive for women's suffrage from 1848 to 1920. This massive and handsomely designed book presents the movement chronologically, with emphasis on the personalities and political campaigns of the era. The illustrations are rich and inclusive with nearly a thousand photographs, posters, buttons and paper items including portraits of movement leaders (including white and black women and even men).



Cooney captures the color and excitement of a growing movement that began in ridicule and abuse but reached its culmination in triumph. Moving in chronological order, the early chapters cover decades but, as the pace of political activity increases, later chapter cover single years.

The readable text eschews massive passages in favor of short segments that highlight specific aspects of the campaign, making the 479 pages fly by. Every page carries handsome illustrations, including a rich selection of buttons, badges and other material from the suffrage campaign.

Even collectors who don't specialize in the women's suffrage movement will find Winning the Vote a welcome addition to their library.

Alva Belmont (1853-1933) Suffragist, reformer, philanthropist

"I have been crying in the wilderness for wealthy women to give up their leisure and do something to justify their existence--in vain. No reforms appeal to women who have everything," bemoaned Alva Belmont, who, unlike the rich she criticized, was a major benefactor of the women's suffrage movement. Belmont, a divorcee, then widow, of two affluent men, gave of herself as well as her fortune. She was a founder of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage and its successor, the National Women's Party.

In 1912 she led a suffrage march in New York City, and five years later, she gave her Washington, DC, house to the NWP as its headquarters, serving as the organization's president from 1921 until her death. Belmont campaigned for decent working conditions and fair wages for laboring women, supporting the 1909-1910 New York shirtwaist makers' strike. She not only raised funds for the cause, but personally went to court to bail out strikers. The owner of several lavish homes, the untiring Belmont also pursued an interest in design, becoming one of the first female members of the American Institute of Architects.

Mrs. Belmont designed and purchased from England, the white dinnerware with the cursive "Votes for Women" in blue, which is highly sought by suffrage collectors today. These pieces were used at dinner parties in the Belmont home in Newport, Rhode Island, and guests were permitted to take some of the pieces home with them when they departed. (See page 99 for place setting.)

Her funeral at Saint Thomas Episcopal Church in New York City featured all female pallbearers and a large contingent of suffragists.

Hikers Not Pikers

The Pilgrim Hikers first appeared on December 16, 1912, when Rosalie Jones led a determined group of women from New York City to Albany to present a petition to the Governor, seeking quick passage of a suffrage amendment. Although more than 100 women started in NYC, only 5 of the original group braved inclement weather to reach Albany on December 28. The hike received such wide-spread publicity for the cause across the state that Jones planned a second trip, hiking from NYC to Washington, D.C., to generate national publicity for the movement. The hikers met at the Hudson Terminal in the city, boated across the Hudson, and started walking from Newark, NJ on a cold Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1913

The Pilgrim Hikers objective was to march to Washington, D.C. and join the National Suffrage Parade, scheduled for March 3, the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration. Called "The Army of the Hudson" by its leader, "General" Rosalie Jones (and later renamed "The Army of the Potomac"), Assisted by "Colonel" Ida Craft,

Poster

SUFFRAGE HIKERS SEND WILSON A FLAG

General Jones Not Alarmed by a Report That a Colored Women's Club Will Fall in Line.

Suffragists Reach Laurel, Md., After Uneventful March of Twenty-two Miles from Baltimore.

Special to The New York Times.

LAUREL, Md., Feb. 26.—Gen. Rosalie Jones, in command of the Army of the Hudson marching on Washington in the interest of the suffragist cause, may have to take a definite stand on the color question before the hike is over. It is reported that the negro women of a small hamlet not far from here are to organize a Colored Women's Suffrage Club and intend to march with the hikers into Washington. Gen. Jones did not seem to take the report seriously. Her only remark was, "Yes they will," with the accent upon the first and last words. In an unobtrusive way four or five colored women with a fair imitation of a suffrage flag trailed along behind the hikers for a few hundred yards as they passed through one hamlet to-day, making it seem likely that the color question would have to be answered shortly.

Gen. Jones is considering another problem. She received word to-day from the Committee of Arrangements that men would not be permitted to march with the Army of the Hudson in the suffrage parade in Washington. The hikers' escort of men, including war correspondents, is as large as the women's organization. Gen. Jones sent word to Washington to-night that she wanted the men to march.

The advance to-day was over a good road, twenty-two miles, from Baltimore to Laurel.

Gen. Jones to-day sent from Army Headquarters here by parcel post to President-elect Wilson a yellow "votes for women" flag and this letter:

Suffrage Headquarters,
Laurel, Md., Feb. 26, 1913.

President-elect Woodrow Wilson:

We send and beg of you to accept this votes for women flag as a momento of our pilgrimage through New York and New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. Yours very truly,
ROSALIE GARDNER JONES.

Farmers and their wives came to the roadside to-day to gaze at the brown-garbed pilgrims as they hiked along. Cries of "Votes for women" or "On to Washington" were answered by "Howdy," the awkward lifting of a cap, or a bit of rustic humor. When the pilgrims approached the hamlet called Hall, Col. Craft was in the lead. As she came in sight some children gave an old-time "rebel yell." One boy threw a stone at the Colonel's feet. Another stone came and then a volley. None struck the hikers. It was the evident intention of the children to frighten rather than harm the hikers. It was nearly dusk when the suffragists reached Laurel. A committee of women wearing yellow streamers welcomed them. After dinner there was a suffragist meeting.

Buttons are 1- 1/4"

Banner reads "Votes for Women Pilgrimage from New York City to Washington DC 1913"

Jones and the small band of determined suffragists faced a 290 mile journey, enduring snow covered ground, ice and mud--and that was just on the first day's trek to Metuchen, NJ! Jones exhorted the hikers to go farther each day and often they covered distances that many observers thought impossible.

Along the way, local pro-suffrage women and men joined the hikers for part of each day's journey. Over 50 people joined the group between Newark and Elizabeth, and by the time the pilgrims reached Metuchen, banners from the Newark Equal Suffrage League, the Essex County Suffrage Society and the Orange Political Study Club were displayed. This pattern of local groups' involvement as the hikers went by, with their banners and signs of support, continued thoughout the trip, and received wide-spread publicity both in the local communities and in the national press along the way. In Philadelphia, a large crowd welcomed the hikers, and in Wilmington, the mayor declared a half-day holiday to celebrate their arrival. The "Army of the Potomac" arrived in Washington on February 27th to deliver their message to the incoming President, and participate in the parade.

American Banners


EQUALITY AND JUSTICE
FOR
ALL

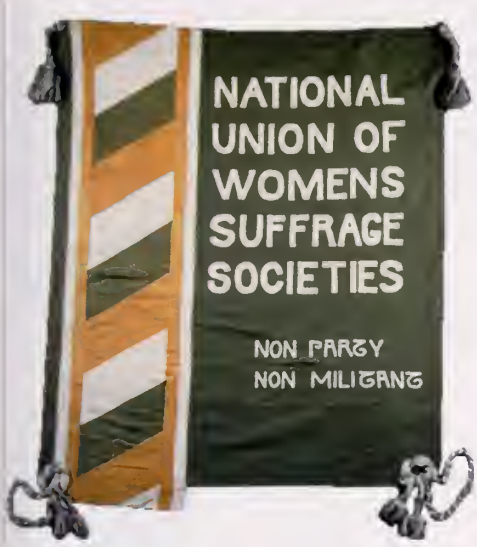

VOTES FOR WOMEN

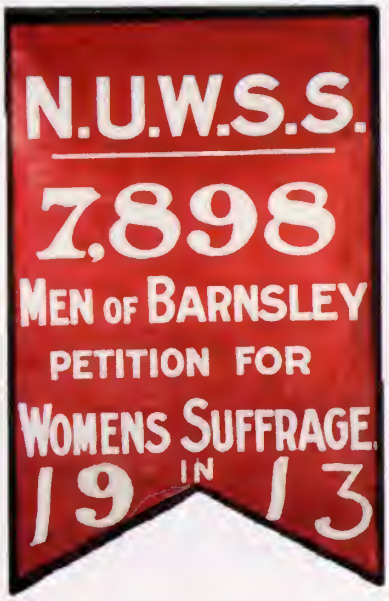

THE
CHICAGO EQUAL
SUFFRAGE
CITY OF CHICAGO
INCORPORATED 4TH MARCH 1837
ASSOCIATION


The Women's
Relief Corps
Endorse
EQUAL
SUFFRAGE

British Banners

British banners from the Women's Library, London Metropolitan University, London, England.





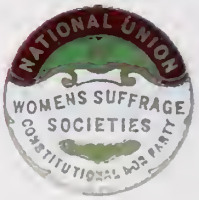
London suffrage parade showing Lucy Stone banner.

Famous American suffrage leaders were featured on British banners.

The Art of Enamel Badges

Enamel pins combined the message formate of the button or badge with the attractiveness of jewelry. Because such pieces were expensive to produce, they were probably sold to women who could afford them as opposed to being mass giveaways.




Celluloid Button Shown Reduced

The "Vrouwen Kiesrecht" badge, modeled after an American design, was manufactured in the Netherlands and the phrase means "Women's Rights."

The Scottish University Women's Suffrage Union was founded in Edinburgh in 1909, to seek the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women. It was open to men and women who held a degree from any university in the UK or abroad, and also to women who were on the medical registry.


WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL
PARTY
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN
INDEPENDENT AMERICAN COALITION WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN
Votes for Women
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN
"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP
VOTES FOR WOMEN
1915
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
VOTES FOR WOMEN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE
CENTER
WOMENS FREEDOM LEAGUE
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES for WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN

Ceramics

Match holder

Match striker

Pipe holder

Two sided bell.

Two sided candle snuffer.

Bell *Bell*

Bell

Bloomer girl

Flask in the image of Emmeline Pankhurst.

Tobacco jars

Glass candy container

Ashtray

Fairing - the name given to items distributed at county fairs as prizes at the game booths.

Royal Doulton ink wells, 1908.

Match holders

Match holders

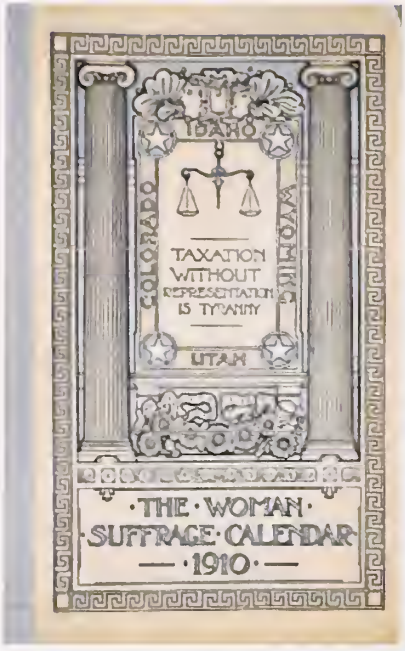
Also comes saying "Votes for Women".

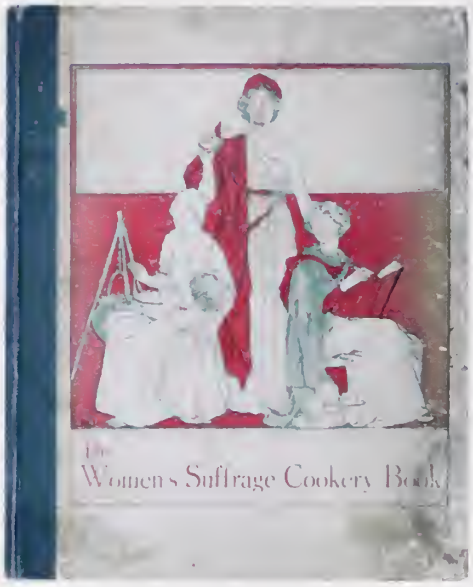
Match holders

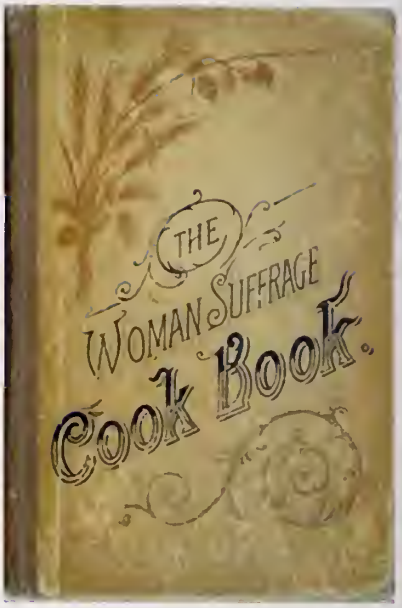
Matchbox holder

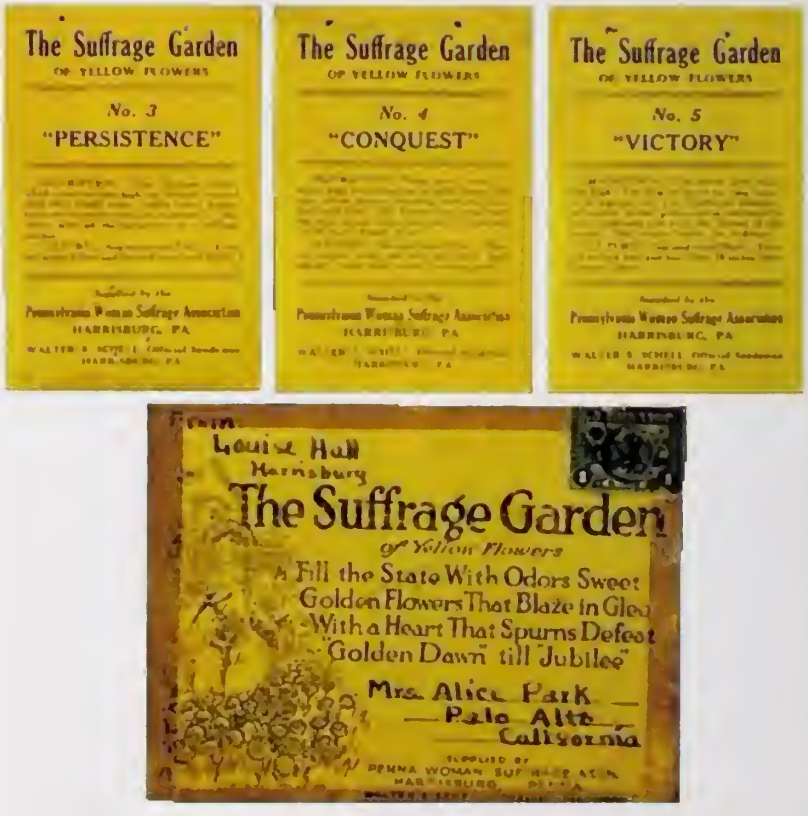
Examples of Alva Belmont's dishware

Emblem designed by Christabel Pankhurst





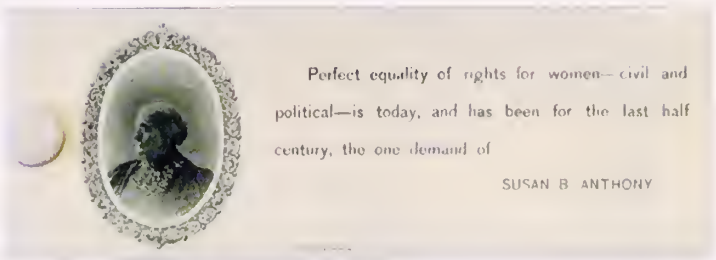




Suffrage Garden flower seed packages and mailing envelope.

Crewel panel

Quilt panel



Celluloid blotter cover

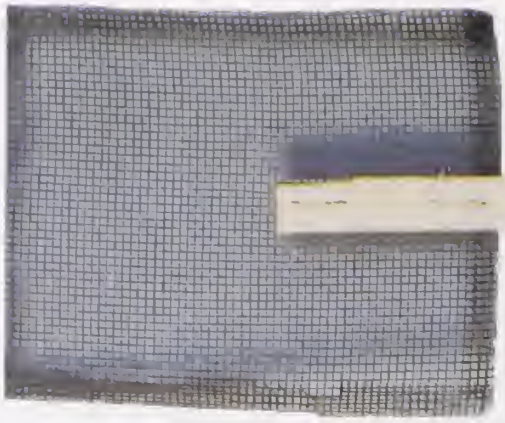
Teapot cover

Bookmark

Doily

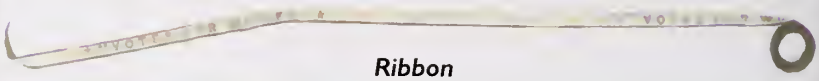
Items found around the home - daily reminders of the drive for equality in the voting booth.

Pepperette



Fly swatters

Christmas ribbon



Ribbon

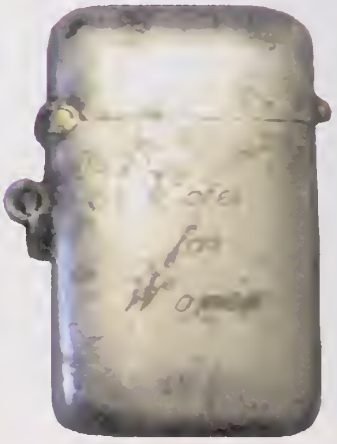
Letter opener

Metal

Metal

Coin purse

Umbrella shown reduced.

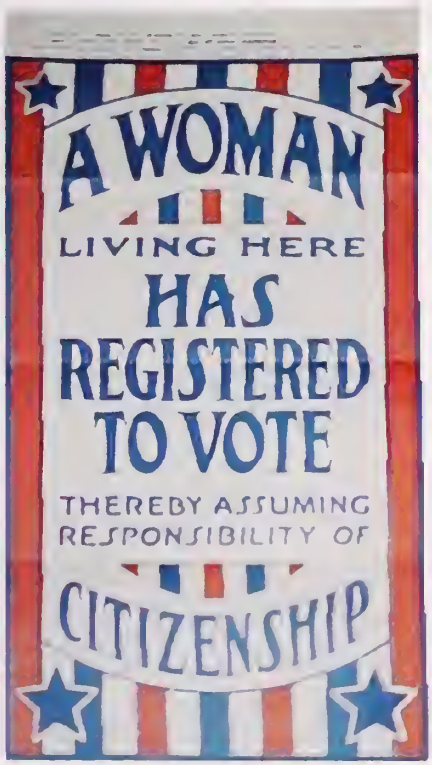


Match safe

Cecelia Harris: An Inspiration

Cecelia Harris, known to APIC members simply as "Ceil," was a pioneer in the preservation of Women's Suffrage memorabilia. Some of the items seen in this issue are from her collection. In 1960 Ceil, with her husband U.I. "Chick" Harris, led a dwindling number of determined APIC members to breathe new life into our organization that was founded in 1945. This opened communication and access to specialist collectors who shared Ceil's interest in Womens Rights and the history of the suffrage movement. One of those collectors was Agnes Gay of East Rochester, New York, a suffragette who provided Ceil with much of her own collection. Gay (APIC #7) was the first woman selected for the American Political Items Collectors Hall of Fame. Only two other women have been honored with the Hall of Fame Award since then: Kennedy specialist Bonnie Gardner (APIC #2466) and Cecelia Harris (APIC #3139)

It is impossible to calculate how many collectors and preservers of women's suffrage items have been directly influenced by Ceil Harris since 1960. However, it is obvious that she was a guiding light for other dedicated collectors interested in women's rights movements, from suffrage to ERA to the most recent legislation guaranteeing women equal pay with men for the same work. She and "Chick" founded the APIC Harris Fellowship Endowment to further interest in APIC and promote it through institutions, organizations, and special projects.



Ceil passed away last May in Highland, Illinois, the community to which she and "Chick" moved more than ten years ago. She is an irreplaceable loss not only to her family and loved ones, but to all of us who took inspiration from her dedication to a cause that was such an important part of her life.

The Keynoter gratefully thanks "Chick" Harris and the U. I. "Chick" and Cecelia Harris Fellowship Endowment for partially underwriting this issue.

Ribbons & Badges

Equal Sufferage Ball

October 13 1915

LYNN, MASS.

Lucretia Coffin Mott

60th ANNIVERSARY

1848-1908

ANNUAL CONVENTION OF STATE AND NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N

OCT. 13-21, 1908

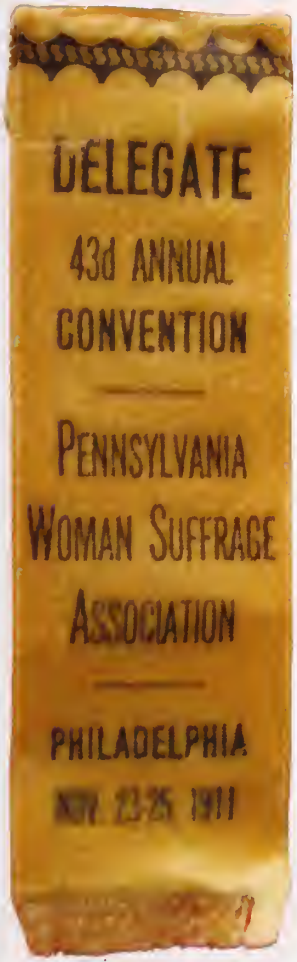
BUFFALO, N. Y.

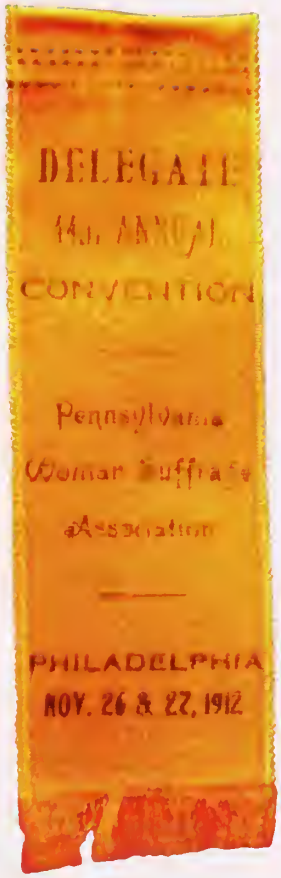
Elizabeth Cady Stanton

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BAZAR

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE SCHOOL

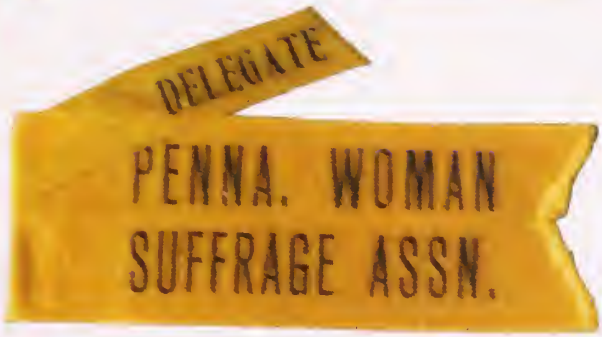
BATON ROUGE—FEB. 22-23-24


DELEGATE
43d ANNUAL
CONVENTION
PENNSYLVANIA
WOMAN SUFFRAGE
ASSOCIATION
PHILADELPHIA


DELEGATE
CONVENTION
Pennsylvania
Woman Suffrage
Association
PHILADELPHIA
NOV. 26 & 27, 1912

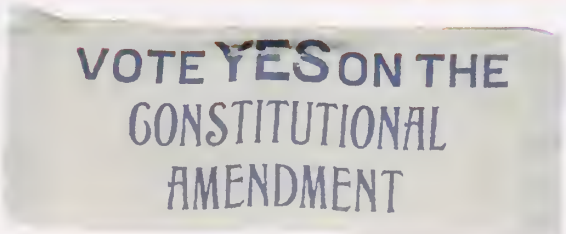

WOMAN
SUFFRAGE
ASSOCIATION
SCRANTON, PA.
NOV. 19-24, 1914


VOTES
FOR
WOMEN


DELEGATE
PENNA. WOMAN
SUFFRAGE ASSN.


N.
J.
W.
S.
A.
TRENTON
1903


NEW JERSEY
SUFFRAGE
CONVENTION
DELEGATE
TRENTON
NOV. 16-17
1917


VOTE YES ON THE
CONSTITUTIONAL
AMENDMENT


"VOTES FOR WOMEN"


VOTES FOR WOMEN


Delegate
33rd Annual
Nebraska
Woman
Suffrage
Convention
Lincoln
Nov. 6-7
1913


WOLCOTT
WISCONSIN

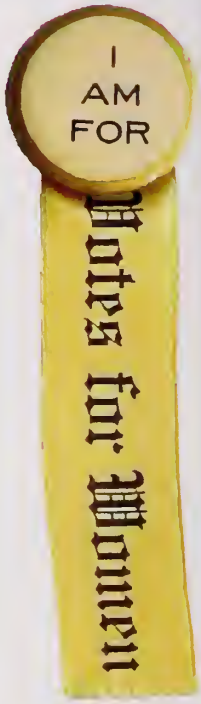

VOTES
FOR
WOMEN
IDAHO


UTAH
Womans'
Suffrage


VOTES
FOR
WOMEN
Reception Committee.


WOMANS PARTY


VOTER
WOMANS PARTY


I
AM
FOR
Votes for Women


CALIFORNIA and NEVADA


Woman's
Parliament
OF
Southern
California


VOTES FOR WOMEN
Minnesota
Federation of
Women's Clubs
Alternate


I CAN
VOTE
CAN YOU
MINNESOTA

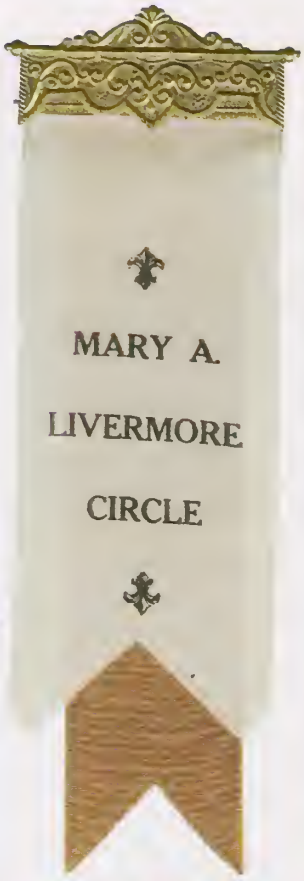

EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
VOTES FOR
WOMEN
ON
THE WAY
STATE OF NEVADA


CALIFORNIA
NOW BALLOT OCT. 10 11

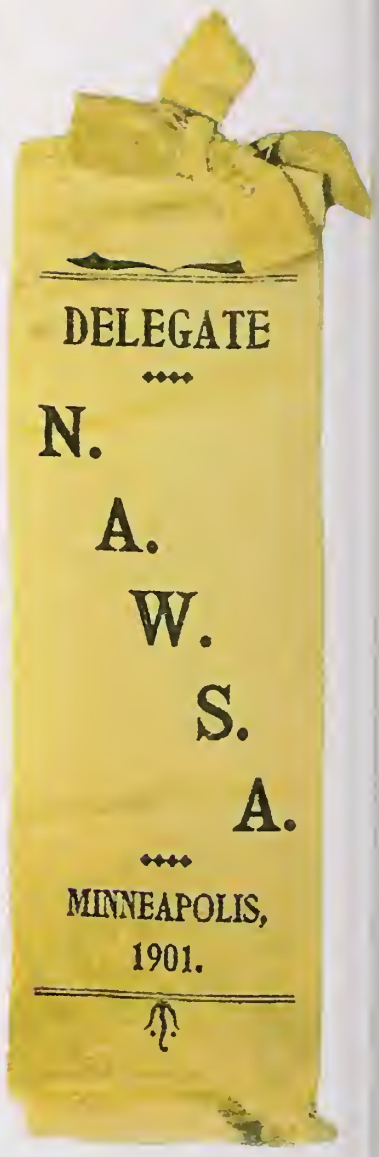

VOTES FOR WOMEN


MINNESOTA

Frances Willard



Susan B. Anthony

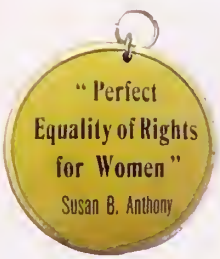


Anna Howard Shaw

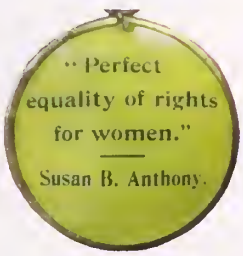
Susan B. Anthony

Carrie Chapman Catt

Reverse



Reverse 1



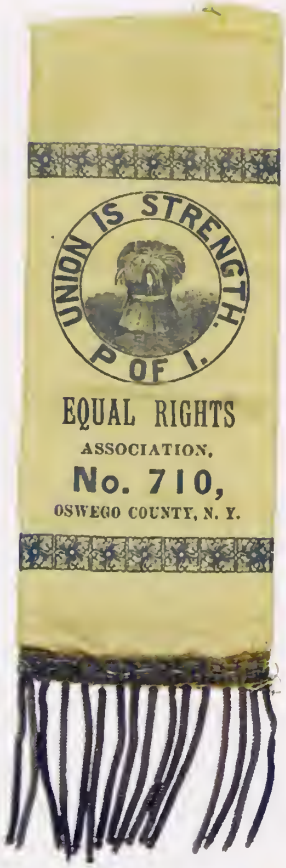
Reverse 2

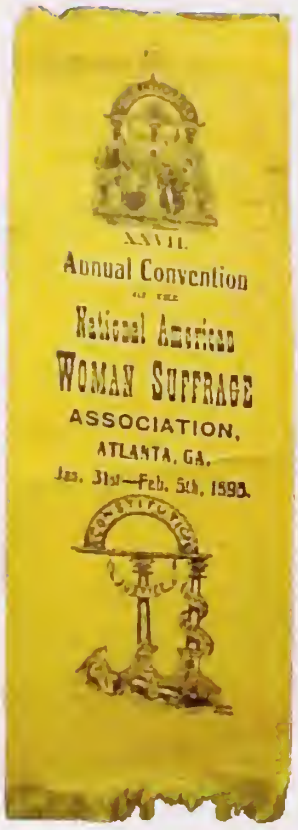
Reverse

Susan B. Anthony

Lillian Hollister

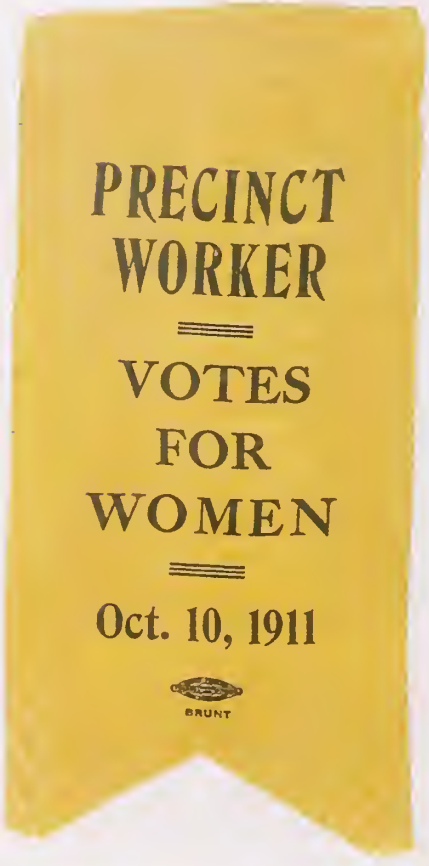
Susan B. Anthony


UNION IS STRENGTH.
P OF I.
EQUAL RIGHTS
ASSOCIATION,
No. 710,
OSWEGO COUNTY, N. Y.

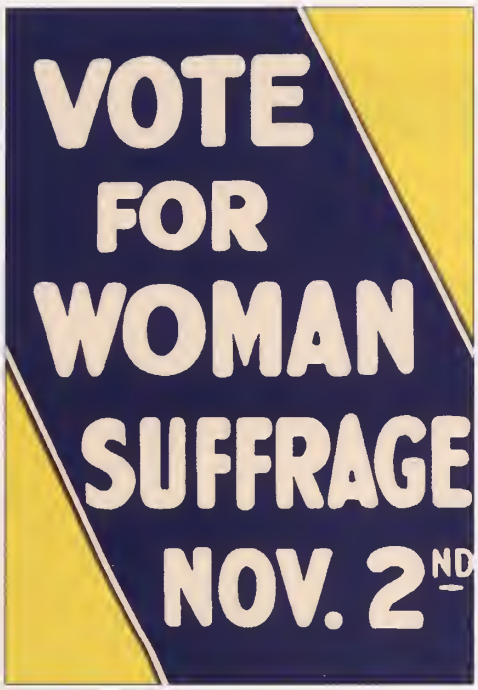

XXVII.
Annual Convention
National American
WOMAN SUFFRAGE
ASSOCIATION,
ATLANTA, GA.
Jan. 31st—Feb. 5th, 1895.


VOTES FOR WOMEN
Kansas.
"When Freedom's banner is unfurled,
No star among its folds of blue
Shines forth to nations far and wide
With luster brighter, with beams more true;
Though oft mid clouds 'tis hidden quite,
It rises ever for the right."


Precinct
Captain
VOTES
FOR
WOMEN
Oct 10, 1911


PRECINCT
WORKER
VOTES
FOR
WOMEN
Oct. 10, 1911
BRUNT

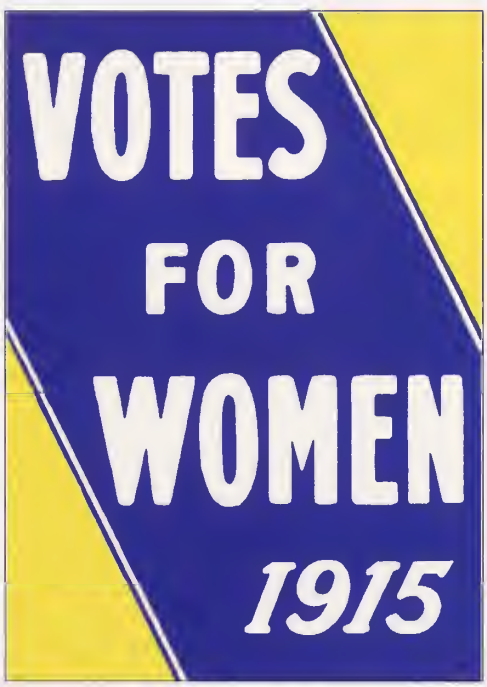

House Committee


VOTE
FOR
WOMAN
SUFFRAGE
NOV. 2ND


VOTE
FOR
WOMAN
SUFFRAGE
NOV. 6TH

Broadsides


VOTE
YES
ON
THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE
AMENDMENT
NOVEMBER 2


VOTES
FOR
WOMEN
1915

Suffrage Toys

Politics and political causes are usually considered very serious business. However, politics also leads to lampooning by the opposition and in a few cases politicians poking fun at themselves. The Suffrage movement was no different. This article will look at both sides.

The most common toys are card and board games. Others include Jack-in-the--boxes, Roly-Poly's, mechanical toys such as one of Sojourner Truth, and an illustrated children's book. These are just a few of the children's items issued to laud or ridicule the movement. Like the china for the movement, many of the toys were produced in Germany for export. Many others were produced locally, either in England or the United States.

According to Elizabeth Crawford's excellent reference *The Women's Suffrage Movement*, the British movement embraced the idea and strove to benefit both in support and monetary gain from such things. The design was to introduce the cause into all domestic circles where other types of propaganda might not be welcomed. Several toy companies also recognized the commercial appeal of the movement and produced many items poking fun at the Suffragettes - especially in a comic mode. However, these companies did not contribute any profits from the sale of the toys to the movement.

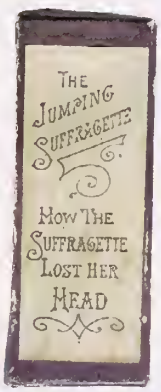
The Jack-in-the-boxes were used to "scare" people, as the characters that popped out of the boxes were not designed to show the Suffragists in an attractive light.

Several card games, such as "SUFFRAGETTE", "RUSHING THE HOUSE," and "PANKO" all showed personalities involved on both sides of the issue From Winston Churchill to Mrs. Pankhurst, these cards were advertised to "produce intense excitement without the slightest taint of bitterness." The movement on both sides of the Atlantic issued several different decks of playing cards with the Votes for Women logo in the movement's colors.

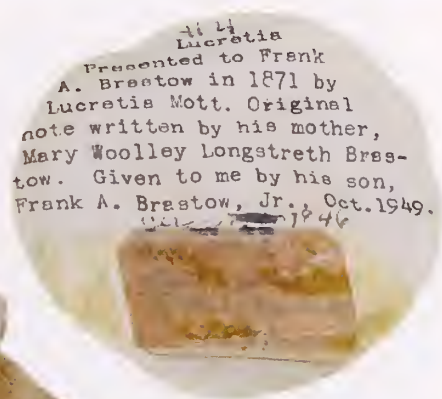
On the positive side, the Suffrage Bazaars, organized to raise funds for the movement, solicited toys such as dolls in full Suffragette regalia, from its supporters for sale to the general public. As the movement became more radical, dolls were even sold wearing prison uniforms.

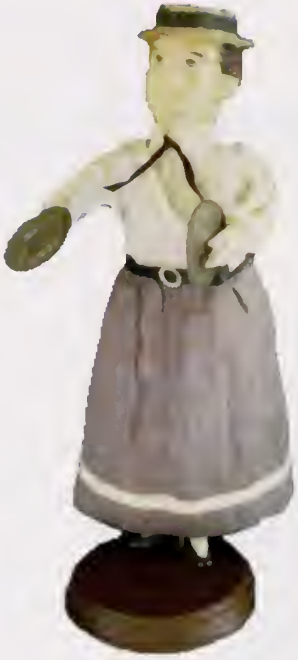
Most of these items appeared around Christmas and proponents and opponents of the movement gave them as gifts. Nonetheless, these items remain scarce. As a side note, Sylvia Pankhurst set up a toy factory and babies nursery in East London

Bird in cage spins as it goes down spiral rod.



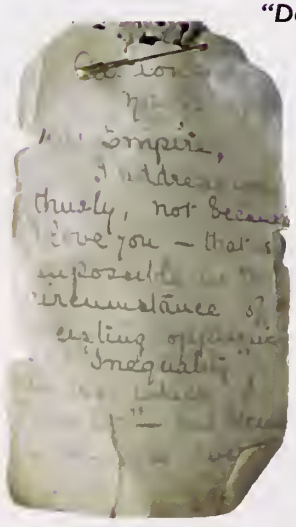
Gold fishbowl spinner.

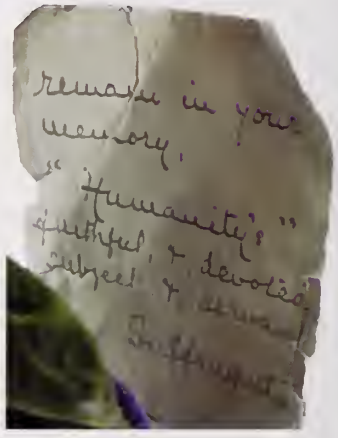




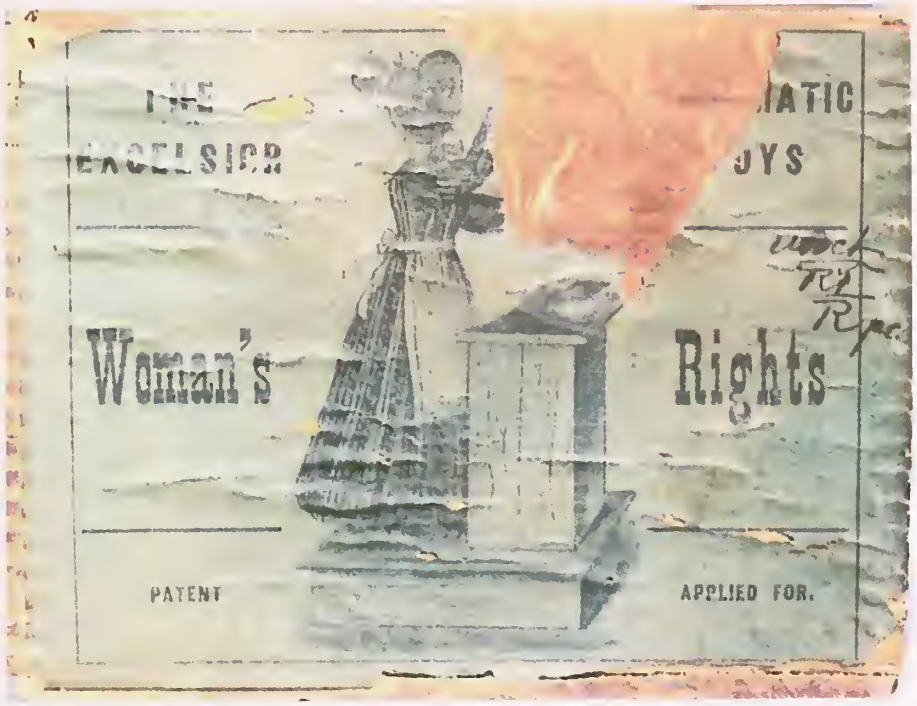
"Dear Winston" Doll

Jack (Jill?) in the box.



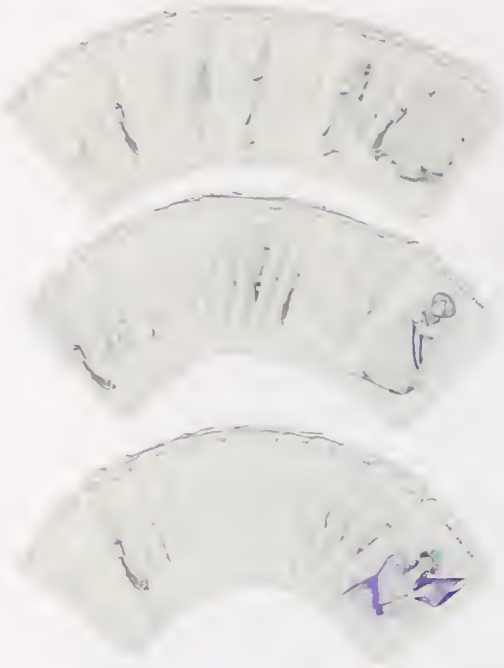


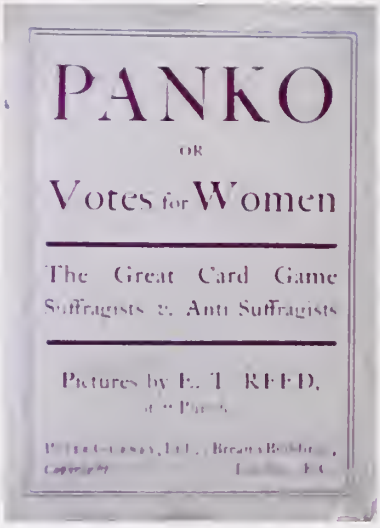
Winston S. Churchill served in HM Government as Home Secretary in 1910-11. When he took the post, he made as one of his main programs reforms in the prison system, for which he held responsibility. The changes he sought had to do with lessening the prison population, ending debtors prison sentences and unequal sentencing, but not specifically in the treatment of suffragettes. This attractive, well dressed doll is asking, in the form of a letter to Dear Winston, for equal treatment for the suffrage prisoners, primarily in Holloway Prison.



Original box for figure below right

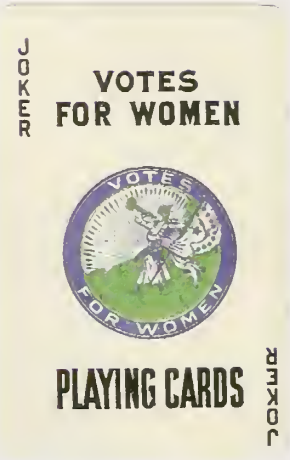
Automatons (mechanical wind-up figures)

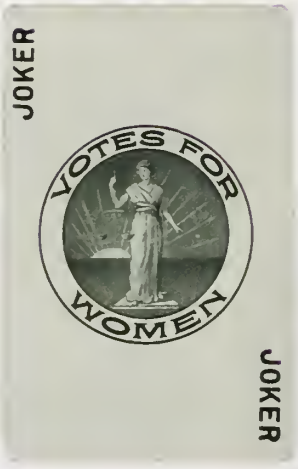



PANKO
OR
Votes for Women
The Great Card Game
Suffragists v. Anti Suffragists
Pictures by E. T. REED.


PANK ! PANK ! PANK !


VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN


JOKER
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN
PLAYING CARDS
JOKER


JOKER
VOTES FOR WOMEN
JOKER


VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN

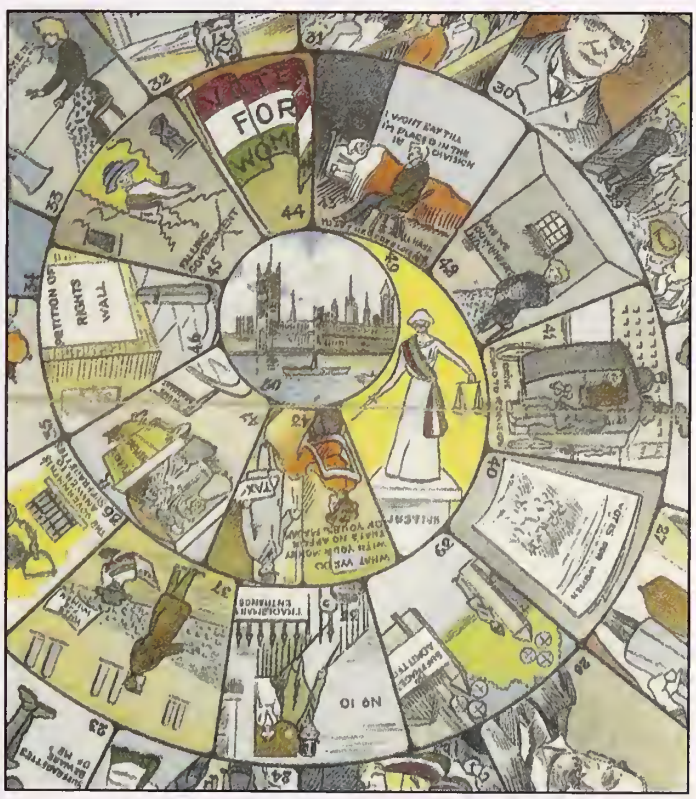

VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN


VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN


VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN


VOTES FOR WOMEN

Paper doll sheet.



Women's Baseball & Suffrage, 1915

Courtesy NJ Historical Society • Amelia Berndt Moorrfield Collection

Suffragettes at play.

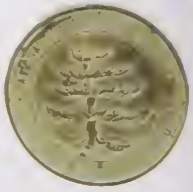
Athletics for girls and women became commonplace by the late 19th century. Between 1890 and 1920, a small women's league, the Bloomer League, played baseball in various parts of the United States. Named for Amelia Bloomer, a 19th century advocate of healthier dress fashions for women, the league provided an opportunity for some women to play professional ball. Women's baseball was still enough of a novelty and crowd pleaser in 1915 that New Jersey suffragists used baseball games, such as the one pictured at left, to attract attention to the upcoming state referendum on woman suffrage.

Robe worn in suffrage protest parades.

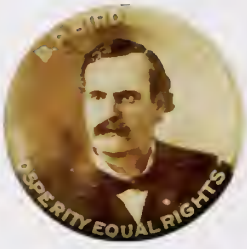
Pennant

Bits and Pieces

In 1914, Miss,Caroline Ruutz-Rees of Connecticut, the principal of a flourishing girls school in Greenwich, and a third Vice President of the American Woman Suffrage Association, believed that the future and success of the woman's movement lay in the conversion and enlistment of young people into the cause. To meet this objective she started the National Junior Suffrage Corps, whose motto was "YOUTH TODAY, TOMORROW POWER."



The 3 Seats For Women buttons are thought to refer to the policy of "Women and children first," called for by ocean liners in the off-loading of passengers into life boats in event of a catastrophic event. With the sinking of the Titanic in 1912, groups against votes for women cited this societally accepted preference towards women in moments of danger as an example of how men stood ready to protect the weaker sex, as they did by taking on the onerous obligations of government. Suffragists argued that the women had not asked for this policy, and they should have been allowed to deal with the situation on an equal basis with the male passengers.



The Men's League for Women's Suffrage was a society formed in 1907 by the left-wing writers Henry Brailsford, Max Eastman, Laurence Housman, Henry Nevinson and others to pursue women's suffrage.

Metal token

Brodicia Brooch - first Suffragette awards given by Emmeline Pankhurst for those arrested during suffrage protests.

Bank

Insignia of the International Women Suffrage Alliance, adopted in Denmark 1906

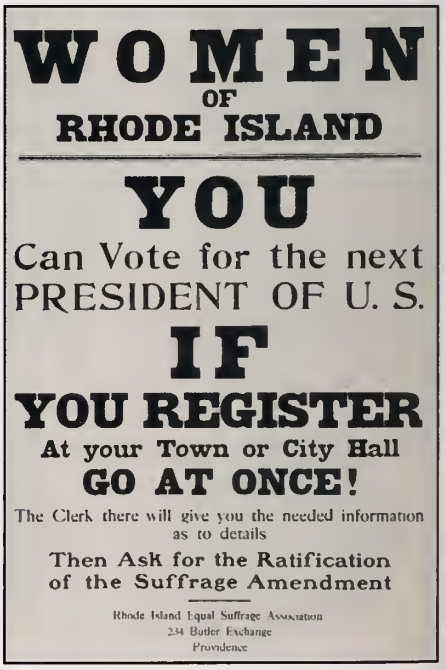
Medal given to NAWSA delegates, 1920, Shown reduced

St. Louis, MO. Ballot box for women's votes, used when women could only vote for local offices.

English clock

Armband

Paper pennant



Broadside

The WCTU White Ribbon

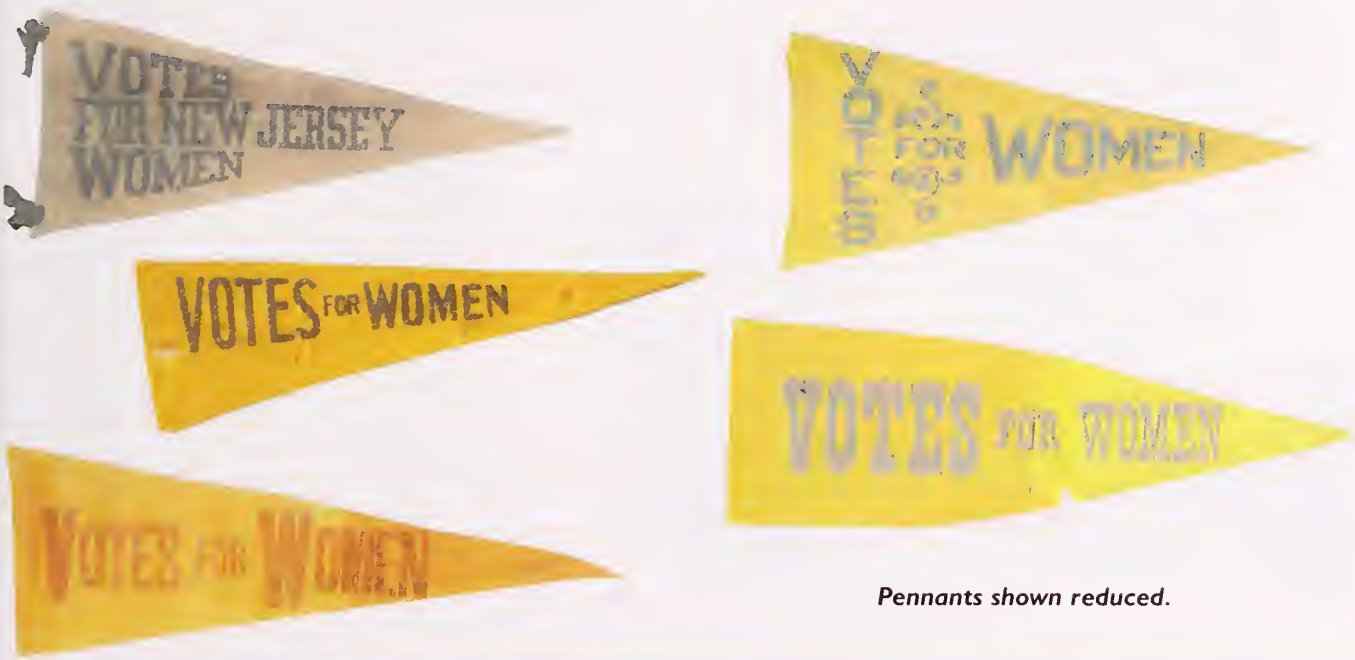
One of the most recognized symbols of any women's organization is the white ribbon of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WTCU). Its leader and ardent suffragist, Francis Willard, adopted the white ribbon in 1877, because it stood for universal purity and patriotism as white was included in all flags at that time. The color also stood for universal prohibition, philanthropy and universal peace.

Soap Bars

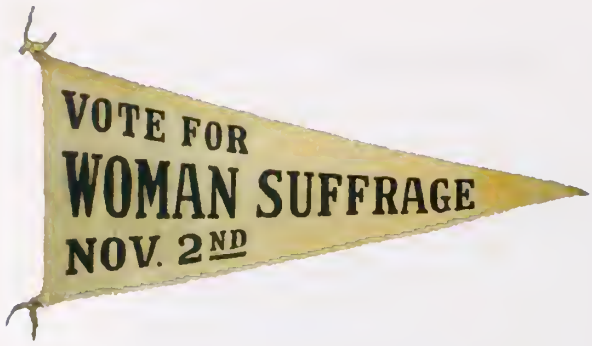
In 1915 in an effort to clean up the situation, the Women's Political Union of New York issued small cakes of white soap bearing in purple and green letters the message:
Votes for Women!
Equal Suffrage Means Clean Politics; Use this soap and do justice to women

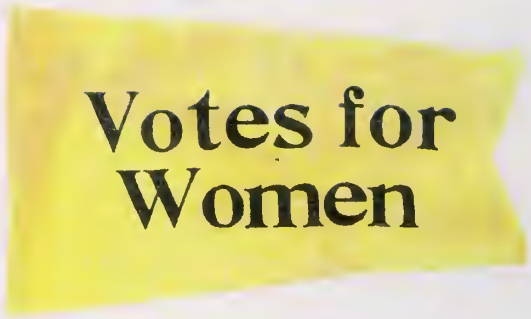
Americanization School:

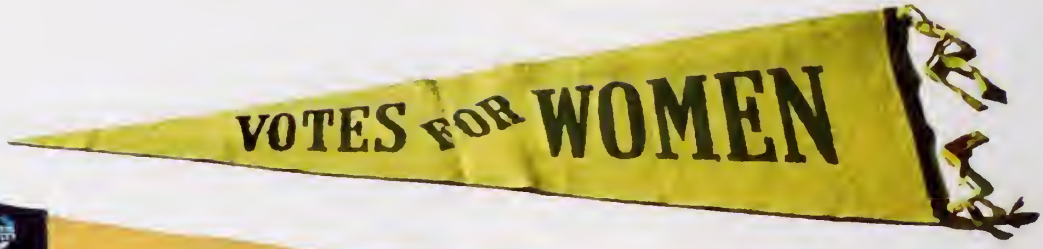
On February 5,1917, Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the American Woman Suffrage Association, issued a call to all women to support the war effort. To this end, the association organized Americanization Schools in every precinct across America to teach the masses (an estimated 8 million aliens lived in the US at this time), national allegiance, emphasizing tolerance, to the end that the Stars and Stripes shall wave over a loyal and undivided people.

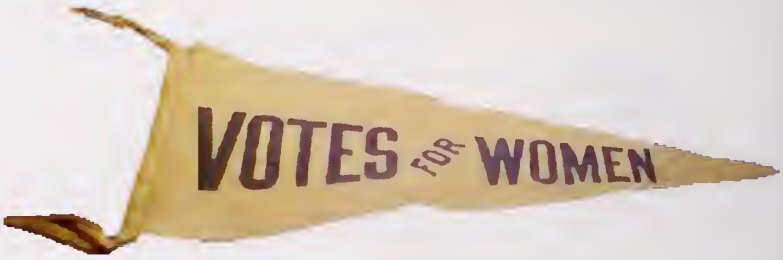


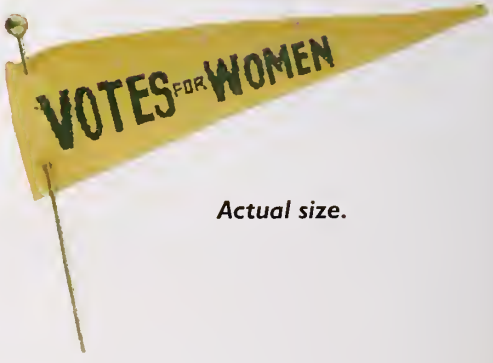
Pennants shown reduced.



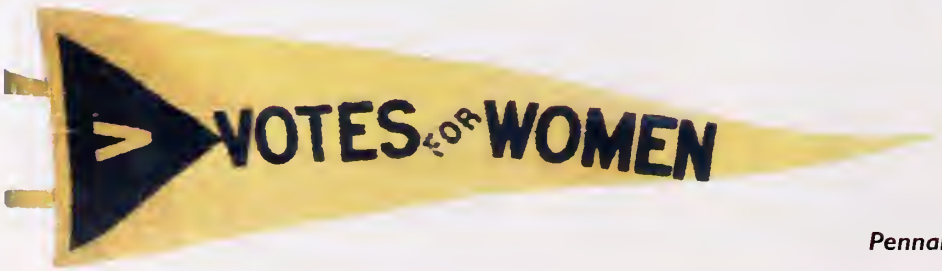




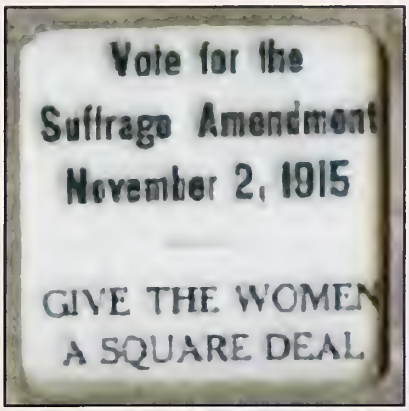




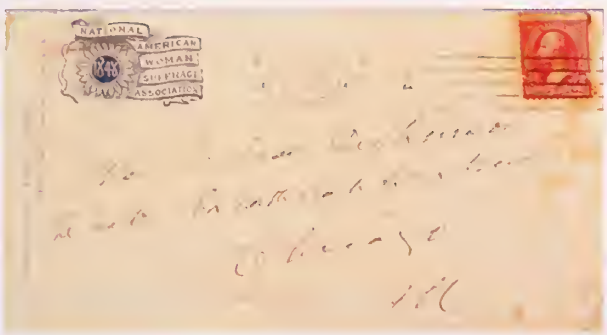
Actual size.



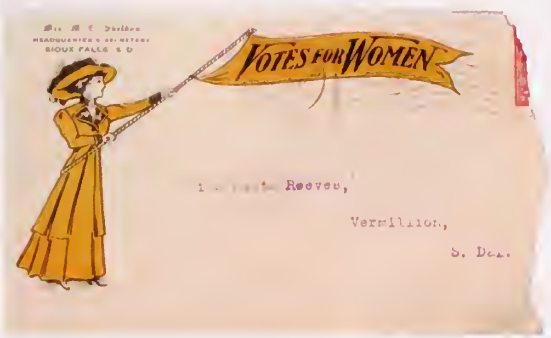
Pennants shown reduced except as noted.

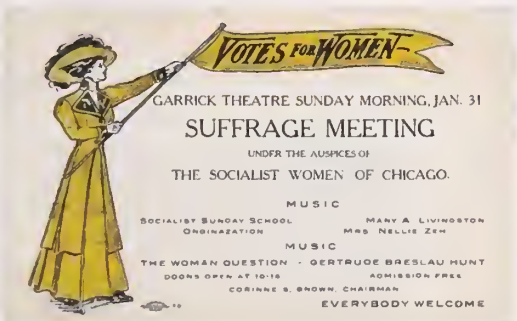


Glass slides

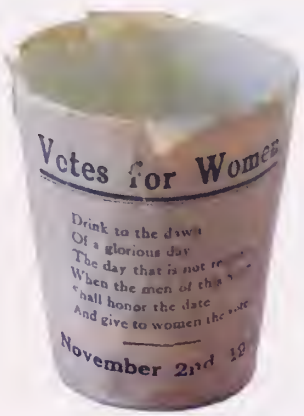


Envelopes





Postcard



Paper cups

Back Papers

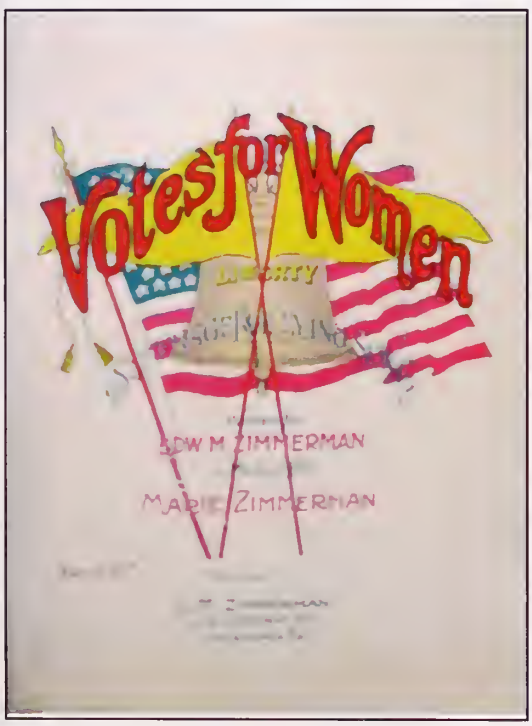
Most button manufacturers pre-1920 placed a company identification paper in the back of each button at the factory. Buttons were their own best advertisements, so it was important to tell people from whom they could order more or different buttons. They also established early copyrights for companies like Whitehead and Hoag. But it wasn't long before commercial users and political parties figured out that they could also use the back papers to promote their own ends, as seen in these American and English examples.

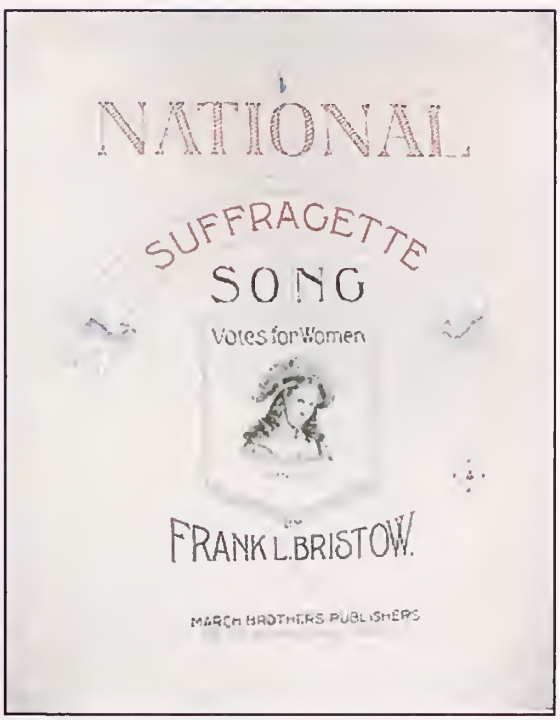
Examples of Woman Suffrage stamps

Valentines

A few examples

Serviette
These very thin paper napkins were commonly used to celebrate events both royal and political in Britain.





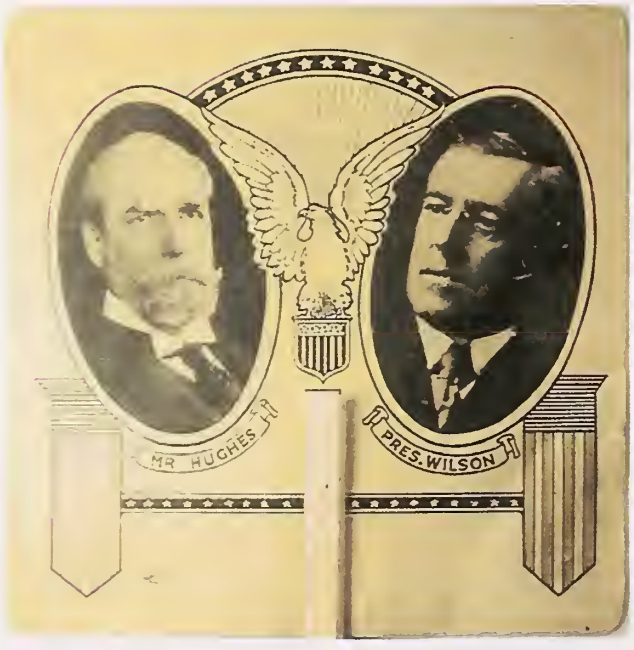
Examples of suffrage sheet music

Fans: For and Against

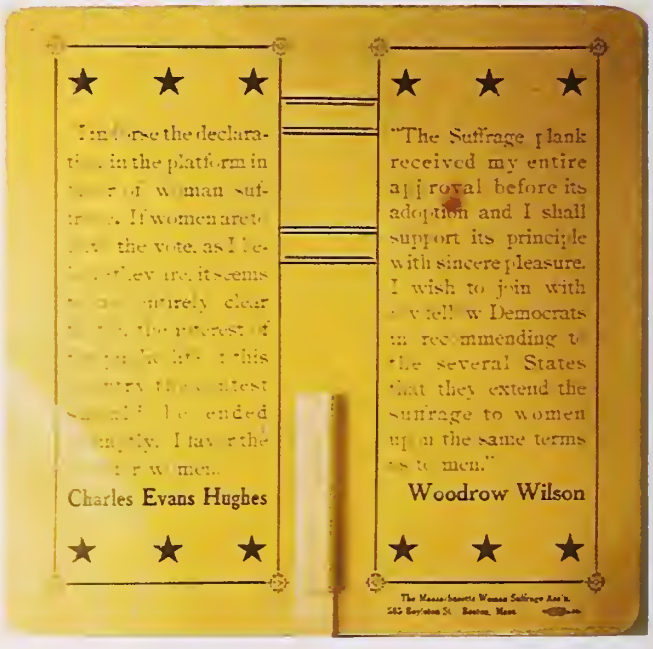
As with other items, fans were utilitarian and could publicly promote Votes for Women simply by being used.

Obverse

Reverse



Obverse



Reverse

Obverse

Reverse

Obverse

Reverse

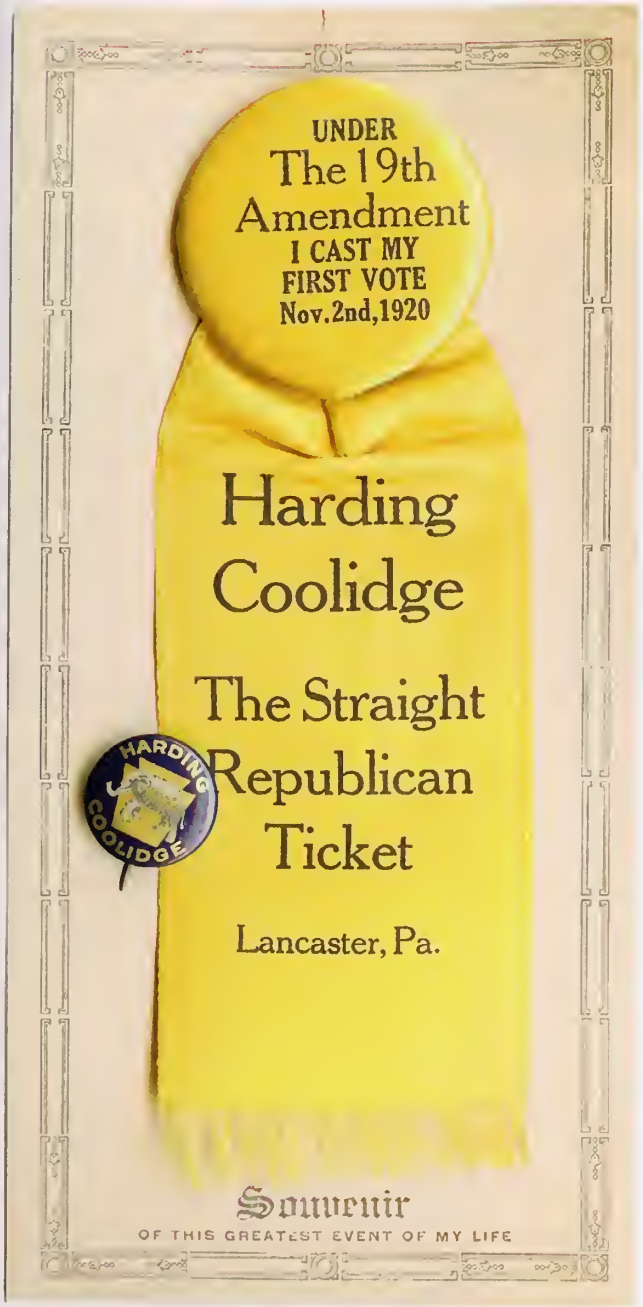
"Spooning" for Women's Equality

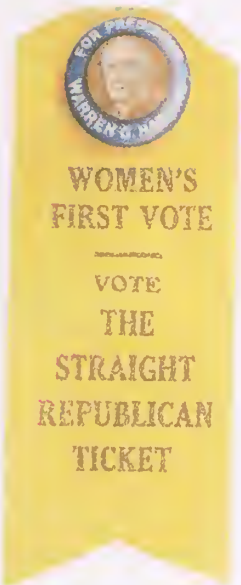
Top of spoon shown below, enlarged.

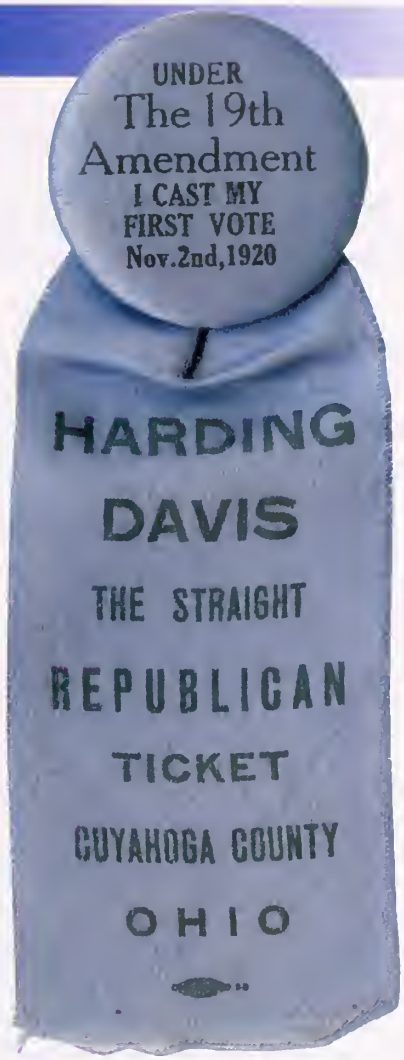
Bowl showing Woman's Building at 1893 Chicago World's Fair (below left).

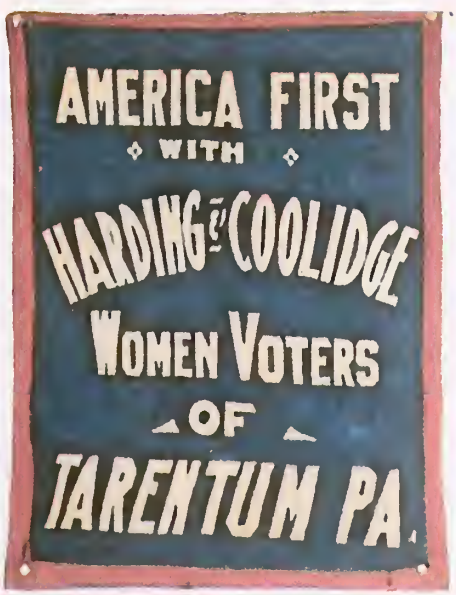
Top of spoon shown below, enlarged.

Casting the First Vote

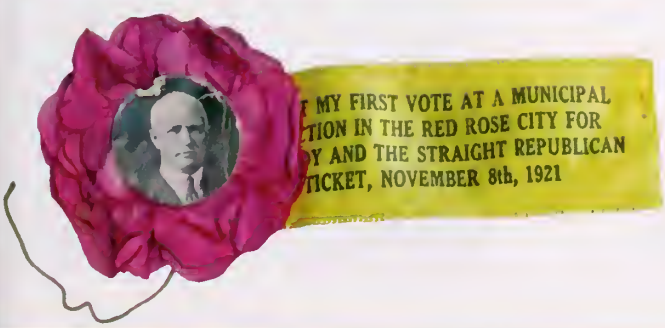






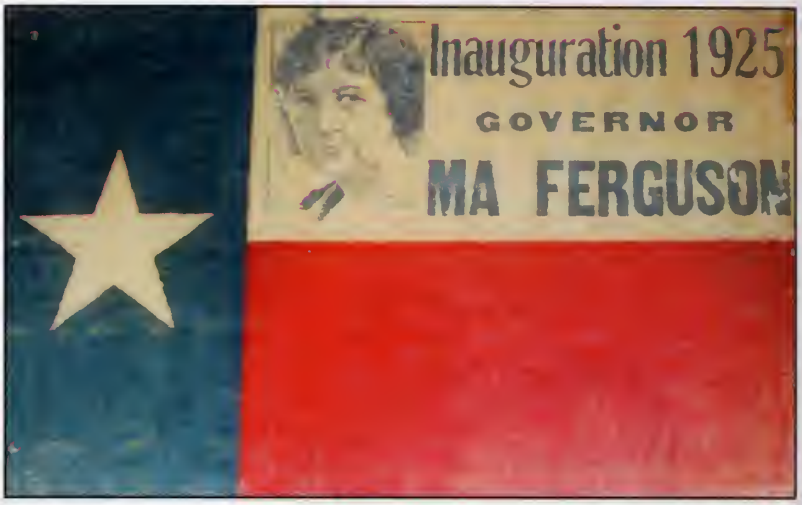


Banner



Miriam A. Ferguson: First Elected Woman Governor

By David Quintin



Miriam A. Ferguson won the November 1924 gubernatorial general election to become the first woman governor of Texas. Prior to this, she served as First Lady of Texas from 1915-1917 during her husband's term as governor. Jim Ferguson was impeached in 1917 during his second term in office. In 1924 when he failed to get his name on the ballot for governor, Miriam entered the race for the Texas governorship.

The couple became known as "Ma" and "Pa" during the 1924 campaign. She had devoted her focus to her family up to this point and her supporters latched onto her first and middle initials and began campaigning using "Ma" Ferguson. It was only a matter of time before Jim Ferguson became "Pa".

Her first administration was marred by allegations of corruption through the overabundance of pardons and paroles granted and the letting of state highway contracts. "Ma" pardoned an average of 100 convicts a month and she and "Pa" were accused of accepting bribes of land and cash. This led to threats of impeachment which were never brought against her. She failed to win the 1926 Democratic primary for reelection and did not seek office in 1928.

Jim Ferguson again tried to run for governor in 1930, but the Supreme Court rejected his petition to have his name placed on the ballot. "Ma" entered the race but was defeated in the Democratic primary runoff by Ross Sterling. Sterling went on to win the 1930 governorship only to encounter a bitter electorate in his reelection campaign in 1932 due to the impact of the great depression. This proved to be advantageous to "Ma" who again declared for the office and won by defeating Orville Bullington, a Republican, in the November general election.

Campaign items for "Ma" are quite scarce with only one known picture button and one ribbon produced. In addition, there is one anti-Ferguson lithograph button, "Roosevelt-Garner-Bullington", which is attributed to the 1932 race. In this campaign Bullington, a Republican, supported by anti-Miriam Ferguson Democrats ran on the coattails of Roosevelt and Garner in this governor's race. It is one of the few split ticket buttons produced during this era in American politics. Also, a straight Democratic ticket button for "Roosevelt-Garner-Ferguson" was produced.

"Ma" did not seek reelection in 1934 but did declare for governor in 1940 at the age of sixty-five only to be defeated in the Democratic primary by the popular incumbent, W. Lee O'Daniel.

Ruth Hanna McCormick of Illinois

Ruth Hanna McCormick was a suffragist and advocate for the rights of women and children. She actively campaigned for the vote for women from 1913 until the amendment was ratifed by the states in 1920. In 1913, Illinois women won the right to vote in municipal elections and for presidential electors and on bond issues. But oddly enough they did not win the right to vote for Congress, Governor, other statewide offices, or members of the General Assembly, until the 19th Amendment was ratified by three-quarters of the states in 1920. Illinois was one of the first three states to ratify the national vote for women amendment on June 10, 1919, and tied with the legislatures of Michigan and Wisconsin on that day.

Ruth was not the the first woman to serve in Congress from Illinois. Winifred Mason-Huck was elected in a special 1923 election to succeed her father Rep. William Mason but Winifred only served a few months and did not win renomination in 1924. Ruth not only served a full term in the House but she was also the first woman of either party to win a statewide election in Illinois when she became an at-large Member of Congress as a Republican in 1928. She campaigned in 99 of the 102 Illinois counties. There have been women representatives in Congress from Illinois in every decade since the 1920s.

The women pioneers from Illinois in the legislature included Lottie Holman O'Neill of Downers Grove who was first elected to the House in 1922. Florence Fifer Bohrer of Bloomington was the daughter of Gov. Joe Fifer and was the first woman elected to the state senate in 1924. But Lottie served longer than any other woman in a state legislature, 1923 to 1951 in the House with two years off and 1951 to 1963 in the Senate for a total of 38 years in legislative service. Lottie, Florence, Winifred, and Ruth were all Republicans.

Ruth Hanna McCormick came from two politically-powerful families and was owner and publisher of the Rockford Register-Republic and the Rockford Morning Star starting in 1930 during a time when she lived in Byron, Illinois in Ogle County.

Ruth Hanna was born on March 27, 1880 in Cleveland, Ohio. She was the daughter of the national Republican power broker Sen. Mark Hanna. In 1903, she married Medill McCormick, a grandson of Joseph Medill. Medill McCormick, like his grandfather, was editor and publisher of the Chicago Daily Tribune from about 1900 to 1908. Her husband was elected to the Illinois General Assembly in 1912 as a Bull Moose (Progressive) and he was a friend of Teddy Roosevelt and a national Vice President of the Progressive Party from 1912 to 1914. After just one term in the U.S. House from 1917 to 1919, he ran as the Republican candidate for US Senator and defeated Sen. James Hamilton Lewis in 1918.

In 1924, U.S. Sen. Medill McCormick was defeated in the Republican primary election by former Gov. Charles Deneen who was an ally of Chicago Mayor Big Bill Thompson. In February 1925, Ruth's husband Medill was only 48 years old in the final week of his Senate term. Medill was depressed over leaving the Senate and he took his own life in a Washington hotel as the session of the Senate was in its final days.

Mrs. Smith Runs for President

By Jo Freeman

On January 27, 1964 the Republican Senator from Maine stood before a luncheon of the Women's National Press Club held at the Mayflower Hotel and announced that she was running for President. At this moment Margaret Chase Smith became the first woman to become a candidate for a major party nomination for the nation's highest office.

Smith was used to breaking traditions and making precedents. While she had been elected to the House in 1940 to fill the seat vacated by the death of her husband Clyde, she had been elected to the Senate on her own in 1948, and re-elected in 1954 and 1960. In 1964 she was serving on three important Senate Committees: Appropriations, Armed Services, and Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

As a minority of one (and for six years two) in the most exclusive club in the world, she was always in the public eye. But never so much as on June 1, 1950, when she stood before the Senate and accused the Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy, of turning her beloved chamber into a "forum for hate." Her Declaration of Conscience, signed by six other Senators, was the first Republican opposition to McCarthy's reign of terror through random accusations of Communist sympathies.

Smith also spoke up for women. While serving in the House Naval Affairs Committee during World War II she supported women working in war industries, the Equal Rights Amendment, and women in the military. She took these concerns with her to the Senate.

Smith's announcement of her candidacy was not spontaneous. For over a year she had received a steady flow of mail urging her to run. While flattered, she did not begin to take the possibility seriously until her mail escalated after an AP story late in 1963 that she might run. It wasn't party leaders or women's groups that convinced her to do so; the former were flustered at the thought and the latter were silent. It was ordinary people.

Sen. Smith listed four arguments these people gave as to why she should run (and six why she should not run). She had more experience than any of the other candidates. The voters wanted a wider choice than they offered. Lacking money, machine or party backing, she was independent of others' control.

But just as important to Smith was the fact "that through me for the first time the women of the United States had an opportunity to break the barrier against women being seriously considered for the presidency of the United States -- to destroy any political bigotry against women on this score just as the late John F. Kennedy had broken the political barrier on religion and destroyed once and for all such political bigotry."

When Ted Hake began Hake's Americana & Collectibles in 1967, his primary focus was political collectibles, and they made up a large portion of Hake's early mail-order offerings. Now, 41 years later, political buttons still have a strong presence in any Hake's auction. In those 41 years, Ted has authored many books on collectibles, with his Political Button books and the Revised Prices booklet of 2004 remaining the primary source of information among political collectors and dealers.

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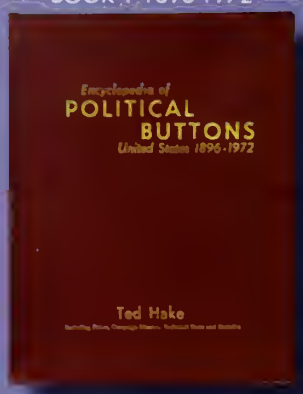

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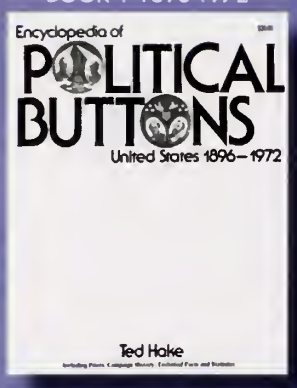

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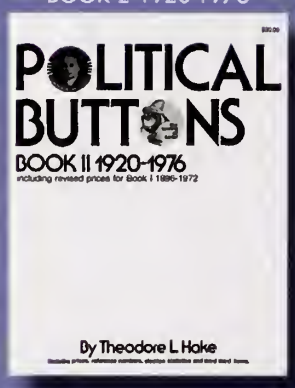

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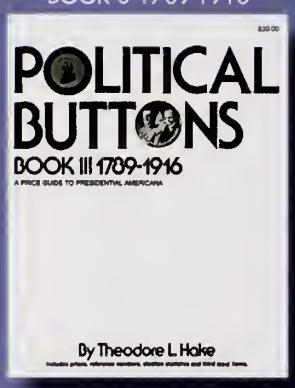

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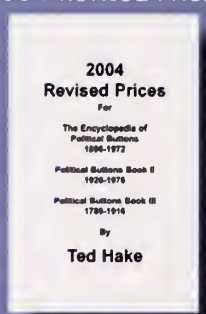

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