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# THE CLARION



The Woman's Suffrage and Political Issues Chapter of the American Political Items Conservators

*A non profit organization dedicated to the preservation of political memorabilia*  
*[www.apic.us](http://www.apic.us)*

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## Editor's Notes

Our frontis this issue is that of the iconic cover of the October 28, 1920 issue of *Life Magazine*, drawn by Charles Dana Gibson, portraying Lady Liberty congratulating women on the recently passed suffrage amendment. Gibson, of course, was the artist famous for a series of cartoons collectively called “The Gibson Girls.” *Life* was a light entertainment and humorous publication from its inception in 1883 to 1936, when Henry Luce purchased it and transformed it into a highly successful all photographic news magazine. In its early years, *Life* treated the emerging suffrage movement with bemusement and, at times, ridicule. But its editorial stance underwent a sea change the closer the suffrage amendment came to fruition. This new attitude was certainly influenced by the market place as women began to exert more and more economic power and began to replace men as the chief purchasers of popular magazines. *Life* was so proud of the Gibson illustration that it reprinted it 50 years later on the anniversary of the passage of the suffrage amendment.

This past month, four major auctions appeared that offered a plethora of suffrage items for sale. Again, it is generally not the policy of *The Clarion* to focus on prices of suffrage memorabilia, but much of the material offered had such significant historical import that it would be inconceivable not to make note of it. Some of the items auctioned were especially rare and will not likely be offered again in the foreseeable future. Particularly impressive was the March 23 sale at Bonham's, where the focus was on the English suffrage movement, but a few American items, including buttons, postcards, and a sash, were sold as well.

There will be a suffrage chapter meeting at the National APIC Convention in Reno this July, the exact time and place to be determined. If you have anything that you would like to discuss, please let me know and I will attempt to include you in the schedule. One item that we will be talking about is the proliferation of fake and misrepresented items that have appeared on the market in the last few years. Unfortunately, some of these pieces have ended up in museums and scholarly libraries, where they have distorted even in a limited way historical evaluations of the suffrage movement. If there are other particular items of concern for you, please do not hesitate to bring them up at our meeting.

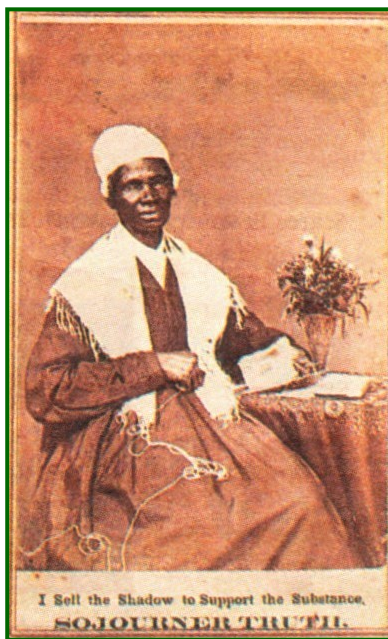
Once again, Deb Pieti has graciously submitted to *The Clarion* additional images from her forthcoming book, *Color and the Women Suffrage Movement*. Please enjoy.

I recently received a suggestion that we consider a section in *The Clarion* for reader comments and questions. I think that this is a wonderful idea, and I will put aside space in future issues for your remarks. I know that our outside contributors especially would like to read your reactions to their articles.

## Sojourner Truth CDV Brings Record Price

At the February 23 Hindman's Live Auction of African American books, imprints, manuscripts and photos in Cincinnati, Ohio, a carte de visite of Sojourner Truth was the top lot of the sale. Estimated at \$2,000/\$4,000, it was finally gavelled off at \$13,750. Measuring 2 1/4" x 3 3/8", it featured an image of a seated Truth knitting above the legend "I sell the shadow to support the substance," an allusion to the fact that she sold these photographs at her lectures to provide additional income for herself.

Born Isabella Baumfree (circa 1797-1883) into slavery in Swartekill, New York, she escaped with her infant daughter to freedom in 1826. She changed her name to Sojourner Truth in 1843 after she had become convinced that God had called upon her to leave the city and go into the country-side to testify about "the hope that was in her." Her most famous speech was delivered in 1851 at the Ohio Women's Rights Convention and is now known under the title of "Ain't I A Woman?" The original speech, though, had been written some years' earlier by an author who had employed a stereotypical Southern dialect uncharacteristic of Truth, who had been born in the North.



There are about 10-12 similar versions of this CDV, including several cabinet photos measuring 4 1/4" x 6 1/2", all of which were copyrighted by Truth in 1864. Most show her knitting, as does this example from the Hindman Auction. This particular CDV features a very rich brown tone—many other similar pieces are a trifle faded. Still, the final price seems especially high, even for a live auction devoted to African American artifacts. In the past similar pieces have sold in the \$800-\$1,000 range, although Cabinet photos can command higher prices. It will be interesting to see in the future if this price was an anomaly or a harbinger of things to come.

## Hake's Auction 234

Ted Hake's Auction 234, which closed March 15-16 of this year, once again featured a large array of suffrage material, some of which was unique to the market place, others of which had not been seen in recent years. The sale of 39 items consisted of a variety of types, including buttons and badges, posters, and wooden and ceramic figures. Some of the highlights are pictured below. All auction prices are without buyer's premium.

The only other recent example to appear of the Lucretia Mott piece, pictured here, came from the estate of Amelia Berndt Moorfield, who served as



the Secretary-Treasurer of the New Jersey Women's Political Union. Made by the New Jersey firm of Whitehead and Hoag, it also comes with an easel backing rather than a pin

so it could be set up for display. There are four known pins in this set, Lucy Stone, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony. The example in Hake's sold for a very reasonable \$1,100.



The "paper," alluded to on the ribbon of the Lucy Stone photo badge, refers to *The Woman's Journal*, founded in 1870 in Boston by Lucy Stone and her husband, Henry Blackwell, as a suffrage weekly. In 1910, *The Woman's Journal* absorbed *Progress*, the official organ of National American Woman Suffrage Association. It became NAWSA's official periodical until 1912, at which time it was renamed *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*. This badge realized a healthy final bid of \$968.50.



### ... Hake's, cont'd.

The Harlem Equal Rights League, the pin of which is shown here on the right, was organized by Maude Malone in 1905. According to the *New York Times* of Wednesday, Nov. 13, 1912, Malone wore two of these pins the previous day at her trial for interrupting a speech by Woodrow Wilson during a campaign rally. "Miss Malone came into court on the arm of her brother, Sylvester I. Malone.



Among her jewels were two 'Votes for Women' badges in brown celluloid and a dainty miniature of Elizabeth Cady Stanton on enameled tin." The Harlem League was organized prior to the large influx of African Americans into the area. The button was gaveled at a price of \$2,480.50. It has been sold previously for prices as high as \$5,000.



The "Yes" button above left was produced by Harriot Stanton Blatch's Women's Political Union as a satiric response to a similar button issued by the anti-suffrage forces that proclaimed "No" in black letters on red. According to Scott Mussell, who did the suffrage descriptions in this auction, "an example in our Feb. 2021 auction brought over \$1,500." This time the pin went for a more modest \$720.50.

The "Sarah's Suffrage Victory—Help Cut the Fetters button" realized \$352.00. Honoring 1840's mill worker Sarah Bagley, this design is generally found as a

top to a thin thread holder and cutter; but it was also issued in the form of a separate pin as seen in the example here.

The "New Jersey Votes for Women" black on yellow celluloid on the right was issued by the New Jersey Women's Political Union, a sister organization to Harriot Stanton Blatch's New York group with a similar name. Blatch, of course, was the daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The pin here went for a respectable \$572.00.



The "Let Ohio Women" vote button on the left has always been a favorite among collectors for its sentiment. The design also appears on postcards, posters, stationery, and a Cinderella stamp. Here the price was \$1,492.70.

The six-star Clarion pin in the center, exists in five varieties. It is based on an English design by Caroline Watts for the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies. This particular example featured bold, crisp colors and went for \$1,128.45.

### ... Hake's, cont'd.

The English Votes for Women pin above to the far right was used as the basis for design of two American counterparts, one for the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, led by Katharine Hepburn, mother of the actress, and another by the Just Govern-

ment League. The English badge here comes in at least six design variations, of which this auction had three. They were gaveled off at \$1,100, \$966.99, and \$600.60 respectively.



Three dimensional pieces in the auction included the items shown above, the first two of which had never appeared previously in a political auction. Both of these figures show a woman in a man's hat, a practice that at times is ascribed to the early English suffragist, Lydia Becker.

The first figure is a 7" tall "bobble-head," made of papier-mâché with painted eyes, mouth and facial features. The woman has an applied "Votes For Women" paper badge on her lapel and she carries an umbrella. The price was \$854.70.

The second piece was described as a satirical folk art 7" tall figure on 1.5x2.5" wood base that reads "Christabel Pankhurst." It is difficult to know if this

item is unique or not, was it at least partially hand-made or was it entirely machine manufactured? Certainly intriguing, it brought \$332.75.

The third item here is a two-sided English porcelain bell, one side featuring a harridan, the other an attractive woman. Presumably the piece was variously displayed in homes, whichever side placing front an indication of where the owner stood on the subject. This bell also features the crest of Herne Bay. These items were manufactured with the crests of various resort towns throughout England and were purchased as souvenirs of a visit. Although relatively common, some hobbyists collect all bells from different towns. This one went for a very reasonable \$126.50.



These last three items are an indication of the variety of material found in auction 234. The first is a 2 1/8" bronze that was designed by Leila Woodman Usher, who studied under Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and was struck by Medallion Art Co. for the National American Woman's Suffrage Association in 1920. The Anthony bronze was first announced in *The Woman Citizen* and

has long been undervalued. Here the final price was \$450.00.

The Blue on Yellow 14" x 20 1/4" poster came from the 1915 campaign in New York and was printed in the unofficial state colors of blue on yellow (sometimes orange). This poster was duplicated by

### ... Hake's, cont'd.

activists in New Jersey who substituted "October 19" for the "1915" date. The New York posters, which at one time were known to exist in a small quantity, have dried up in recent years. This lot here came with an interesting period photograph of a man holding up an example. Both pieces together brought \$2,915.

The item to the far right is a 10 ½" x 16" textile consisting of two pieces of cotton stitched at the edges and along the center line. It probably was also made

for the 1915 campaign in New York. Hake's pre-auction estimate of \$700-\$2,000 was an indication how difficult it was to give this piece a definitive evaluation. Exceeding the high estimate, it went for \$2,913.42.

I would like to thank Hake's Auction House for once again giving *The Clarion* permission to use pictures from one of its sales. For more information about Hake's, see their website at <https://www.hakes.com>.

## Alice Paul—"Our Representative for Human Rights" Button



The above button or badge, Item 510 in Ted Hake's auction #234, has always been an enigma ever since its appearance on the front cover of the APIC's special 2008 Suffrage issue of *The Keynoter*. What was its purpose? Who put it out? Was it a period piece or a collector's modern fantasy? These questions were compounded on eBay several years ago when a second example appeared. The consignor at the time indicated that he had some concerns about the item that he was selling, but he had no specific evidence that the button had been faked. Both buttons used the same sized photo of Alice Paul, although her image on the eBay version was slightly extended, allowing more of her chest to be seen. Moreover, this second photo appeared to be hand-cut rather than die-cut, suggesting, although not proving, that it was not originally made for the pin.

Scott Mussel, who does the descriptions for the political and cause items for Hake's Auctions, did a comprehensive write-up for this pin that does shed light on some collector concerns. Scott pointed out that the piece was copyrighted in 1917 by Bloom and Bloom of Minnesota, noting that it generally is found elsewhere with inserted pictures of doughboys from WWI and not Alice Paul. Measuring approximately 6" in diameter, the button contains a cardboard opening on its reverse designed to allow for these insertions.



To follow up on Scott's observations, it seems likely that the pin was designed originally to serve as a mount for a photo of a son serving overseas. The flags surrounding the picture insert are from the six major allies in 1917 (America, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, and Great Britain) along with Belgium. There were a number of various other mounts produced during the war to accommodate pictures of soldiers. My family has one that consists of a metallic stand-up with embossed canons above the image of my father, who served during WWI.

If the purpose of this button was patriotic, to honor soldiers during wartime, the question then arises as to why Alice Paul's photo was inserted in at least two of these pins. While many mainstream suffrage organizations reduced or even suspended their activities to assist in the war effort, Paul's National Woman's Party instead aggressively carried on their suffrage campaign. This was the period that the NWP conducted its "Silent Sentinel" protest around the White House, with its members carrying banners with slogans on behalf of the Franchise for Women. Many suffragists disassociated themselves from Paul's demonstrations, regarding them as traitorous under the circumstances. They were appalled especially with banner that labelled the President as "Kaiser Wilson," suggesting that both America and Germany were ruled by similar dictatorships. Many of the pickets were arrested for



... Alice Paul, cont'd.

“obstructing traffic” and were sent to the infamous Occoquan Workhouse where they were mistreated and some badly beaten.

The Library of Congress, which has a copy of the original Alice Paul photograph, indicates that it was taken in 1919, two years after the button’s manufacture. To sum up, these buttons were probably produced as mounts designed for the insertion of pictures of WWI soldiers and not for any other purpose. So, the question remains, what is the connection between

Paul and the patriotic message of the button? It is possible that some of Paul’s supporters felt that her actions on behalf of suffrage were highly patriotic, despite the resultant controversy, and used this celluloid mount to voice their support of her? Is it also possible that someone later “married” the mount with Paul’s picture to deceive collectors? Whatever the case, Hake’s auctions is to be commended in their efforts to identify both the context and known facts about this piece.

## Heritage Auction of Selections from J. Doyle Dewitt Collection

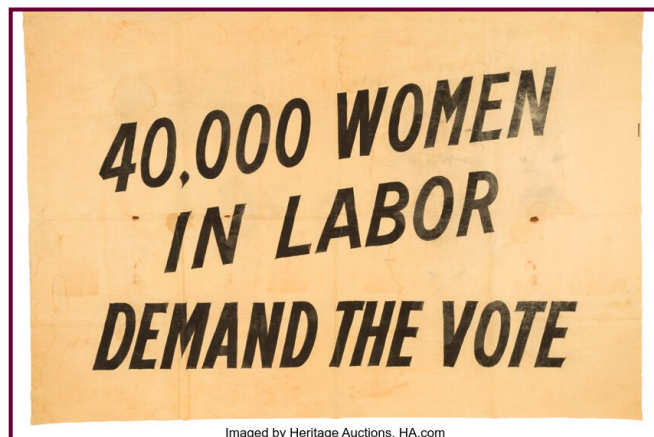
Heritage’s recent Americana and Political Auction of March 19-20 featured selections from the famous J. Doyle Dewitt collection, including four interesting suffrage pieces. Dewitt was a Hartford, Connecticut insurance executive, who compiled a legendary collection of political items with a strong focus on the nineteenth century. Upon his death in 1972, his collection was donated to the University of Hartford, which refurbished an entire building for its display. When the University decided to use the building for other purposes, the collection went into storage, where it remained for a number of years before Heritage obtained it for auction.

The four suffrage pieces are all noteworthy. The first was a tin thread holder with the legend “A Souvenir of Sarah’s Victory Campaign Fund—Help Cut the Fetters.” The thread holder celebrated Sarah G. Bagley, founder in 1844 of the Lowell, Massachusetts Female Labor Reform Movement. She worked in local mills but had to leave the area in 1848 to care for her father, who had been afflicted with typhus. While not personally connected to the suffrage movement, her efforts on behalf of working conditions for women made her a hero to suffrage activists. The thread holder was designed as a fund raiser, priced at 25 cents each. To encourage sales, the manufacturer advertised a total of \$25,000 in prize money to be divided equally among the top 17 sellers of the holder.

This item is prized among collectors for both its appearance and historical significance and has appeared somewhat frequently in auction. Here it was gaveled off for a surprisingly low \$525 (\$656 w/BP) about half of its typical auction price.



The second item drew considerable interest early in the days leading up to the auction. It consisted of a large 36” x 54” banner, seen below, with black lettering on yellow cotton with the legend “40,000 Women in Labor Demand the Vote.” It had never appeared previously in auction. Its final price of \$21,000 (\$26,250 w/BP) is an indication of continued strong interest in cloth items. Its size (36” x 54”) may have been a factor in driving up the price (in addition to its slogan).



Imaged by Heritage Auctions, HA.com

## ... Heritage, cont'd.

One of the iconic pieces for collectors of suffrage memorabilia is a large Christmas stocking with the words “Ask Santa to Bring a Vote for Mother.” The Heritage piece was the example that was featured in Professor Edmund Sullivan’s book *Collecting Political Americana*, first published in 1980. The stocking also contains a picture of Santa Claus on the reverse. Although there are references to the stocking in period newspapers and journals, this is probably its first appearance in auction. It realized a final price of \$2,600 (\$3,250 w/BP).

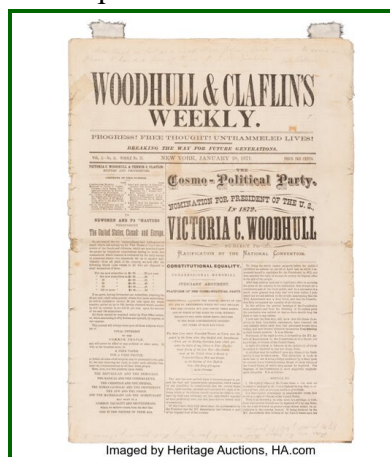


The last suffrage lot in this auction consisted of two newspapers, especially prized for their historical significance. The first was a copy of *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, with a front-page ad for Victoria Woodhull’s candidacy for President of the United States in 1872 under the Cosmo-Party Banner. Her chosen running mate was the orator and escaped slave Frederick Douglass, who never officially responded to his nomination but who never actually declined it either. The ad ran from January 28 to May 20, 1871. Woodhull was the first woman to run for President, but very little official campaign material was actually produced despite the intense notoriety surrounding her effort. Since the Heritage piece was the January 28 issue, it was especially prized as it may very well be the first promotional item ever for a woman candidate for President.

The second newspaper in this lot, the November 1884 issue of *National Equal Rights* (Volume III, no. 11), is equally significant and much rarer than the Woodhull counterpart. It features a portrait of Belva Lockwood

under the title of “Woman’s Presidential Campaign.” It also includes the full text of the Platform of the National Equal Rights Party.’ Marietta Stow had founded this paper in 1881 under the lengthy title of the *Woman’s Herald of Industry and Social Science Cooperator*. It was Stow who first convinced Lockwood to run for President in 1884, who, when accepting her invitation, called on Stow to serve as her Vice-Presidential running mate.

Towards the end of the 1884 campaign, Lockwood became co-publisher with Stow of the paper, which they re-named *National Equal Rights*. For a variety of reasons, only two or three examples of the refashioned paper apparently were ever published, although one issue did appear as late as 1885. The example in Heritage is significant because it serves as the most extensive “official” promotion of the campaign. Lockwood did publish a few campaign leaflets and a campaign card that included her lithographed portrait, but nothing that compared in detail to this paper.



The two papers together went for an eye-opening final bid of \$6,500 (\$8,125 w/BP). Considering both the historical import of these papers along with their respective rarity, however, the gavel price may actually have been quite reasonable.



## Bonhams Suffrage Auction

One of the most significant auctions of English suffrage memorabilia within recent memory took place at Bonhams Galleries in Knightsbridge, London on March 23 as part of their “Women Through History” sale. Of the 132 lots in the auction, 80 were specifically suffrage related and included sashes, buttons, book, manuscripts, china, and prison related material. Many were exceptionally rare; some never having appeared previously in auction. The bulk of the material was taken from two major sources, the Hankinson-Goode archive and the Phyllis and Jim Bratt collection. The former consisted of materials that the Reverend Frederick Hankinson had accumulated. Hankinson was a Unitarian minister, a suffrage supporter, and a frequent visitor to suffragists in prison. His holdings were passed down through several generations who added to them until they were finally consigned to this auction,

Here is a brief summary of some of the more intriguing items. Final bid prices have been converted into USD. At the time of the auction, one British pound was equivalent to \$1.32. Not included are applicable VAT charges. All images used here are from the Bonhams’ catalog.



The Women’s Social and Political Union always was appreciative of the sacrifices and the courage of its political prisoners and took especial steps to honor them, as illustrated by the pieces above. The first item, shown on the left, is an illuminated manuscript designed by Sylvia Pankhurst, daughter of Emmeline Pankhurst, the WSPU’s founder. These manuscripts each contained the name of the recipient, in this case Emily Duval, along with the hand-written signature of Emmeline Pankhurst. Very few have ever appeared in the marketplace, and this sale had three. The example shown above realized \$2,245 (w/ BP \$2,862). A second, honoring Duval’s sister, Elsie, which also was accompanied by a different Pankhurst manuscript, went for \$2,375.40 (w/BP \$3,028.36). A third, for Alice Roberts (though significantly damaged), brought \$1,124 (w/BP \$1,430.02).

The next item above was a “Hunger Strike” medal for Edith Downing. “Hunger Strike” medals were awarded to those WSPU members who refused to eat when in Holloway Prison, many of them force-fed as a re-

sult. Each medal was engraved with the words “Hunger Strike” on one side and the recipient’s name on the other. It came in a purple box with a top lining in silk that included the striker’s name. One English scholar estimates that fewer than 100 pieces were made. Downing’s example was gaveled off for a final bid of \$23,753.95 (w/BP \$30,022.35).

The third item above is known variously as the Portcullis Badge, the Holloway Brooch, or the Victoria Cross of the Union. It was designed by Sylvia Pankhurst from the symbol for Parliament onto which a purple, green, and white prisoner’s arrow had been imposed. It was given out simultaneously with the manuscript above. Alice Paul’s National Women’s party modelled its “Jailed for Freedom” pin on this piece and was given to those suffragists who had been beaten brutally at the Occoquan Prison House. This example went for \$11,874.96 (w/BP \$15,136.85). The final bid was, by far, the highest price ever achieved for this piece in public auction.

... Bonhams, cont'd.



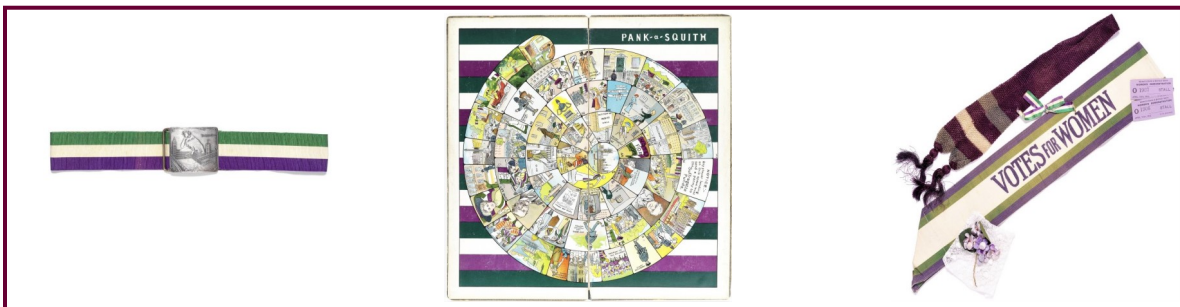
Another highlight of the auction was this 22-piece tea set, designed by Sylvia Pankhurst originally for the tea room at the WSPU Prince's Skating Rink Exhibition in Knightsbridge in 1909. Both complete sets and individual pieces were later available through the journal *Votes for Women*. Cups, saucers, and small dessert plates have appeared for sale over the years, but seldom has the entire set shown up. The pre-sale

estimate was 10,000-15,000 in British pounds and the winning bid converted to dollars was an extremely reasonable \$11,874.96 (w/BP \$15,136.85). To compare, a single cup and saucer from this set was then auctioned off (there are six cups and saucers in the entire set), this time for \$3,825 (w/BP \$5,042.48), an indication of how desirable pieces from this set are.



Buttons and similar types of lapel material were represented by the above. The first example in the upper left is a silver and guilloché enamel medallion with Sylvia Pankhurst's Angel of Freedom design. Exceedingly rare, it is the very piece that graces the front cover of Elizabeth Crawford's extremely valuable reference guide to the English suffrage movement. It realized \$7,252.19 (w/BP 9,246.55). There were two lots of buttons and badges. The first, consisting of a

framed grouping of ten pieces, five of which were damaged, still brought \$5,009.51 (w/BP \$6387.13). The second, which included a wonderful cloth piece for the Actresses Franchise League along with some anti-suffrage pins, came in at \$2,109 (W/BP \$2,689.85), even though two of the English "rose" pins may not have had any direct association with the suffrage movement.



The "Haunted House" belt buckle and purple, green, with white satin belt first appeared in 1908 and was sold for the first time in the WSPU journal *Votes for Women* on August 6, 1908 for a half a crown. Designed by artist David Wilson, it depicts the specter of a suffragist hovering over Parliament while clutching a Votes for Women pamphlet. This image was used as

the front cover for early issues of *Votes for Women*. It went for \$5,355 (w/BP \$7,060.40).

The game board here is from Pank-a-Squith, a game manufactured in Germany in 1909 and sold by the WSPU as a fund-raiser. The object is to maneuver game pieces through a series of anti-suffrage obstacles

### ... Bonhams, cont'd.

to see who the first player is who can reach the Houses of Parliament. This example, lacking the six game pieces and set of rules as most surviving games do, still brought an impressive \$2,900.34 (w/BP \$3,697.93).

The sash to its right was one of two such English pieces that was auctioned off. This lot, originally owned

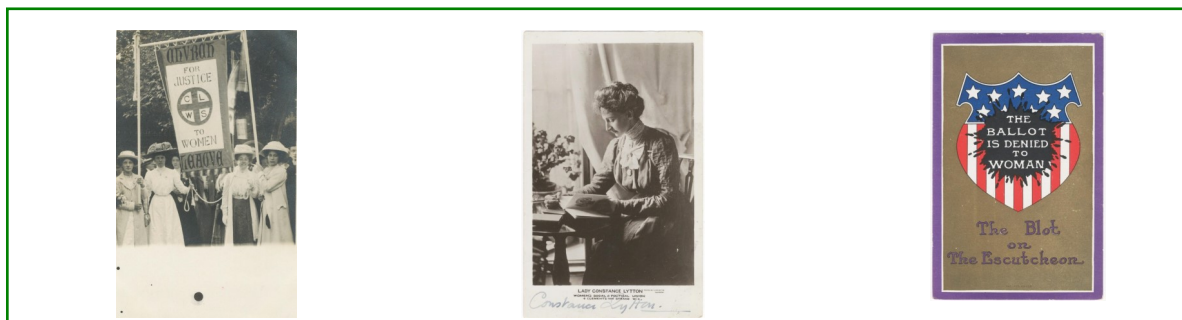
by Rose Cowlin, contained a few extra items such as two tickets to a 1913 WSPU demonstration. It realized \$15,818.17 (\$20,102.26), while another sash, without the extras, still attained a bid of \$5,250 (\$6,722.81). These prices for the sashes are an indication of the strong interest in cloth items on both sides of the Atlantic.



The auction was rich with issues of various suffrage journals. The most significant lot was that of 98 issues of *The Suffragist*, a journal begun by Christabel Pankhurst. She created the paper after the WSPU in 1912 expelled Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence who took the Union's official publication, *Votes for Women*, with them to start a new suffrage organization. Because of Christabel's difficulties with the law, issues of this particular journal are often hard to come by. At one time the offices of the paper were raided by the police, at other times copy had to be smuggled out of France where Christabel had fled to avoid arrest. This particular lot consisted of the first 3 volumes or 95 issues of the journal along with 3 duplicates. Bon-

hams could not find any other examples of a complete volume of the *Suffragist* elsewhere, although individual issues do show up. The grouping was gaveled at \$11,203.36 (w/BP \$14,284.27).

Lot 257, Volume I of *Votes for Women* covers the period from October 1907 to September 1908 when the Pethick Lawrences were connected to the WSPU. It realized \$2,371 (w/BP \$3,023.42). Lot 282, which consisted of Volume IV of the journal when the Pethick Lawrences were still a part of the WSPU, brought only \$790.62 (w/BP \$1,008.05), probably because the original cover to the collection with Sylvia Pankhurst's angel design had been replaced.



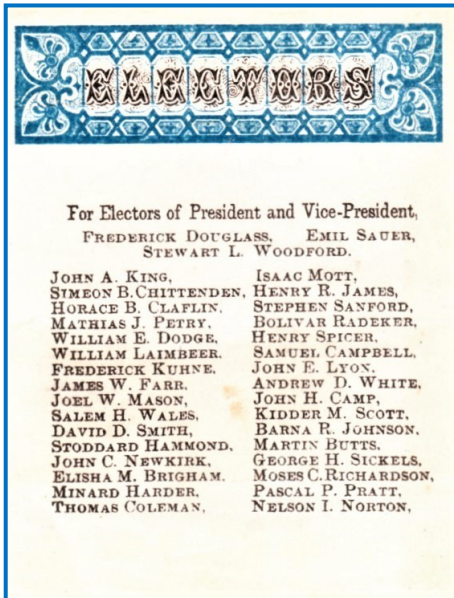
There were a significant number of English and American suffrage post cards in this sale, all from several collections including those of Hankinson-Goode and Phyllis and Jim Bratt. Most were grouped in large lots, and many contained prime examples of scarce Real Photo postcards of people and events. The best lot was probably 242, which focused on demonstrations. It contained several programs for those demonstrations along with a number of rare Real Photo postcards. Lot 275 also contained cards picturing demonstrations, although the focus was on images of individual suffragists. Lot 273, the largest in the auction, contained 295

American cards, many of which came from various artist-designed sets. The hammer prices were \$6,586.49 (w/BP \$8,398), \$2,598 (w/BP \$3,695), and \$1,449 (w/BP \$1,847.28) respectively.

There were many other lots in the Bonham sale, all of which reflected both history and rarity. It was heavily advertised and drew the attention of both collectors and historians. Auction of English or American suffrage material of this depth and quality seldom come along.



## Frederick Douglass Ballot



Voters, as you know, don't actually cast their ballots directly for a presidential candidate but only for a slate of electors pledged to him or her at meetings held every four years at various state capitals throughout the country. Accordingly most 19<sup>th</sup> century ballots listed those electors, sometimes with and sometimes without the names of the presidential candidate that they were affiliated with. This New York ballot from Ulysses S. Grant's 1872 campaign includes at the top the name of Frederick Douglass as one of Grant's electors. This may have been the first time that a known African American was ever appointed as an elector. What makes this ballot even more interesting is that Douglass in the same election had been selected by Victoria Woodhull to run as her Vice President on her Equal Rights Ticket, sometimes named "The Cosmo Party." Douglass never officially accepted or declined the nomination. Still, this brings up a curious hypothetical situation. If Woodhull were somehow to have won the election nationally while losing in New York, Douglass, her erstwhile running mate but also a Grant elector, would have been pledged to have voted not for her but for her rival (and his Vice-Presidential counterpart) at the Electoral College meeting in that state.

## Color and the Women's Suffrage Movement II

In the Fall *Clarion*, we published a series of photos of woman suffrage leaders and events that had been colorized by Deb Pieti for inclusion in her forthcoming book, *Color and the Women's Suffrage Movement* that she is preparing with Bob Cooney. The reaction to those images was so positive that we asked her if she could provide us with additional examples, and she has kindly consented. Once again as a precaution against someone inadvertently using any of these pictures without her permission, we have reproduced them at a much lower grade than will appear in her book. Still, the quality of her work shines through here and presents a wonderful visual display and commentary on the suffrage movement as it was unfolding.



Annie Marshall Reid Rolph Voting



The Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association

... Color, cont'd.



Drawing by Famed Suffrage Artist, Nina Allender



Mary McLeod Bethune



Women Picketing



Woman Suffrage Parade



Woman Selling *Woman's Journal*. Note Pin



War Poster



... Color, cont'd.



Suffrage Tableau at Treasury Steps



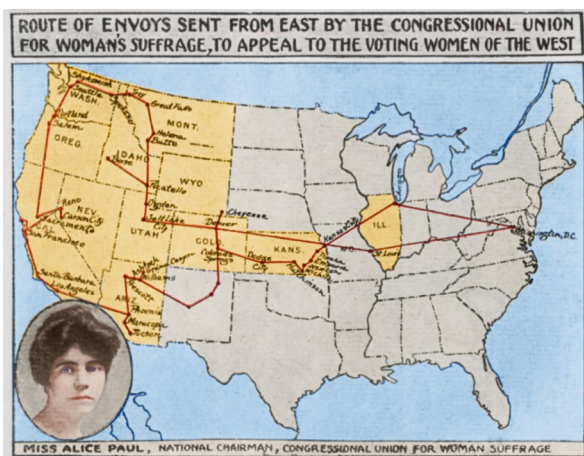
Christmas Issue of Alice Paul's *Suffragist*



Helen Keller



Pre-Election Suffrage Parade



Campaign Route of Paul's Congressional Union



Mary Pickford



## Suffrage Or Not?



Of the two pins pictured above, the 7/8" blue on white celluloid has gained acceptance as a suffrage pin over the years, primarily because of its slogan, "I Am A Citizen." The smaller and somewhat scarcer 5/8" gold on blue celluloid made by Whitehead and Hoag has had a similar history; to a certain extent, however, its identity as a suffrage piece has been dependent on collector assumptions about the first. Both pins appear to have been manufactured around the time of the suffrage era.

On the surface, it is logical to assume that "I Am A Citizen" refers to suffrage. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, for example, often correlated citizenship with voting rights in her speeches and writings. As early as July 1871, Ellen R. Van Valkenburg sued Santa Cruz County Clerk Albert Brown after he refused to include her name in the county's Great Register of voters. She argued that under the 14th Amendment of the US Constitution, many American women like herself were granted citizenship, and the rights of citizenship included voting. While her suit ultimately failed, her position was echoed by other suffragists over and over again in the coming years.

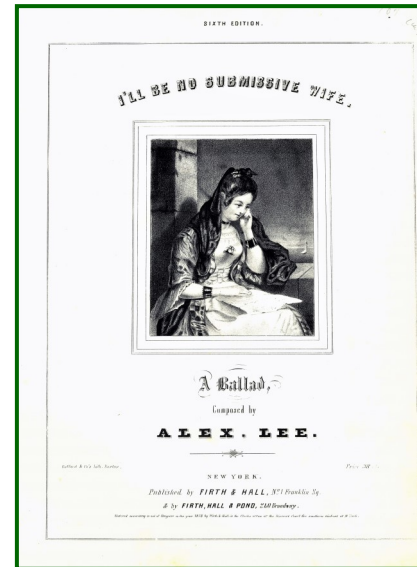
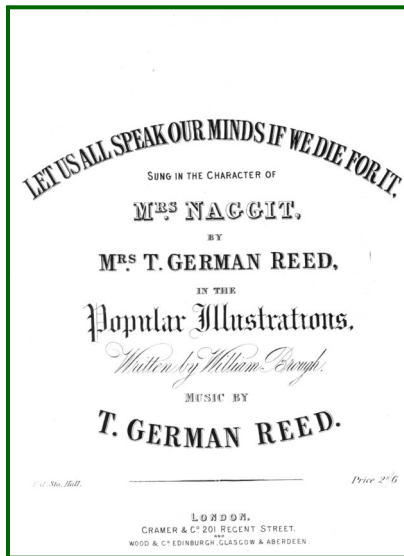
But there are a few red flags to consider before fully accepting one or both of these pins into the suffrage canon. The most obvious caution is that neither was printed in recognized suffrage colors. Generally black on gold would be standard for depicting slogans such as these. Secondly, there is no known mention in any suffrage literature (suffrage papers, price lists, etc.) about either of these pins. Not every suffrage badge was referenced in *The Woman's Journal*, of course,

but the "I Am A Citizen" piece is common enough so that its absence of mention here does raise an eyebrow or two.

Neither pin has a back paper that gives mention to a suffrage organization that might have manufactured it. Moreover, neither pin appears in Alice Park's magnificent suffrage collection. Park was a major activist in California in 1911 when women won the right to vote in that state. Her collection of approximately 180 suffrage pins (American and English) was pictured in Sarah Algeo's book, *The Story of a Sub-Pioneer*, a photograph that was reproduced in an issue of *The Clarion* several years ago. Park's collection, of course, while exceedingly comprehensive, did not include every single suffrage pin ever produced (at this point over 300 different buttons have been recorded). Still, it consisted of items (some of them unique) that she had been able to obtain from suffragists from all over the country. It, therefore, is telling that both pins are absent in her collection, for at least the first is not particularly rare or elusive and she probably would have had an opportunity to add them to her holdings had they been suffrage.

None of the above red flags, of course, can be considered as conclusive. Again, the slogan "I Am A Citizen" fits in so closely with suffragist ideology that neither button pictured above can be dismissed as non-suffrage at this point. And, if not suffrage, what do these pins allude to? Still, more evidence needs to surface prior to accepting or dismissing these pins as part of the suffrage canon.

## Suffrage Sheet Music



Many who have either read or listened to the lyrics of the above two compositions have assumed that they are profound pro-feminist statements about the oppressive nature of a patriarchal constructed culture; that they embody a strong reaction to the attempt to confine women to a restrictive role in society, one that gives them little voice. Recently one woman on the net asked where could she find the tune to “I’ll Be No Submissive Wife” because she wanted to have the song played at her wedding. Elizabeth Knight’s *Song of the Suffragettes* includes “Let Us All Speak Our Minds” as a strong protest song of the period. One writer for the program notes of *American Suffragist Suite*, commissioned in 2009 by the Seneca Falls,

New York Community Band, comments: “The song [“Let Us All”], written during the Civil War, challenges the Cult tenet of submission by comparing the role of wife to that of a slave.”

A quick reading of verses from the two songs, printed below, indicates why such reactions are plausible. On the surface each presents a highly militant, confrontational, and determined woman asserting her right to be not only heard but respected.

### Let Us All Speak Our Minds If We Die For It

Men tell us ‘tis fit that wives should submit,  
To their husbands submissively meekly  
That whatever they say their wives should obey  
Unquestioning stupidly weakly,  
Our husbands would make us their own dictum take  
Without ever a wherefore or why for it,  
But I don’t, I can’t and I won’t and I shan’t,  
No, I will speak my mind if I die for it.

For we all know it’s all fudge  
To say man’s the best judge  
Of what should be and shouldn’t and so on.  
That woman should bow, nor attempt to say how  
She considers that matters should go on.  
I never yet gave up myself thus a slave,  
However my husband might try for it  
For I can’t and I won’t and I shan’t and I don’t  
But I will speak my mind if I die for it.

### I’ll Be No Submissive Wife

I’ll be no submissive wife,  
No, not I; no, not I.  
I’ll not be a slave for life,  
No, not I.  
Think you on a wedding day,  
That I said as others say,  
Love, honor and obey?  
Love, honor and obey?  
No, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no  
No, not I;  
Love, honor and obey?  
No, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no  
No, not I.

I to dullness don’t incline,  
No, not I; no, not I.  
Go to bed at half-past nine,  
No, not I. No, not I  
Should a humdrum husband say,  
That at home I ought to stay,  
Do you think that I’ll obey?  
No, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no  
No, not I.

... Sheet Music cont'd.

However, if we look more closely at these songs and their historical contexts, a different picture emerges as to their intent. Both were written and composed, not by women, but by men, none of whom had any connection with women's rights organizations or ideologies. In all probability, the first of the two songs, "Let Us All Speak Our Minds" is comic, a satire on feminism, not a defense of it. The lyricist, William Brough (1826-1870) was an English writer and dramatist, famous for his Victorian burlesques and farces in the Music Hall tradition. The cover of the sheet music above notes that the song was "song in the character of Mrs. Naggit by Mrs. T. German Reed," indicating that the sentiments expressed come from the mouth of a whiner and termagant. Moreover, the light-hearted nature of the music itself undermines any seriousness that might be attached to her words.

The second song, "I'll Be No Submissive Wife," may be a bit more ambiguous as to its intent, but it still is a song that emerged out of the essentially masculine Music Hall tradition. American versions of the song, first published here around 1838, credit Alexander Lee as the composer but do not list the lyricist. An English version, however, published in London by Chappell and Company between 1857-1877 indicates that the words were written by Thomas Haynes Bayly

(1797-1839), who was an English poet, songwriter, and dramatist.

So, the song was early, written and composed by men, none of whom was known to have feminist credentials, and performed in a venue, the Music Hall, that was certainly not at all hospitable to the promulgation of feminist sentiment. In addition, the melody is light-hearted and antithetical to a serious statement of a woman's position in marriage. Even the writer of the notes for the *American Suffrage Suite*, who saw this as a song of genuine protest, does acknowledge incongruity in that "The folk tune that was used with these words is whimsical and creates irony and a dichotomy between the music and the subject of the text."

Even if comic, however, these two compositions do tell us much about the woman's rights movement and its impact on society both in America and England. The satire here is telling. You don't ridicule publicly something that hasn't made an impact, something that you and your audience don't find to be threatening. And the early dates of the songs, one published in 1838, indicate that the demand for women's rights was having a social impact at least a decade prior to the Seneca Falls convention of 1848.