



THE CLARION



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

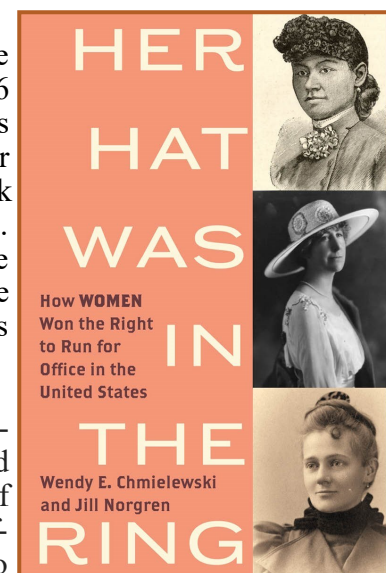
A non profit organization dedicated to the preservation of political memorabilia
www.apic.us

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Editor's Notes

Because the next issue of *The Clarion* is not scheduled until January, we have decided to anticipate this coming Christmas with our front cover. It pictures a 6 ½" x 19 ½" felt Christmas stocking with a picture of Santa Claus and the words "Merry Christmas" on one side and the slogan "Ask Santa to Bring a Vote for Mother" on the reverse. The piece, which came from the collection of Frank Corbeil, was auctioned off by Heritage a number of years ago (Auction 6246). Surprisingly, no other example appears to have turned up subsequently. The idea of a connection between the holiday and presenting mother with the vote does appear elsewhere on period postcards and other memorabilia, but this stocking is the most spectacular.

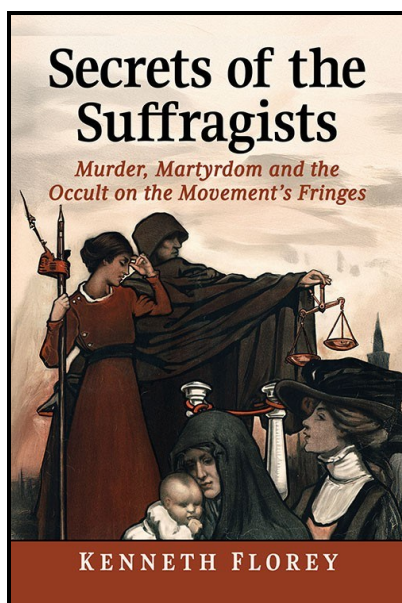
Andy Avery writes that there is a fabulous suffrage and women's rights museum/collection at the University of Georgia in the Hargrett Library- it is housed in the Lucy Hargrett Draper Center and Archives for the Study of the Rights of Women in History and Law. Andy helped Lucy acquire quite a bit of great suffrage pieces on display years ago. The exhibit is free, but it would be helpful to call ahead at 706-542-7123 for availability.



Wendy Chmielewski, co-author with Jill Norgren of *Her Hat Was in the Ring*, sends along the following additions to Bob Cooney's list of archival sources for suffrage memorabilia. These include: (1) the Women's Library at the London School of Economics (used to be the Women's Library at the University of London); (2) The Women's Suffrage Ephemera collection at Bryn Mawr College <<https://archives.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/resources/bmc-m88>>; (3) the Smithsonian has a collection, including Susan B. Anthony's desk.

Wendy and Jill have kindly provided us with the lead article for this issue of the *Clarion*. Their book, *Her Hat was in the Ring*, was published September 15 and is available on Amazon. It is an essential book for any suffrage historian.

This issue features reports on three recent auctions that collectively contained a significant amount of suffrage material totalling approximately 85 items. Unfortunately, space limitations did not allow us to list all relevant items, so we had to select only those for review that we believe were of significant interest. Please realize, however, the arbitrary nature of our inclusions.



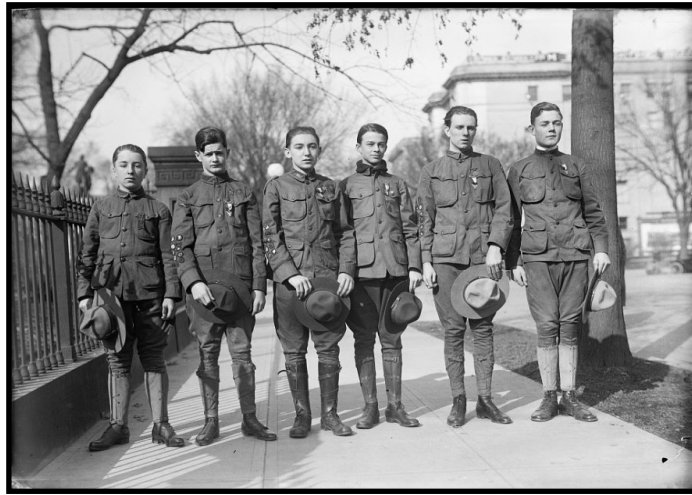
My own book, *Secrets of the Suffragists*, will not be published until later this year, but Amazon is currently accepting pre-orders. The following description comes from my publisher's description of upcoming books.

"The eighteen chapters in this book contain stories about suffragists that, despite their highly dramatic content, have often been unappreciated and sometimes even overlooked. There is, for example, the account of Susan B. Anthony's experiences with the ghosts of Lily Dale, The intense interest in Victoria Woodhull, the first woman to run for president, by a man who may have been Jack the Ripper; the Grand Marshall of the 1913 Washington suffrage parade's murder of her husband's second wife; the nationwide mockery of Belva Lockwood through "Mother Hubbard Parades;" and the relentless fight of Katharine Hepburn, mother of the actress, against prostitution in the city of Hartford. Further stories include that of the woman who was refused her party's nomination for school board until she pledged not to marry her opponent, the farmer's wife who, like Susan B. Anthony, was arrested for voting, and the waitresses who went on strike with the support of suffragists after one of their

... Editor's Notes, cont'd.

number had been sexually assaulted. These stories of triumph, tragedy, persistence, bravery, and dedication give us additional insight and appreciation for those involved in the decades-long struggle for women's suffrage."

As a follow-up to our story in the last issue of the *Clarion* about the NAWSA medal that was given out to Boy Scouts for assisting in the March 1913 suffrage parade in Washington, Bob Cooney has sent in the following photograph and text from the National Archives. It is interesting to note that 400 of these medals were distributed.



"Photo shows boy scouts standing outside the White House after receiving badges from President Woodrow Wilson on February 11, 1915. Left to right: Howard Gatley, recognized with an honor medal for saving a life; and new Eagle Scouts Edward Pardoe, Samuel Hardy, Edward Sheiry, Clinton Allard, and Frank Watson. Sheiry and Allard are also wearing medals with a chain, which suffragists gave to 400 boy scouts to recognize their service in handling crowds while the suffrage parade passed on March 3, 1913. (Sources: Craig Harmon, 2013; *Boys' Life*, April 1915; *Washington Herald*, February 12, 1915; and *Affairs at Washington*, p. 205)."



Her Hat Was in the Ring!

Wendy E. Chmielewski and Jill Norgren

Early women's rights activists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Ernestine Rose believed both voting and elective rights were fundamental for all citizens of the United States, and that women should participate in government as voters and legislators. The US Constitution does not bar women from federal office, however early state constitutions limited access to political offices to voters, and voters were almost uniformly white, male citizens, over the age of twenty-one. But by the last quarter of the nineteenth century as state and local governments became more complex, some political offices were defined as administrative, rather than legislative or judicial. Some states allowed administrative offices to be filled by persons who were not legally electors themselves. And those states agreed that "person" could refer to a man or a woman! Women in some states in the eastern part of the country and newer states in the Midwest and west also gained partial suffrage rights, such as the right to vote for school boards and officials, or for town officers. Once women gained the right to vote for a set of offices, they became eligible to be elected to those offices. By digging into the historical records, we discovered that well over 6,000 women ran in over 8,500 campaigns, and many were elected to local, county, and state offices between the 1850s and 1920.

... Her Hat Was In The Ring, cont'd.

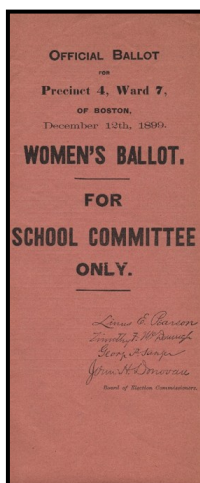
Some of these women were elected by the men in their communities, others by new women voters, and some by both men and women. To showcase these pioneering women politicians, we created a public website and database, with biographical information about these women. Visitors to the site can search by a woman's name, by state, by political party, by office, or by date and sort the data by any combination of these factors. The site "Her Hat Was in the Ring: U.S. Women Who Ran for Political Office Before 1920" can be found at: <https://herhat.historyit.com/> We have also noted which women candidates were also suffrage activists.

In researching this history, we began collecting items about this history of women's early political life and the collection now numbers over six hundred items dating from the 1860s to the present. Some of the items include ballots on which the names of women candidates appear, campaign advertising items, photographs of women candidates, and books and writings by or about these candidates. Many of the items we found were satirical cartoons making fun of women who dared to believe they should join men in governing, but many others took women candidates seriously. All the images included here come from items in our joint collection on this subject.

Many of the earliest political offices for which women were eligible were connected to education. Women were elected to school boards as early as 1854 in Massachusetts. In 1869 Julia Addington of Iowa, was the first woman elected as county superintendent of schools. These school offices were important community positions with significant power to direct educational policies and the spending of school tax monies. The first women were elected to the powerful Boston School Committee in the mid-1870s, shown here is a ballot advertisement from 1877 with the names of Lucia M. Peabody and Lucretia P. Hale. Both women were also active in the New England Women's Club and educational circles.



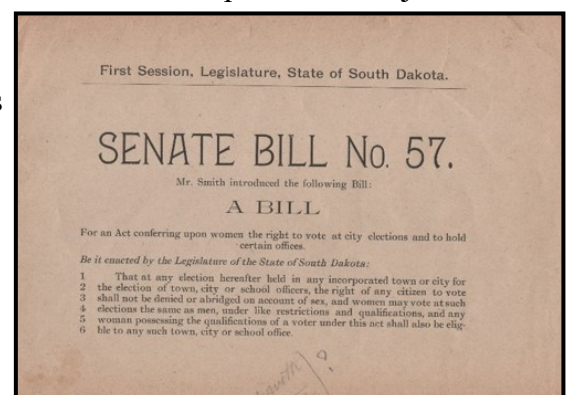
1877 Political Ticket Cut From Newspaper? 4" x 9"



Women's Ballot, Boston, folded, 5" x 13"

By 1879 women in Massachusetts gained the right to vote in elections choosing school officers, but they couldn't vote for candidates running for other offices. Special ballots just for women voters were created, included here on the left, is the cover of one from Boston in 1899. Included in the list of candidates inside the ballot was Emily Fildes who was elected to the Boston School Committee from 1883 through 1902.

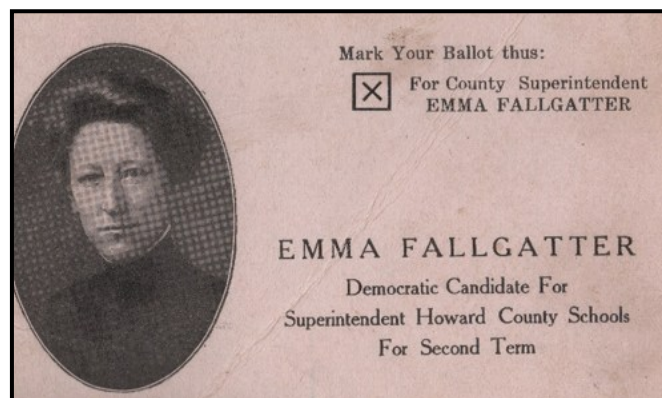
In the new state of South Dakota, one of the first bills considered by the legislature was the right of women to vote for and be elected to school and municipal offices.



Bill from the state senate, dating to 1889-1890, 5.5" x 9.5"

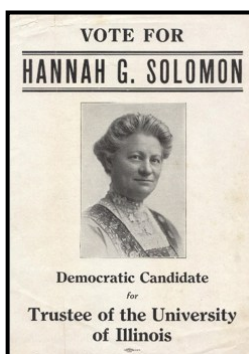
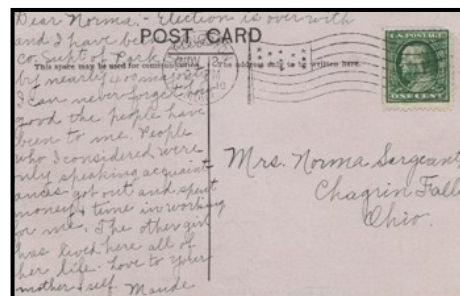
... Her Hat Was In The Ring, cont'd.

From the 1890s onward, In a few states such as Colorado, women had the right of election to the state-wide office of state superintendent of public instruction. In that decade alone across the country over forty women ran for the office and eight of them were successful. These women won their state-wide races in the Midwest or western states. Items for women's campaigns became more common after about 1910. Small campaign cards were distributed by women candidates, just like their male counterparts. We have several of these and some are included in this article. Emma Fallgatter of Howard County, Iowa, first campaigned for county superintendent of schools in 1908. The campaign card shown here is from her second race in 1910.



Campaign Card on Stock, 2.5" x 4.5"

One item, a postcard of a main street in a small Montana town in 1910 at first glimpse seems to have little connection to politics. But the reverse reveals correspondence from Maude Browne, elected as county superintendent of schools for Park County, to her friend back east describing the support for her recent political campaign. Brown's message reads in part "I can never forget how good the people have been to me. . . . [they] got out and spent money and time in working for me."



Starting in the 1890s women could be elected to another state-wide educational office, that of University Trustee. As a university trustee women could work on educational policies at the highest levels of state education. In 1895 Anna R. Woodbey was a Prohibition party candidate for this office in Nebraska. Woodbey was one of the first African American women to campaign for any elective office. Two decades later, one of the first Jewish women to run for elective office, Hannah G. Solomon, was the Democratic candidate for university trustee in Illinois. Solomon was the founder of the National Council of Jewish Women and an active suffragist.

Hannah Solomon's campaign poster, 1904 or 1916, 7" x 10"

Nearly half of the women who campaigned between 1850 and 1920 ran for offices outside of the field of education. Victoria Woodhull ran for U.S. president in 1872, and Belva A. Lockwood ran twice in the following decade. One of our more unusual Woodhull items dates to the 1940s and is part of a comic book about her presidential campaigns and ideas about social reforms.

Full page on Victoria Woodhull from Comic Book, circa 1945, 7.5" x 9.25"

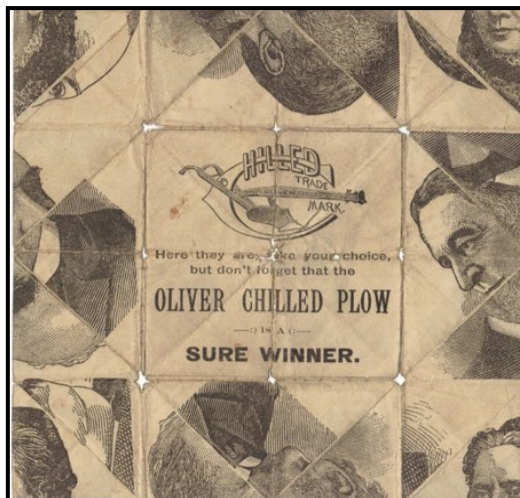


... Her Hat Was In The Ring, cont'd.



Enlarged middle panel from full image

We also have an 1888 advertising piece that includes all the people running for president that year. This is a folding puzzle issued by a company selling farm equipment, and you can see Lockwood's face in the triangles in the four corners of the puzzle image. The drawing of Lockwood used in this item was a common one that was issued in several other publications. One of the publications with this image is *The Biographical Review of Prominent Men and Women of the Day*, (1888) by Thomas W. Herringshaw, and a copy of the book is in our collection.



Folding puzzle advertisement, 1888



Women also campaigned for many other offices at all levels of government before they could vote. Victoria Woodhull's sister, Tennie C. Claflin ran for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1872.

Carte d'visite Photograph of Tennie C. Claflin 2.75" 3.75"

... Her Hat Was In The Ring, cont'd.



Rankin Campaign card, 1916, 2.75" x 4.75"



Colorized photo (L to R) May Wright Sewall, Jeannette Rankin, one of Rankin's nieces, probably in Washington, DC 1917. 2.75" x 2.75"



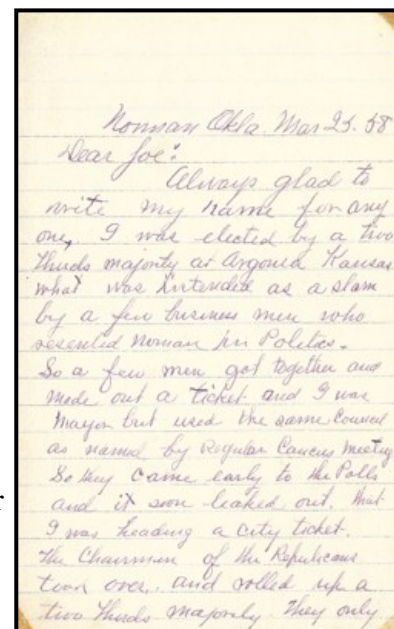
Anne Martin studio photograph, 8" x 10"

Rankin ran unsuccessfully for the US Senate in 1918, as did suffragist activist Anne Martin of Nevada. A photograph of Martin is included in our collection.

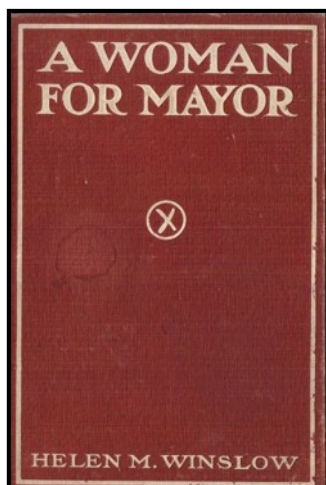
Women were more successful in getting elected to state legislatures. Clara Cressingham was one of the first three women in Colorado elected to the state house of representatives in 1894, a year after women gained full suffrage. Two years later Dr. Martha H. Cannon of Utah was the first woman elected to a state senate. Women had regained full suffrage in Utah in 1895.

On the local level women began running for mayor of their cities and towns in the 1880s. Women in Kansas gained municipal suffrage in 1887 and that year Susanna M. Salter of Argonia, Kansas was the first woman elected for mayor. Salter was celebrated everywhere as the first woman ever to serve in the position. We have a letter written by Salter when she was in her 90s, describing her campaign and time in office. It reads in part "I was elected by a two thirds majority . . . a few men resented woman in Politics."

Front page of 1958 letter from Susanna M. Salter to "Joe"



Between 1887 and 1914 women in Kansas alone ran in twenty-six campaigns for mayor of their towns. Some of them such as Mary D. Lowman served with all women council members. In her 1909 novel *A Woman for Mayor: A Novel of Today*, suffrage activist Helen M. Winslow portrayed the fictional Gertrude Van Deusen who campaigned for mayor of her hometown and who relied on a coalition of supporters in favor of social and municipal reforms. Shown here are the cover and frontpiece image from the book.

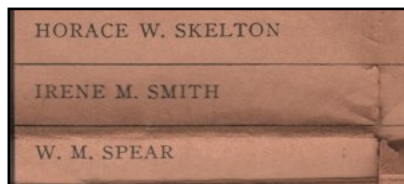
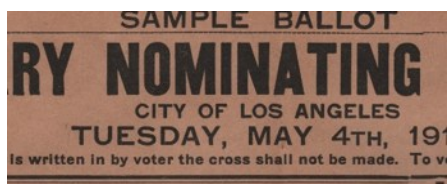


1909 Book by Helen M. Winslow, hardcover, 5" x 7.5", frontpiece by Walter Dean Goldbeck



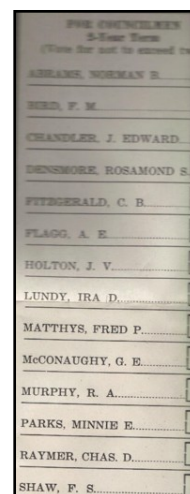
... Her Hat Was In The Ring, cont'd.

Irene M. Smith was a Socialist party candidate for the Los Angeles, CA city council in 1916.



Part of 1916 Los Angeles ballot

Rosamond Densmore and Minnie Parks, both of Seattle, campaigned for a seat on the city council in 1914. Parks had been the Socialist party candidate for state treasurer in 1912.



Part of 1914 Seattle ballot

Women campaigned for other offices on the local level. In 1896 Effie Coon was elected Clerk of the District Court in Women lawyers were active participants in politics as candidates. Belva Lockwood was a working lawyer both before and after her presidential runs. In 1889 lawyer Catherine Waugh campaigned unsuccessfully for state attorney general in Illinois as the Prohibition party candidate. Twenty years later, as Catherine Waugh McCulloch, she ran successfully as justice of the peace for Evanston, Illinois. Meade County, Kansas. Below is a photograph of her at work in her office.



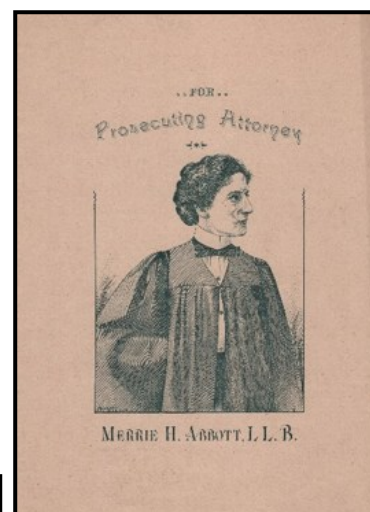
Effie Coon, Photograph on cardboard, 5" x 8.5"



Catherine Waugh McCulloch

Women lawyers were active participants in politics as candidates. Belva Lockwood was a working lawyer both before and after her presidential runs. In 1889 lawyer Catherine Waugh campaigned unsuccessfully for state attorney general in Illinois as the Prohibition party candidate. Twenty years later, as Catherine Waugh McCulloch, she ran successfully as justice of the peace for Evanston, Illinois.

Another practicing lawyer, Merrie H. Abbott was elected as the prosecuting attorney of Ogemaw County, Michigan in 1898. In the months after her election the state attorney general challenged her right to the office and asked the state supreme court to rule on this. The majority of the justices found that women in the state did not have the right to hold the office of prosecuting attorney. One justice dissented, siding with Abbott. The image shown here is a campaign leaflet from Abbott's original campaign.



Original leaflet, 7.5" x 10.5"

... Her Hat Was In The Ring, cont'd.

Court challenges to women's right to hold office were not unusual. Boston politicians had challenged women elected to the city's school committee in the 1870s and such challenges continued even after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment and into the late 1920s.

As women gained partial or full suffrage and elective rights from states after 1900, at least 4,000 women campaigned for local, county, state, and federal offices in over 45 states. They were successful in ninety percent of their campaigns.

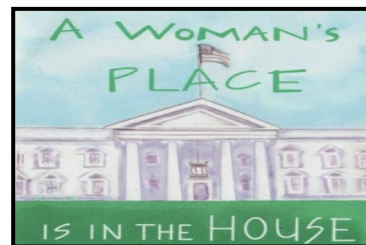
In our collection we have some unusual twentieth century campaign items that were given out to voters: a metal clicker from Ruth Hanna McCormick's US Senate campaign in 1929; a plastic rain bonnet and nail file for Mildred F. Taylor's 1958 campaign for New York State Assembly; a small ruler in 1998 to elect Ann Manen for Judge Court of Common Pleas in Ohio, "She'll Measure Up"; and a plastic fly swatter for Jeannette Gardas' 2011 campaign for county commissioner in Pennsylvania. Women's right to elective office was an important aspect of American political development and citizenship, even before the federal amendment for women's voting rights ratified in 1920.



Sticker, circa 2025, 2" x



Barton and Spooner postcard, 1913, 3"x



Sticker, circa 2024, 3.5" x 4"

To learn more about the history of US women's elective rights and pioneering women politicians see Chmielewski's and Norgren's book *Her Hat Was in the Ring: How Women Won the Right to Run for Office in the United States*, (NYU Press, 2026).



Boudica Brooch



... Boudica Brooch, cont'd.

One of the iconic suffrage badges produced by Women's Social and Political Union was the Boadicea or Boudica brooch, which was first advertised on November 19, 1908, in their official journal *Votes for Women* for 3/6 each. Sometimes called today the "suffragettes' Victoria Cross," it was listed for sale alongside other pieces of memorabilia such as button badges, hatpins, ribbons, and scarves. Manufactured by Toye and Company, it pictures the famous Celtic warrior, Boudica, queen of the Iceni tribe who led a massive and bloody uprising against the occupying forces of the Roman empire around AD 60 or 61. Having much success in the beginning of Boudica's revolt, her forces were eventually surrounded by the Romans in battles that reportedly left 80,000 Britons slaughtered along with 400 Romans. Her name is derived from the Proto-Celtic word *Boudika*, which means "victory." She is remembered today as a British national heroine who was a symbol of defiance against oppression and a suitable image to serve as a representative for suffrage workers.

The design for the pin was taken from a 1902 bronze statue of her by Thomas Thorneycroft picturing her riding high in her chariot that was placed on the Thames embankment next to the Houses of Parliament. Toye was commissioned by the WSPU to manufacture the suffrage copy due to their deep roots in London's Clerkenwell and Jewellery Quarters, where they specialized in military regalia and civic badges. While the badge was sold to the general public, it may have been initially produced in a larger version to serve as a presentation pin. Eliabeth Crawford in her study *The Woman's Suffrage Movement* records several photographs of prominent suffragists wearing one. The suffrage leader Mary Kenny gave an example to Mary Blathwayt who wears one in a photograph that appeared in Willmott Dobbie's *A Nest of Suffragettes*. Emmeline Pankhurst also is seen wearing one on a postcard published by J. Beagles and Company. Elsie Howey wears one in a photograph taken by Durrant of Torquay, and Ada Flatman also has one pinned on herself in a photograph published in Van Helmond, *Votes for Women*, 1992.

Despite its apparent popularity when the piece was first produced, it remains exceedingly rare today and is missing from many of even the most advanced collections. Because these pins do not contain text that allude to suffrage such as "WSPU" or "Votes for Women," many may have been accidentally discarded over the years. Several have been found among assortments of period jewelry, the descendent owners apparently oblivious as to their significance.

A Boudica banner of a different design from the pin was created by Mary Lowndes as part of her 'Famous Women' series of banners. It was made originally to be carried in the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) procession of 13th June 1908.

Despite its rarity, examples of Boudica brooch contain at least two different hallmarks on their reverse, and there has been discussion as to the significance of that fact. The first mark is the one seen above on the middle of the piece, "Toye & Co. /London." The second reads "Toye. 57 Theobold /Rd London." The variation on the hallmarks on Boudica badges probably comes down to production logistics rather than to a difference in time periods. One specialist on the company points out that the shortened stamp of "Toye and Company / London" was used when space on the reverse side of the badge was tight or if a simpler, faster stamping die was required during mass production. The detailed stamp of "Toye 57 Theobald Road" was used on larger badges or specific production batches where the company wanted to prominently display their flagship showroom address to drive direct business. If so, this may substantiate that the badge, as rare as it is, may have been issued in two sizes, one as a presentation piece and one for the general public.

The Boadicea brooch with the Theobald Road address was sold on the Etsy web site awhile back for \$34.66. Although the purchaser at the time loved the piece, she returned it for an unknown reason for a refund obviously not realizing its value.

An excellent article by Marguerite Johnson entitled "Boadicea and British Suffrage Feminists" can be found on-line at <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1649119305?sourcetype=Scholarly%20Journals>.

Hake's Latest Auction

Ted Hake's Political and Historical Americana Premier Auction #247, administered by Scott Mussell, that closed on August 18 featured a stunning array of 46 suffrage items that included historical paper, buttons and badges, ceramics, pennants, and other rare material. Consignments came from a variety of long-term collections and sales stock, including those of Rex Stark and Ken Hosner. Space does not permit our listing all the items, but some of the many highlights are discussed below. Prices realized include the 20% buyer's premium and are included directly below the image of each item. All images are copyrighted by Hake's and cannot be reproduced without their permission.

			
\$1,016; \$2,185; \$2,185; \$1,986	\$1,290	\$1,452	No Bid

My favorite lots were the first four, a series of 16.5 x 19" c. 1872 broadsides called "Woman's Campaign," issued by the Grant re-election campaign. Each broadside contained endorsements from suffrage leaders hoping to cull support from women for Grant. No. 3 deals specifically w/ Horace Greeley, President Grant's recognition of woman, woman's relation to the two political parties & "A Word to Women" by Mary Livermore. No. 6 focuses heavily on Susan B. Anthony and her switch from Greeley to Grant, Catholic opinion of Grant, and two columns relating Elizabeth Cady Stanton's speech in Philadelphia. No. 8 extends a lengthy column to "WHAT HORACE GREELEY KNOWS ABOUT THE COLORED PEOPLE" along with proposed "REPUBLICAN LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN", closing with a rousing "VOTE FOR GRANT!" poem/song. No. 10 offers 29 articles written in support of the Grant campaign by prominent women within the women's suffrage sphere. Suffrage stalwarts like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Harriet Beecher Stowe along with lesser-known figures within the movement. A notable inclusion is a quote from African American author and suffragist, Frances E. W. Harper. The broadside closes with news of one woman who would serve as a presidential elector, stating "She is believed to be the first female voter thus admitted." In general, early suffragists were supporters of the Republican, not the Democratic Party, believing that it was their best opportunity to achieve the vote. When Susan B. Anthony was arrested in Rochester for voting in the presidential election of 1872, it is believed that she cast her ballot for Grant. Prices realized under the image above are for all four lots in their order of appearance.

The 24 ½" cloth "Votes for Women" pennant with a black on yellow border came from the collection of long-time APIC member Ken Hosner. Hake's was unfamiliar with this variety. Pennants, sashes, and banners have been drawing record amounts recently, and there was curiosity about the final price here.

The 3 ¼" x 12" tin bird produced by the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association for the failed Nov. 2, 1915, referendum in that state has always been an iconic piece for political collectors in general, not only those who are interested in woman suffrage. It contains a small hole at the top for nailing to electrical poles and fences. A similar piece was offered concurrently in another auction and observers speculated as to whether the final bid price would be affected as a result. This copy with buyer's premium realized \$1,452.

Suffrage ceramic pieces have fallen in price from what they were about 10 years ago. Still, this 5" tall puppy dog carrying a toffee hammer reflecting the Women's Social and Political Union's window smashing campaign was a particularly appealing item. From the Rex and Patti Stark collection, its image also appears on an English suffrage postcard. For some reason, this example did not receive a bid.

... Hake's, cont'd.

			
\$1,720	\$1,892	\$660	\$1,669

The four buttons pictured above are classic pieces that many consider to be among the best in suffrage badges. The 1 1/4" white on blue celluloid, produced by socialite Alva Belmont's New York based Political Equality Association, has recently achieved auction prices north of \$4,000. The fact that several examples of this pin have been auctioned off recently obviously brought the price down. The design also appears on a larger mirror.

The sepia "Equal Rights for Women" 1 1/4" button, with a portrait of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was produced by the Harlem Equal Rights League at a time that predated the African American migration into the area. The League was established in 1905 by Maude Malone and Marth Williams and lasted until about 1908-09 when many of its members left to join other progressive organizations. It, along with the Progressive Woman Suffrage Union, was one of the first suffrage organizations to promote open-air events such as marches, demonstrations, and outside rallies at a time when even many suffragists believed that the streets were the province of men.

The 7/8" Woman's Suffrage Party badge, while not as graphic in design as the other pins in this row, is very rare, only a few examples of which have ever appeared in auction. The WSP was founded in 1909 in New York City by Carrie Chapman Catt. It functioned as a "political union" that merged various existing local suffrage groups into a single, cohesive force. The 7/8" celluloid to its right was produced by the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association and manufactured by the classic button firm of Whitehead and Hogue. The image also appears on letter heads, postcards, posters, and Cinderella stamps issued by the OWSA.

			
\$389	\$357	\$480	\$660

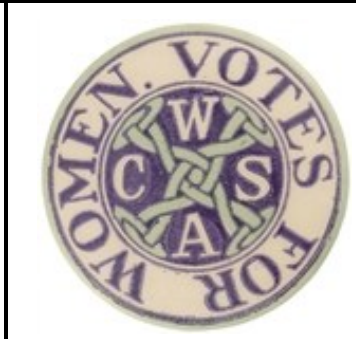
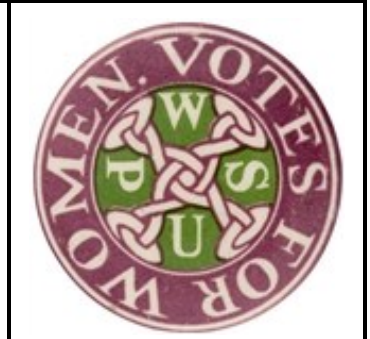
The 1" purple, white, and gold celluloid in the upper left was manufactured by the Portland, Oregon firm of Irwin-Hodson, one of the few suffrage pins with an elaborate design that was produced in the West. The Congressional Union was established in 1913, when Alice Paul broke from the National American Woman Suffrage Association, not long after she had coordinated the famous March on Washington that preceded Woodrow Wilson's Inauguration as President. A sought-after item, it has attained high prices in past auctions.

... Hake's, cont'd.

The 7/8" button to its right was issued in the colors of the Woman's Political Union, which produced the pin. It was modelled after a black on red pin made by various anti-suffrage organizations. In the New York area in particular, suffrage and anti-suffrage forces loved to mock each other in various ways, although this is the only time that satire appears to have been a major force behind a button's design.

The 7/8" black on gold pin manufactured by the Sommer Badge Mfg. Co was most likely produced for the failed New Jersey suffrage referendum held on October 19, 1915. In that year, four Eastern states held referenda on the issue in the hope to extend the number of suffrage states beyond the parameters of the West and Mid-West. Unfortunately, all four ballot initiatives were defeated.

The final pin in this row is an approximate 1 1/4" enamel badge in the colors of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies, the non-militant counterpart to Emmeline Pankhurst's Women's Social and Political Union. It was manufactured by W. O. Lewis in Birmingham, an area noted for its fine jewelry and metal production. The five-petalled red rose in the center of the pin is that image that is sometimes used as the symbol of England in much the same way that the thistle is sometimes used to represent Scotland.

			
\$600	\$840	\$320	\$472

The 1 3/4" Jus Suffragii metal pin inserted into a fancy frame embedded with stones was the product of the International Suffrage Alliance, based in London. The phrase, which was the official motto of the IWSA and means approximately, the "the right of suffrage", was also used as the title of the organization's newspaper.

The "1" Votes for Women" button to its right is dated 1914, the year when New Jersey proponents had hoped to hold a referendum on the issue. Due to a scheduling blunder, however, the referendum was held the following year, 1915, instead. The rarity of this pin was probably caused in part by the mix-up.

The 1 1/4" purple, green, and white celluloid produced by the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association was based on the design of the pin to its right, manufactured in England for the Women's Social and Political Union, the militant organization founded by Emmeline Pankhurst. At the time that the American version was made, the CWSA was headed by Katharine Hepburn, the mother of the actress. Hepburn had tried to transform the moribund Connecticut organization into a more activist group and adopted much of its iconography from the British Union. While she succeeded to a degree, she became disenchanted with the results and left Connecticut to join up with Alice Paul in Washington.

Anderson Americana Auction

The latest edition of the Anderson Americana was held this past Aug. 11 and 13. Included among the many lots were 25 listings for suffrage related items. While few among them were especially unique, this comprehensive collection provided an interesting summary of current interest in suffrage badges. Some of the highlights are included below along with prices realized including bidder's premium.

			
(1) \$390	(2) \$840	(3) \$252	(4) \$360

(1) The National Junior Suffrage Corps was a youth-led organization founded in 1914 by suffragist and educator Caroline Ruutz-Rees to engage young people under the age of 17 in the women's suffrage movement. Ruutz-Rees was headmistress of Rosemary Hall in Greenwich, CT and established the group to foster early interest in political activism. Its motto was "Youth Today, Tomorrow Power." Funding for the group came in part through the National American Woman's Suffrage Association. (2) The Woman's Suffrage Party (WSP) was founded in 1909 by Carrie Chapman Catt at the Convention of Disenfranchised Women. It called itself "a political union of existing equal suffrage organizations in the City of New York." The Party issued a variety of buttons, this example being one of the more desirable. (3) This pin was issued by one of several suffrage organizations including the WSP and the Empire State Campaign Committee that worked for the successful passage of a state referendum on suffrage in New York in 1917. (4) The "Vote Yes" pin was issued by the Women's Political Union, modelled after the militant English WSPU. It was founded in New York in 1907 by Elizabeth Cady Stanton's daughter, Harriot Stanton Blatch and was known originally as the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women. The design mocks a similar "Vote No" button in red and white issued by the anti-suffragists.

			
(5) \$330	(6) \$2,520	(7) \$274	(8) \$330

(5) This button is a scarce variety of a pin that was produced by the Just Government League of Maryland. This version is without the gold band that encircles the Maryland version. (6) This tin bird has always been popular among collectors, whether suffrage specialists or not, which helps to explain its final bid. It was holed at the top so that it could be attached to fences and poles in preparation for the unsuccessful Massachusetts referendum in 1915 on suffrage. (7) The attractive eagle and bunting pin features the unofficial state colors of

... Anderson, cont'd.

New York (blue and yellow or orange). Many years ago, I foolishly passed up a full jar of these at a local antique market. (8) The phrase "suffrage first" refers to a political strategy where securing suffrage is prioritized above all other social, legal, or constitutional reforms. It was used by several suffrage organizations for various campaigns.

			
(9) \$252	(10) \$266.40	(11) \$390	(12) No Bid

(9) This nine-star button comes from Illinois. There are yellow and blue nine- and ten-star variations of this design. They were all issued in 1913 after Oregon had become the 9th state to grant the franchise to women and Illinois followed suit the next year. (10) This small WSP button was issued by the Woman's Suffrage Party of New York. It is unusual in that it contains neither the full name of the party or an accompanying suffrage logo. Suffrage buttons were produced generally to advertise the movement or stimulate conversation. It is difficult to see how these surreptitious initials alone accomplished either purpose. (11) This six-star button from Ohio engendered controversy when it first appeared, threatening a lawsuit by anti-suffragists. In 1910 Washington was the fifth state to grant suffrage to women and Ohio women hoped to be the sixth. Opponents pointed out that the pin was false advertising since the state legislature was not scheduled to meet again until the following year. Instead, in 1911, California, not Ohio, was the sixth state to pass the measure. (12) The National Suffrage School ribbon from Baton Rouge was in poor condition as is the case with all examples of this piece that I am familiar with. Still, its history makes it a fine piece for the suffrage collector. The first National Suffrage School was held in December 1913 in Washington, D. C. It consisted of 85 lectures delivered by prominent suffrage leaders. People who passed the curriculum were qualified to go out in the world and preach the doctrine of equal suffrage to "the down-trodden women of the nation." In the period from 1916-1919, there was a special effort to spread these schools throughout the South, with courses run in such states as Maryland, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Louisiana. As always, the purpose of the school was "for the training of women in the principles of the suffrage propaganda and program."



Auctioneum Auction

On July 8, Auctioneum (formerly East Bristol Auctions) with salesrooms in Bristol and Bath (United Kingdom) held a sale of selections from the collection of Leo Lonergan that included seven suffrage pins along with a questionable defaced coin. Lonergan was not a suffrage aficionado per se, but these lots were part of his collection of around 6,000 badges and curios that he had amassed over a period of some sixty years. His peak collecting years were in the 1960s and 1970's when he visited fairs and markets throughout the country, often on his motorbike as his chief mode of transportation. Images of badges and medals from his entire collection have appeared in several books and guides on the subject. While none of the pieces below is especially rare, it is interesting to see how suffrage items can be dispersed into what otherwise are non-suffrage collections. The

... Auctioneum, cont'd.

hammer price for the shield pin in the top row was a surprise, but it does indicate that there are aggressive bidders for suffrage pieces in the UK. The “Votes for Women” defaced coin is included here for information purposes only. While suffragists are known to have “engraved” coins in this manner, the vast majority of such pieces are modern, post-suffrage items. It is virtually impossible to tell today what is period and what is not. Bidders shied away from this piece apparently for these reasons. Final prices here are in USD and include the buyer’s premium but not any possible U.S. tariffs.

			
\$563.20	\$281.59	\$5,103.98	\$774.40
			
\$492.77	\$422.37	\$129.19	No Bid



Matinee Suffrage Button Revisited



In our last issue, the 1 ¼” black on yellow button associated with the Progressive Woman’s Suffrage Union’s “event “ at a matinee presentation of “Girls” at Daly’s Theatre in New York on April 22, 1908, elicited a fair amount of interest and discussion. It might be appropriate, therefore, to provide additional detail.

The PWSU’s plans to be at the matinee appeared earlier in a brief note on page 9 of an April 1908 issue of the *New York Times*, where it was announced that “Members of the Progressive Woman’s Suffrage Union will attend the performance of “Girls” at Daly’s Theatre on Wednesday afternoon, April 22.” But this was more than simple attendance on their part. Rather it was intended to be part of a larger performative event on behalf of both the Union and the suffrage movement as a whole.

... Matinee Suffrage Button, cont'd.

The plans for a special matinee performance of "Girls" emanated from neither the PWSU nor the management of Daly's. Rather, the idea came from one of the three main actresses of the play, Amy Ricard, who played the role of Kate West, a freelance writer. Ricard, who showed up at PWSU headquarters at 122 East 123rd Street in New York on April 10, announced to the surprise and delight of those present that "I want to be a suffragette." She plucked down her 25-cent membership fee, bought a "Votes for Women" button from them, and promised to speak at the Union's open-air meeting at Madison Square the following Tuesday. Ricard also outlined her plans for a special suffrage matinee at Daly's on the 22nd in which she would wear her new button onstage. The PWSU, delighted with her original idea, "pledged themselves to a big attendance and a wealth of decoration. Their banners—Votes for Women—[would] stream from every convenient angle."

The PWSU also pledged to hold an advance demonstration that would proceed initially from their headquarters in automobiles fully decorated in suffrage regalia to a planned rally several blocks from the theatre. At the theatre "Suffragette ushers [would] distribute the yellow buttons [pictured above] as souvenirs to the audience" and bury Ricard in jonquils, the unofficial flower of the movement.

In their lengthy account of this street demonstration that preceded the matinee, the *New York Herald* focused both on dress and spectacle, noting that the suffrage leaders had treated "Broadway to a look at their finery." Four cars, draped with yellow flags bearing the inscription "Votes for Women," stopped in front of the Hotel Astor, where a crowd had previously gathered. Out from the first car stepped leaders of the Progressive Woman's Suffrage Union elegantly dressed in outfits that the *Herald* went at some lengths to describe. Mary Lyda Commander "wore a white lingerie embroidered frock built on pale blue satin, a pale blue silk opera cloak and a flower toque." Mrs. Sophia Loebinger's costume was "of black net over white silk profusely trimmed with duchess lace and her opera cloak was of rose-colored broadcloth." Mary Coleman "wore a tight fitting black and tan striped tailor made and a pink picture hat." Such newspaper

descriptions were, obviously, the result of a period tendency to define women in part in terms of dress, and the women so depicted were, after all, going to the theatre. But their dress could also be seen as an attempt to appeal to New York's wealthy, part of the general strategy of the emerging PWSU.

The three women then addressed a crowd of some 300 spectators, who were on hand to hear them speak. This spectacle was part of a general strategy adopted by both the PWSU and its sister organization, the Harlem Equal Rights League, to engage in open air rallies and street marches, before such events became popular with other suffrage organizations. Carrie Chapman Catt, for example, spoke out strongly against such methods that involved "holding meetings in the streets of New York," calling them "decidedly out of place," and emphasizing the harm that they would do to the woman suffrage movement. But the three leaders at the PWSU rally were able to elicit not derision but the cheers and support of the crowd, especially when Mrs. Loebinger asserted that "the New York suffragettes were not freaks." Mrs. Commander told them that "women were being treated like paupers and criminals and that they weren't any such thing and that they weren't idiots either." It clearly was the intention of the three women both in dress and words to present themselves not as outliers to their sex but as part of the mainstream.

Their speeches having concluded, all three leaders threw open their cloaks so that the crowd could see them wearing large yellow rosettes in the center of which were examples of the black on yellow button pictured earlier. Mrs. Commander then signaled that it was time to attend the matinee and the entourage proceeded to the Daly Theatre in their rented cars where thirteen photographers stood waiting to capture pictures of both the leaders and the PWSU members who followed behind. They arrived at a hall where the April 22 buttons had been pinned on the back of each chair [another account cited above suggests that they were passed out by suffragist ushers] and every woman in the audience was wearing "a bunch of daffodils, the floral emblem of the Suffragettes."

It is not clear at this point about the extent of collaboration that existed between the managers of the Daly

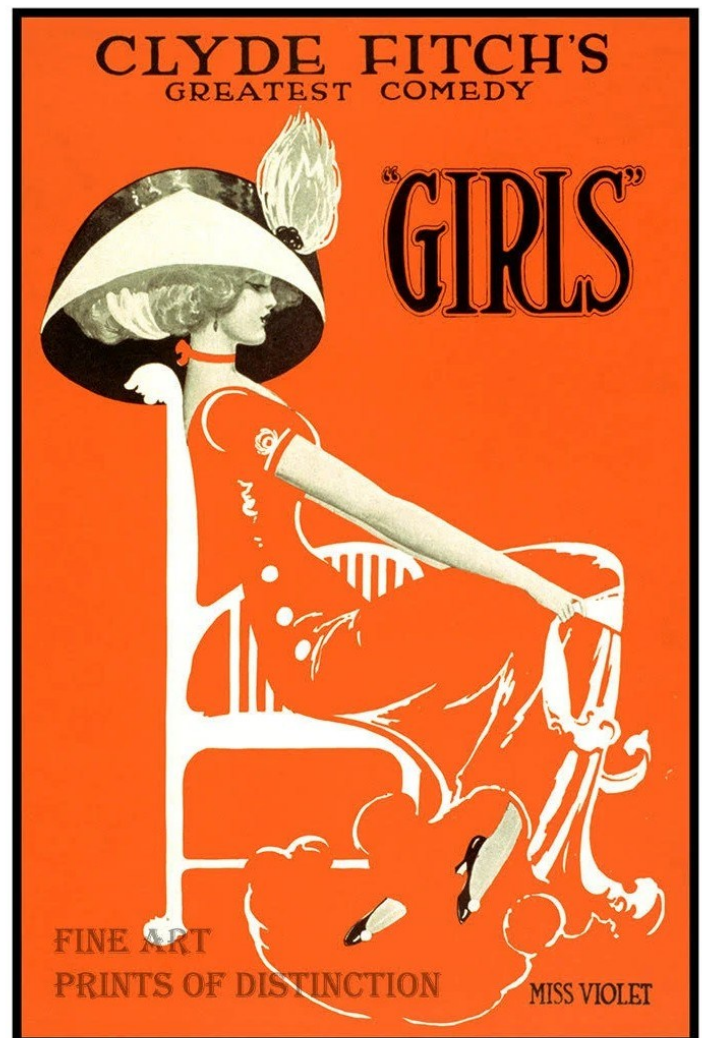
... Matinee Suffrage Button, cont'd.

Theatre and the PWSU. Later in the year, however, the PWSU continued to include theatre events as part of their promotional activities. Rather than trying to sneak in plays to circulate suffrage messages, they negotiated with management to host massive political demonstrations disguised as an afternoon in the theatre. At a minimum of seven different venues, they set up voting booths inside lobbies, as they may have done at the Daly. A placard above the booths read "Ladies Cast Your Vote Here Under the Auspices of the National Progressive Woman's Suffrage Union." PWSA members stood by each booth, appealing to every woman entering the theatre to cast a ballot. The goal was to conduct a massive mock straw poll to prove that women did want the right to vote.

The play "Girls" had a highly successful run of a minimum of 64 performances (some accounts give the total as high as 225). In 1919 it was made into a silent movie, which, unfortunately, as was the case with at least 80% of movies of the period, is no longer extant, as the materials from which it was made easily disintegrated. The Daly managers were able, obviously, to profit from the publicity and to promote their production to women's rights advocates even though the play had a slightly anti-feminist message. The PWSA, on their part, were able to conduct another open-air event, this one connected to the Daly Theatre production. Open-air events had become part of their general strategy to win public acceptance and to display their "normalcy."

"Girls" was a three-act light comedy written and staged by the prolific American author, Clyde Fitch. The plot concerned the adventures of three independent "bachelor girls" who lived together in a cramped New York City apartment. Frustrated by men, sexist behavior at the workplace and by the rigid restrictions of society concerning women's roles, they form a pact and swear never to marry. But through a series of comic misadventures, all three women succumb to love and abandon their initial pledges. The play, then, satirizes the aspirations of the modern "New Woman" without directly criticizing the suffrage movement. Yet it does evoke sympathy for the plight of the working woman.

All was not necessarily harmonious at this time within the Progressive Woman's Suffrage Union, however. In a scathing letter to the *New York Times*, which appeared on March 27 about a month prior to the April 22 matinee, Maud Malone announced her resignation from the group asserting that they had abandoned their principles that involved support of the working classes. This was a significant statement. Malone was the President of the Harlem Equal Rights League and, along with British militant Bettina Borrmann Wells, an early founder of the Union. Both organizations shared a commitment to a new strategy for suffrage that involved open-air meetings as opposed to closed hall speeches. Malone had helped organize a massive suffrage parade in New York in February 1908 at a time when marches



Archival print from "Girls" sold at the Brandywine General Store

... Matinee Suffrage Button, cont'd.

and parades by women activists were scarce and dismissed by other suffragists who worried about the public image of women demonstrating in the streets and the harm that it might do to the cause. Such concerns, though, were to quickly disperse in a year or so in part through the success of the activities of such organizations as the Harlem League and the PWSU.

Malone objected to what she felt to be “the present policy of the union” to be “to attract a well-dressed crowd, not the rabble,” perhaps foretelling the events as they unfolded on April 22 as to why the current officers of the PSWU were so carefully dressed and why they made a direct appeal to the theatre crowd. Others in the organization, moving away from progressive ideas, had previously pointed out to Malone “the absolute necessity . . . of attracting women of the upper classes who would not join as long as we had our present crowd.”

Although strenuously asserting that she, Malone, was not a Socialist, she objected to the attempt of some to prevent Socialists from even speaking at meetings as well as a shift to appeal to the wealthier class. “To me the movement to be truly Progressive should recognize no prejudice of race, color, difference in clothes or creed, whether religious or economic. This contentious contention by petty spite and prejudice was to me not only undemocratic but nauseating.” Whether Malone’s objections were totally valid, it is clear there was a problem within the organization. It is also clear that the attendance of the leaders and membership of the PWSU at the Daly Theatre on April 22 extended beyond the desire to see a hit Broadway play. It was part of a general strategy of the Union to reach out to women of wealth and recruit them to their organization, and in the process seek donations for the cause.

