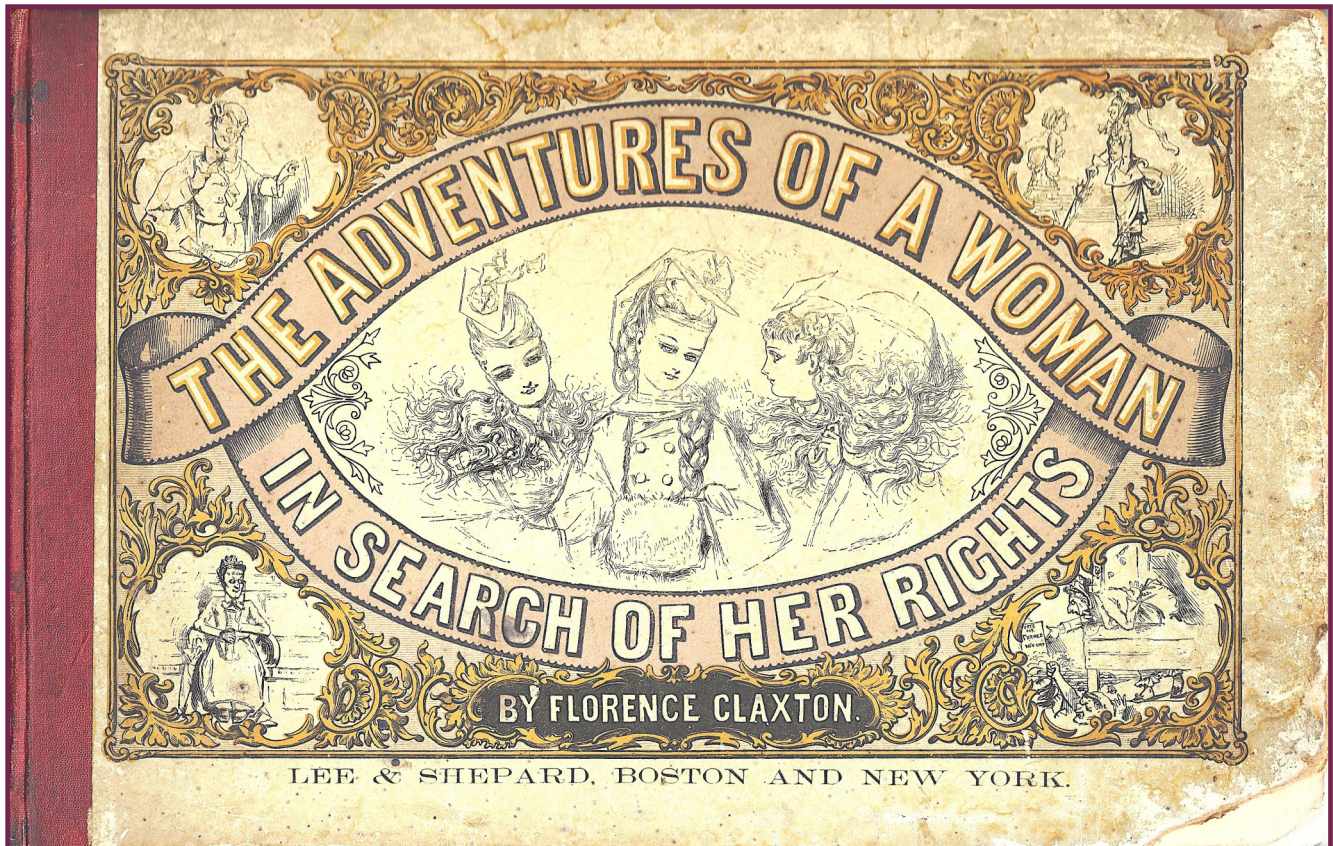


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THE CLARION



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*

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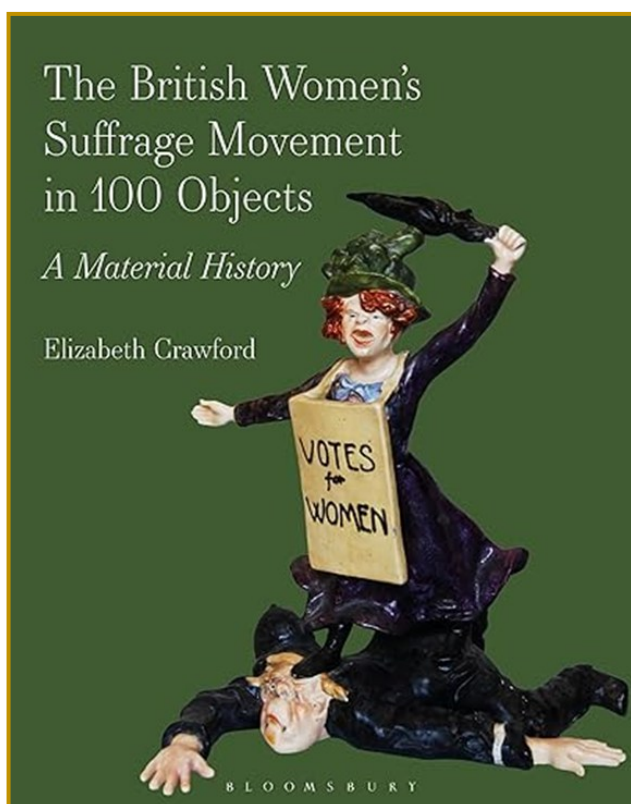
Robert Fratkin Germaine Broussard

Editor's Notes

The cover of this issue of *The Clarion* is an image of Florence Claxton's *The Adventures of a Woman in Search of Her Rights*. The first London edition was published by the Graphotyping Company circa 1870, and the first American edition by Lee and Shepard in Boston in 1871. The book is a satire of the woman's rights movement, with approximately 100 original drawings with virtually no text except for captions. The plot follows the adventures of a heroine who pursues traditionally male careers such as law, politics, and medicine, failing at each. She eventually moves to America where she faces similar obstacles. The last image shows her in bed waking up from a dream, exclaiming with relief: "Thank Goodness, It's only a midsummer's dream. And I am NOT emancipated."

Our lead article this issue is Michael Wood's "The Saloon's Last Stand" by Michael M. Wood. Michael M. Wood is a veteran genealogist and Americana collector with over half a century of experience in the field. While his political collection spans decades, he currently focuses on acquiring suffrage and prohibition-themed campaign items. Complementing his work as a collector, his historical research has been widely published in peer-reviewed journals, and three of his full-length books are held in the permanent collection of the Library of Congress. He can be contacted at mmwood@gmail.com.

Elizabeth Crawford's new book, *The British Women's Suffrage Movement in 100 Objects*, is scheduled for release on July 23, although it can be pre-ordered now on Amazon. Crawford is one of the best historians of the British suffrage movement as well as a long-time rare book dealer (now retired). Given its subject matter and the author's well-earned reputation as a scholar, this should be a valued addition to any suffrage library. I am including here from Amazon a description of the book and its contents.



This book tells the story of the British 'votes for women' campaign in a sequence of 100 objects. From the beginning of the campaign in 1866 until all women were granted the vote on the same terms as men in 1928, women used every means in their power to persuade the government to allow them the right to elect members of parliament. Through the analysis of an astonishing array of objects – including books, bags, petitions, posters, postcards, plays, photographs, china, chess sets, leaflets, newspapers, games, jewellery, scarves, badges, belts, sashes, rosettes, films, and figurines - *The British Women's Suffrage Movement in 100 Objects* explores the role that material culture played in this vital struggle.

Elizabeth Crawford looks at how, during the sixty-year campaign, items that played any part in life were put to work for 'votes for women', as suffrage activists both used and abused buildings, transport, and communications. These included not only objects created by the campaigners to influence public opinion, but also those produced by commercial firms to capitalise on the extraordinary publicity generated by the 'votes for women' movement.

Every one of the 100 objects included in this highly illustrated book represents a stage in the journey to equal citizenship. Among them are many our ancestors could have had in their homes or noticed in the street. Using the words of suffrage campaigners and their contemporaries, the accompanying text sets each object in context, with passages explaining politics and key personalities included throughout.

The Saloon's Last Stand: The Brewers' Shadow War Against the Women's Vote

Michael M. Wood

In a smoke-filled backroom in the Pacific Northwest in February of 1905, brewery owners Leopold F. Schmidt (Olympia), Henry Weinhard (Portland) and Andrew Hemrich (Seattle) met with members of the Vigilance Committee of the United States Brewers' Association (USBA). These men weren't worried about the competition - they were worried about their wives.

The impetus for this emergency gathering was clear: Oregon brewers were facing a major legal battle - the Women's Christian Temperance Union had presented the legislature with a 1.8-mile-long petition, containing over 13,000 signatures, calling for the Local Option Liquor Law to be placed before the voters. Whereas the enfranchisement of women had traditionally been seen as a threat to the stability of the American family unit, this 'Home Protection' movement had successfully rebranded the female vote as a weapon - a way for mothers to shield their families from the *'tyranny of drink'*, and was openly fighting for both prohibition and universal suffrage.

To the USBA, the prospect of a woman with a ballot was more terrifying than any tax or temperance lecture. They knew what the rest of the country was only starting to realize: women's suffrage wasn't just about equality, it sounded the death knell for the American saloon. The leadership of the USBA realized that the brewing interests in the Northwest could no longer afford to treat the temperance and suffrage movements as mere local skirmishes. Hugh F. Fox, Secretary of the United States Brewers' Association and head of the association's Literary Bureau, warned of the need for a coordinated and heavily financed counter-offensive.

The United States Brewers' Association was the primary engine behind nearly every anti-prohibition and anti-suffrage organization in the country. In states like Oregon and Washington, the USBA circumvented direct public scrutiny by funneling money into pseudo grassroots organizations, such as the 'Personal Liberty League', with a mission to reframe the debate from the 'morality' of alcohol to the 'constitutional freedom' of the male citizen to drink - and the risk that suffrage posed to these freedoms.

Such groups allowed the brewers to fight the 'Drys' and the 'Suffragists' while maintaining a facade of non-partisanship. Over the next fifteen years, the USBA would invest millions into well-funded, clandestine campaigns to oppose prohibition and keep women away from the polls. The road to prohibition was being paved by newly enfranchised women, and two massive shifts in the American social contract were converging.

While the brewers were fighting these local skirmishes in the Pacific Northwest, they were inadvertently accelerating a national collision course that would come to a head in 1919. The USBA viewed Oregon and Washington as a bulwark. If they could stop suffrage here, in the supposedly radical West, they could prevent the 'Dry' contagion from reaching the industrial hubs of the East - a strategic concern relayed to the USBA's New York headquarters. This was the birth of the 'Personal Liberty League' - an object-lesson in political branding. By framing the debate around the constitutional freedom of the male citizen to drink, the Vigilance Committee managed to transform the saloon from a site of vice into a sanctuary of civil rights.

As pivotal as the year 1919 would become for American constitutional politics, the 18th and 19th Amendments were not sudden shifts, but rather the culmination of decades of strategic effort. While the ratification of nationwide prohibition and universal suffrage appeared nearly simultaneously, it was the hard-won result of two distinct movements converging in a single moment in history. Though historians have sometimes treated these as separate threads of Progressivism, they were, in reality, linked by overlapping constituencies and a common enemy: the entrenched political machines and the organized liquor interests that funded them.

... The Saloon's Last Stance, cont'd.

In the decade leading up to nationwide enactment, both issues had seen some success at the state level. Prior to 1919, prohibition advocates had successfully achieved statewide bans in 27 states. All but three of these laws were passed in the period between 1907 and 1918. Temperance activism was gaining momentum through the implementation of Local Option laws; these focused on encouraging individual towns and counties to go 'Dry', versus placing the issue before entire states. Nonetheless there were 13 statewide referendums for Prohibition that were defeated by voters. Despite these setbacks, the 'dry' contingent remained remarkably persistent - in Ohio bringing the issue to the ballot five times in seven years (1912, 1914, 1915, 1917 - finally passing in 1918). In the Pacific Northwest, Oregon saw the issue appear on the ballot four times and in Washington it was brought three times before the voters.

While Prohibition had a high success rate at the state level, women's suffrage was much more frequently rejected by voters. Between 1867 and 1920, there were 54 statewide ballot measures in 30 different states to grant women the right to vote. Of these, 39 - or nearly 75% - were defeated at the polls. This high failure rate underscores a deeply ingrained cultural resistance to female enfranchisement, which many men viewed as a threat.

The women's suffrage movement had won victories in 15 states prior to nationwide ratification, eleven of these laws being passed in the years between 1910 and 1918. The 'Western Strategy' focused on younger states where political structures were less rigid and the contribution of women to the frontier economy was more visible. The limited number of states granting suffrage prior to ratification was certainly not for want of effort; in the years before, 30 different states had proposed 54 separate ballot measures - of those, 39 failed. The Suffrage movement in South Dakota took the lead for effort, bringing the issue before the public in six election cycles (1890, 1898, 1910, 1914, 1916 - eventually passing in 1918). Again, the Pacific Northwest was active, with Oregon enfranchising women in 1912 after five prior defeats, and Washington adopting universal suffrage in 1910 after two prior failures.

With suffrage limited to men, influencing male public opinion was critical to success - or failure - at the polls. The USBA-supported campaign was designed to convince male voters that their domestic lives would be upended by suffrage - and would lead to prohibition. When the U.S. Senate investigated the industry in 1919, the Overman Committee exposed that the USBA through its 'Literary Bureau', clandestinely funded anti-suffrage pamphlets; among these titles were 'The Woman Vote and Prohibition', 'Suffrage and the Liquor Question', and 'The Danger to the Home in Female Enfranchisement'. These pamphlets were distributed in advance of the 1910 Washington suffrage campaign; Hugh F. Fox advised the USBA leadership that the distribution of literature must be handled with the utmost discretion; it was essential that the argument for personal liberty appears to come from the voters themselves, rather than from the interests of the trade.

By fueling the fears of urban men - particularly the belief that women's suffrage would act as the primary catalyst for total prohibition - the USBA successfully manipulated public opinion. Despite the logical appeal of equal rights proponents, many men saw the risk of prohibition as outweighing the obvious fairness that universal suffrage offered.

This perceived threat of suffrage ushering in national prohibition was exacerbated by the organizational structure of the suffrage movement itself. Founded in 1890 as the result of the 'Great Merger', the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) defined itself as a single issue organization - securing the vote for women. Its leaders made concerted efforts to emphasize that suffrage was politically neutral and compatible with a wide range of views on alcohol. The NAWSA recognized that explicit alignment with prohibition would alienate urban voters and that liquor interests would weaponize any temperance language to mobilize opposition.

... The Saloon's Last Stand, cont'd

Nonetheless, in the formative decade leading to ratification, the WCTU was the nation's largest women's organization, and theirs was a very different message - one which played into the hands of the USBA's anti-suffrage efforts. While the NAWSA focused on the single issue of earning the vote, the WCTU focused on the broader moral issue, including the complete elimination of the liquor traffic.

At the turn of the century WCTU membership was about 200,000 women, dwarfing the 13,000 membership of the NAWSA. In the following decade NAWSA membership grew to 75,000, but remained significantly smaller than the 245,000 WCTU membership of 1910. It would not be until 1917 that NAWSA membership would dramatically exceed that of the WCTU, growing quickly to an estimated two million members.

In 1881, the WCTU, under the leadership of Frances E. Willard, officially endorsed woman suffrage at the national level. Despite creating a Department of Franchise and beginning a systematic advocacy for voting rights, the group's core message remained permanently linked to the prohibition movement. Under Willard's leadership, the WCTU framed the female vote as an instrument of 'Home Protection'—defined as the use of legal prohibition to defend women and children from the 'liquor traffic'. Willard called upon women to vote to close the saloons that were destroying their families.



The WCTU were excellent marketers and strongly influenced public opinion - and simultaneously raised the fears of male voters. Suffrage referenda were often won or lost on narrow margins, thus any association between suffrage and prohibition - even if only influencing a small percentage of the electorate - could win or lose an election. As a result, the liquor interests did their best to fan the flames of fear, providing buttons and humorous postcards to be distributed to patrons at local drinking establishments. Some of these went so far as to directly claim 'Suffrage Means Prohibition'.



... The Saloon's Last Stand, cont'd

The USBA was quick to take advantage of the WCTU's position and played upon men's fears of a puritanical state. In Oregon, where the issue of women's suffrage was defeated in prior elections by margins of as little as 1.9%, the anti-suffrage campaigns of the USBA certainly contributed to forming public opinion. After the Oregon election of 1906 saw women's suffrage defeated by 10,173 votes, suffrage leader Abigail Scott Duniway - angered by the efforts of the WCTU - argued that the suffrage cause was separate and not related to the call for prohibition. She placed the blame for this misunderstanding clearly at the feet of the WCTU; "...the main reason for the defeat of women's suffrage in the last election was because of the hurrah campaign instituted by eastern women who associated themselves with the W.C.T.U."

In neighboring Washington State, Mrs. Nell Mitchell Fink, president of the King County Political Equality Club, tried her best to counter the campaigns, declaring in a May 1909 interview: "Doubting men who are afraid that when women vote they will vote everything 'dry' can sit up and take notice. It doesn't necessarily follow that because women vote they will put the saloons out of business."

Whether or not her words made an impact, the election of November 1910 finally broke a 14-year losing streak for the suffrage movement - the women of Washington state winning enfranchisement with 63.8% of the vote. By contrast, when Oregon, on the sixth attempt in November 1912, finally passed the 'Equal Suffrage Constitutional Amendment' it was approved by a narrow margin of just 4,161 votes. This victory was achieved only after activists pivoted toward a non-partisan stance that downplayed temperance, though the specter of prohibition remained the elephant in the room.

Washington would introduce statewide prohibition in 1914, and the influence of the female vote was widely considered the deciding factor in the victory of 'Initiative Measure No. 3.' Having secured their enfranchisement just four years prior in 1910, Washington women turned out in massive numbers to support the 'Dry' cause, viewing the ballot as a tool for home protection against the social ills of the saloon. While the male electorate in industrial and port cities like Seattle and Tacoma remained deeply divided on the issue, the surge of newly registered female voters tipped the scales, passing the ban by a margin of 18,632 votes. The discretion Fox had urged in 1910 had failed to account for the sheer volume of the new electorate.

The 1919 Overman Committee's exposure of the United States Brewers' Association 'Literary Bureau' finally pulled the curtain back on a decade of clandestine operations, confirming Fox's early warning: the brewers were no longer fighting local skirmishes, but were locked in an existential war for survival. Despite the millions funneled into these campaigns to delay the inevitable, the political empowerment of women had become the very force that would ensure the 'total destruction' of the American saloon.



Ted Hake's Auction - Number 246

Ted Hake's On-Line Auction, number 246, closed on March 24-25 and included some interesting suffrage lots. Pictured below are some of the highlights and prices, including buyer's premium. All images are copyrighted by Hake's Auctions and cannot be used without their permission.



... Ted Hake's Auction, cont'd.

The newspaper to the left on the previous page is *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, dated February 4, 1871. Victoria Woodhull, the first woman candidate for president, created a sensation on April 2, 1870 in a letter to *The New York Herald*, when she announced her intention to run. On January 28, 1871, she published a graphic announcement in her paper about her candidacy under the Cosmo-Political Party banner. This announcement ran for the next four months. The issue sold by Hake's was only the second week that the notice had appeared in the paper. Given its historic nature, it realized \$566.

The sash, pictured in the center, was issued by Harriot Stanton Blatch's Women's Political Union party based in New York. Blatch was the daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Sashes have risen steadily in price over the last few years. This example brought a price of \$3,194.

The ¾" purple, green, and white celluloid 10-star button to right was also issued by Blatch's WPU and is the smallest example of the Clarion design known. Generally undervalued, perhaps because of its size, it was gavelled off at \$1,253.



Perhaps the most interesting button in the auction was the 1 ¼" yellow, black, and white pictured to the left above. Hake's attributes the initials on the back paper, NPWSU, to refer to the famous English militant organization, the National Women's Social and Political Union, with one letter possibly transposed. However, the back paper to this button lists 125 East 23rd Street as an address. This is where the largest American organization, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, had its headquarters around 1910. NAWSA was, obviously, quite active, but it was also non-militant, and unlikely to be willing to be associated with any militant English group. Whatever its origins, this pin has surfaced only once before. Here it realized \$1,139.

The 5/8" pin from Whitehead and Hoag pictured here in the center went for \$520. This was one of the few times it had ever appeared in an auction.

The woman pictured on the 1" celluloid button to its right is Ella Hawley Crossett, the President of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association (NYSWSA) beginning in 1902. Although her name does not appear on the button, it is Crossett. The identification was made years ago by one of the early American suffrage specialists, Frank Corbeil. Frank picked this up at a local Connecticut antiques auction because the face seemed familiar to him. When he returned home, he checked through his newspaper files and found Crossett's picture in a similar pose. The NYSWSA was one of the few suffrage groups to honor its leaders on a photo button. This example, surprisingly, did not obtain a bid.

... Ted Hake's Auction, cont'd.



The simplicity of the 7/8" black on yellow celluloid pin on the above left belies its rarity. It was manufactured by the Wm. H. Hoegee Company of Los Angeles and probably came from the 1911 successful suffrage campaign in California. There were several California companies that produced suffrage buttons, but, in general, such items from Western States are rare and sought after. This pin went for \$145.

The 3/4" blue on gold pin in the center was the object of controversy when it appeared. Its six stars refer to the 1911 successful referendum in California that enabled that state to be the sixth that had granted women full access to the ballot. The phrase "Ohio Next" suggests, of course, that Ohio would soon follow suit. The anti-suffragists in the state, however, contemplated on suing to have the button removed for false advertising. The Ohio legislature was not scheduled to vote on the issue anytime soon, so it was not likely that the state would be the next to adopt suffrage. Factually correct or not, the pin went for \$317.

The 1 1/4" pin with the legend "Sarah's Suffrage Victory—Help cut the Fetters" has often been considered to be simply the top of the tin thread holder with the same design. Actually, it is not. The button was also issued separately, and its pin clasp back makes it impossible to attach it to the thread holder. The difference is small, but it is apparent. The pin realized \$389.



Latest Bonhams Suffrage Auction

Part II of Bonhams on-line auction consisting of 80 woman's suffrage items was held on March 12 at their galleries in Knightsbridge, London. Here are some of the results that include the buyer's premium and are recorded in U. S. dollars. All photographs are copyrighted by Bonhams.



The auction included two Hunger Strike Medals, one for Dorothy Pethick and the other for Pleasance Pendered. These medals were awarded by the Women's Social and Political Union to those members who, upon being arrested for their militant suffrage activities, were imprisoned in Holloway and subsequently went on hunger strikes. Each medal, engraved with the prisoner's name, came in a personalized silk lined box. Prob-

... Bonhams' Auction, cont'd.

bly only about 100 were ever struck. Bonhams has offered several for sale recently, which may give the impression that they are common. They are not, and for some represent the sine qua nom of United Kingdom suffrage material. Pethick was the sister of Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, the co-editor of the Women's Social and Political Journal, *Votes for Women*. She was arrested on October 9, 1910, for throwing a stone at the Newcastle General Post Office and sentenced to 14 days of hard labor, when she went on her hunger strike. Pendred, who took part in the window smashing campaign of 1913, was arrested for destroying the window of an antique shop on Victoria Street for which she was sentenced to four months of hard labor. The Pethick medal sold for \$13,558.84 and the Pendred medal went unsold, probably because it was the second such piece in the same auction and because, despite their rarity, several hunger strike pieces have appeared in recent years.

The illuminated manuscript in the center above was designed by Sylvia Pankhurst and given to all W.S. P. U. prisoners. Each manuscript was inscribed with the recipient's name and signed personally by Emmeline Pankhurst. Considering both their beauty and their history, I consider these to be quite undervalued in today's market. This example, given originally to Elizabeth (or 'Eliza') Schofield, went for only \$2,033.82. The sash to its right is the standard purple, green, and white piece that was produced by the W. S. P. U. English sashes, like their U. S. counterparts, have gone up in price in recent years. This example sold for \$11,016.56.



The motoring scarf to the left above was first advertised in *Votes for Women* in 1908, selling at that time for 2s 11d. It could be worn around a hat to keep it in place, tied around the waist as a makeshift sash, or simply as a scarf. It is extremely rare today and the only other that I can recall seeing in auction was in Bonhams' last sale where it realized \$7,704.16. This example brought much higher at \$12,711.42. The silk tie pictured in the center last appeared in the Mary Phillips Collection, Sotheby's, 'Valuable Autograph Letters, Literary Manuscripts and Historical Documents', 29 June 1982, lot 62. This example that Bonhams estimates was produced circa 1908 realized \$4,406.62. The second tie to its right was sold by the W. S. P. U. at its various shops. Christabel Pankhurst wore an identical piece in a photograph depicting her arrest with Flora Drummond and Emmeline Pankhurst at W. S. P. U. headquarters at Clement's Inn on October 13, 1908. This is only the second time I can recall this tie being offered, the first being Bonhams' previous auction, where it realized \$2009. This time around, the tie brought slightly less at \$1,864.34.



... Bonhams' Auction, cont'd.

One of the most attractive English posters that I am familiar with is this 763 x 510 mm. announcement in 1914 from the Bournemouth branch of the W. S. P. U. The branch was very active with a tradition of attracting the most highly sought-after speakers. Flora Drummond was sometimes referred to as "The General," for she was known as leading women's suffrage marches wearing a military style uniform with an officer's cap and epaulettes while riding on a large horse. Laurence Housman (1865–1959) was a British playwright, author, and illustrator who became a prominent male activist for women's suffrage. He was a founding member of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage (1907) and the Suffrage Atelier (1909). This poster realized \$5,084.56. The speaker's ribbon in the center above was produced for the Great "Women's Sunday" Demonstration at Hyde Park on June 21, 1908, which was a kind of coming out party for the W. S. P. U. This is a duplicate of a similar ribbon that Bonhams had for sale in its previous auction, which sold for \$7,704.16. Only a handful of these ribbons were ever produced, and it is remarkable that Bonhams found two examples in such a short period of time. This time around the ribbon because of its condition brought only \$2,541.52.

There were four lots that contained pieces from the famous "Angel of Freedom" tea set designed by Sylvia Pankhurst. No firm produced pottery and porcelain in support of the women's suffrage movement commercially, so pieces such as this service were produced by the movement itself. In early 1909 the WSPU commissioned Williamson's of Longton, Staffordshire to manufacture wares for use in the refreshment room at the Prince's Skating Rink Exhibition held in Knightsbridge, London for two weeks in May 1909. Each piece bears Sylvia Pankhurst's 'Angel of Freedom' design in the W. S. P. U. colors of purple, green, and white. After the exhibition the china was sold off in individual pieces or in the entire set of 22 to raise funds for the cause. The cup and saucer pictured here went for \$1,355.47, a sugar bowl for \$677.66 and a creamer for \$542.07. Two small tea plates from the same set went unsold.



There were two lots containing bound volumes of the Women's Social and Political Union's official journal *Votes for Women*. The first lot, shown above on the left, contained Vol. I-IV (nos. 1-186) with an inscription by Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, joint editor of the journal with her husband, to Elsie Mackenzie. Volumes II-IV were preserved by a modern red half calf gilt on the spine and tips. Most known volumes of this periodical are in some state of disrepair, and it is not unusual to see copies that have been at least partially rebound. The second lot of this journal, not pictured here, contained Volume I in modern orange cloth along with Volume III with its original cover. The lot of four went for \$2,880.39, and the lot of two for \$711.73, a very good price. Originally, there were six bound volumes, with the first five containing all issues that were printed when it served as the WSPU's official journal. Volume VI, not auctioned here, contains the first year of issues of the journal after ownership rights had been transferred to the Votes for Women Fellowship, which had been organized by Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence after they had been expelled from the WSPU. Complete bound volumes of this journal are hard to come by, and, in my opinion, are undervalued today, especially considering the detailed information they contain about the suffrage movement both in the U. K. and internationally.

... Bonhams' Auction, cont'd.

The satirical teapot pictured in the middle above is a commercial piece designed by Frederic Rhead for Foley "Intarsio" teapot. The figure is wearing a long navy-blue coat, a red waistcoat, with a "Votes for Women" badge on her lapel and a suffrage leaflet sticking out her pocket. Foley made satirical teapots of other historical figures including Winston Churchill, Paul Kruger, and Lord Rosebery. In recent years, only three examples have surfaced in auction, Bonhams having handled two of them. This piece realized \$2,541.52.

There were several lots of postcards in the auction. The example pictured on the right above was probably the best. It consisted of 40 photographic and RPPC cards depicting campaigning and WSPU groups. Some of the scenes depicted include Christabel Pankhurst working at her desk, Annie Kenney and Helen Fraser campaigning at the Aberdeen By-Election, and the Women's Freedom League caravan. This intriguing lot brought a high \$4,405.30.



Another Non-Suffrage Button

A few years ago, I came across a button on the Bryn Mawr on-line site ("All Opposed—Bryn Mawr Antis") that was 7/8" in size in the colors red on gold with the phrase "Swat the Franchise." The button was part of an anti-suffrage exhibit and, presumably, was issued originally as part of negative campaign against "Votes for Women." I was a bit dubious at the time, never having come across the pin before or any reference to it. Still, the term "franchise" was used at times by the suffragists, particularly in the name of "The Equal Franchise Society." Recently, however, I came across the pin below in the colors of red on white, but with the exact lettering of the Bryn Mawr example. I was also able to locate a news article from the *Kansas City Journal* of July 2, 1914, which explains the origin of the button. It definitely is NOT suffrage related, pro or anti.



The issue is related to a proposed initiative for a streetcar franchise in Kansas City. Several newspaper accounts at the time note with suspicion that the button was made in St. Louis, a city that was in serious rivalry with Kansas City for commercial supremacy in the Southwest. If Kansas City voters were to "Swat the Franchise" or vote down a proposed streetcar initiative, it, theoretically would aid the interests of businesses

located in St. Louis. *The Kansas City Post* also believed that the "Swat the Franchise" movement was a surreptitious, underhanded attempt by St. Louis business interests to maintain superiority: "The freedom with which the buttons are distributed led to inquiry as to why the generosity and wanton waste. Handfuls are being thrown about the street at every anti-franchise meeting."

There was at least one other "Swat the Franchise" movement in the suffrage era. The *Waco-Times Herald* reported that the Texas Power and Light Company was seeking a gas franchise or monopoly in the area through the name of the C. B. McKinney Company. The paper, advocating open competition, shouted out in capital letters: "SWAT THE FRANCHISE."

It is unclear as to how ubiquitous the phrase was at the time, but it is clear there was at least some commonality. There are other buttons from the time that simply say "Support the Franchise." These also seem to be connected to local initiatives and not suffrage related.



INDORSE THE FRANCHISE

West Side Business Men Vote Solidly for the Extension.

At a representative gathering of West Side business men and property owners at the Coates house last night the vote in favor of the ratification of the street railway contract was unanimous. There were sixty-five affirmative votes for it, and not one in the negative. The tenor of the speeches was that it was necessary for the company to have a nineteen years' extension of its franchise so as to meet its pending obligations and provide street car transportation and facilities for the future.

"I can't see how any man living west of Main street can be against the proposed contract," said Dr. David R. Porter, one of the pioneers of the West Side. "None of us will ever live long enough to see a car line south on Broadway from Fourteenth street to the new Union passenger station if the contract is defeated."

M. M. Sweetman presided. He said the principal object of the gathering was to receive the report of the committee which represented the Broadway Improvement Association at the franchise negotiations, to procure a car line on Broadway, south from Fourteenth street to the new Union passenger station.

Other speakers were Charles S. Alvis and W. J. Berkowitz.

Christabel Pankhurst for Parliament

The last issue of *The Clarion* featured as its cover image a 1918 campaign poster promoting Madame Charlotte Despard as a Labour Party candidate for Parliament in the constituency of North Battersea. Her candidacy had been made possible by the passage in the same year of the Qualification of Women Act, which granted women over the age of 21 the right to stand for election as members of Parliament. Another act passed around the same time, the Representation of the People Act, granted a limited right to vote to women over 30.

16 other women in addition to Madame Despard stood as candidates that year, all but one of them losing. Among these women, the most notable was Christabel Pankhurst, the famous militant of the Women's Social and Political Union and daughter of its founder, Emmeline Pankhurst. She ran as a candidate for the Women's Party in the constituency of Smethwick on a right-wing platform that opposed Bolshevism and industrial "shirkers." She advocated a victorious peace," ensuring that Germany paid for the war and "Britain for the British." Smithwick was chosen because it was a new constituency without a sitting member, one whom otherwise might have been difficult to defeat.

But there were other factors working in her favor. Even though she had at one time been subject to arrest resulting in her having to escape to France, she seems to have now gained favor with at least some members of the establishment. Prime Minister David Lloyd George, in recognition of her war effort, bestowed upon her a "Coalition Coupon," a letter of official endorsement sent to parliamentary candidates during the December 1918 UK general election. Signed by Prime Minister David Lloyd George (Coalition Liberals) and Andrew Bonar Law (Conservatives), the letter certified a candidate as a representative of the ruling wartime coalition. Furthermore, the leading Conservative candidate withdrew from the race to give her a better chance against the Labour Party's representative.

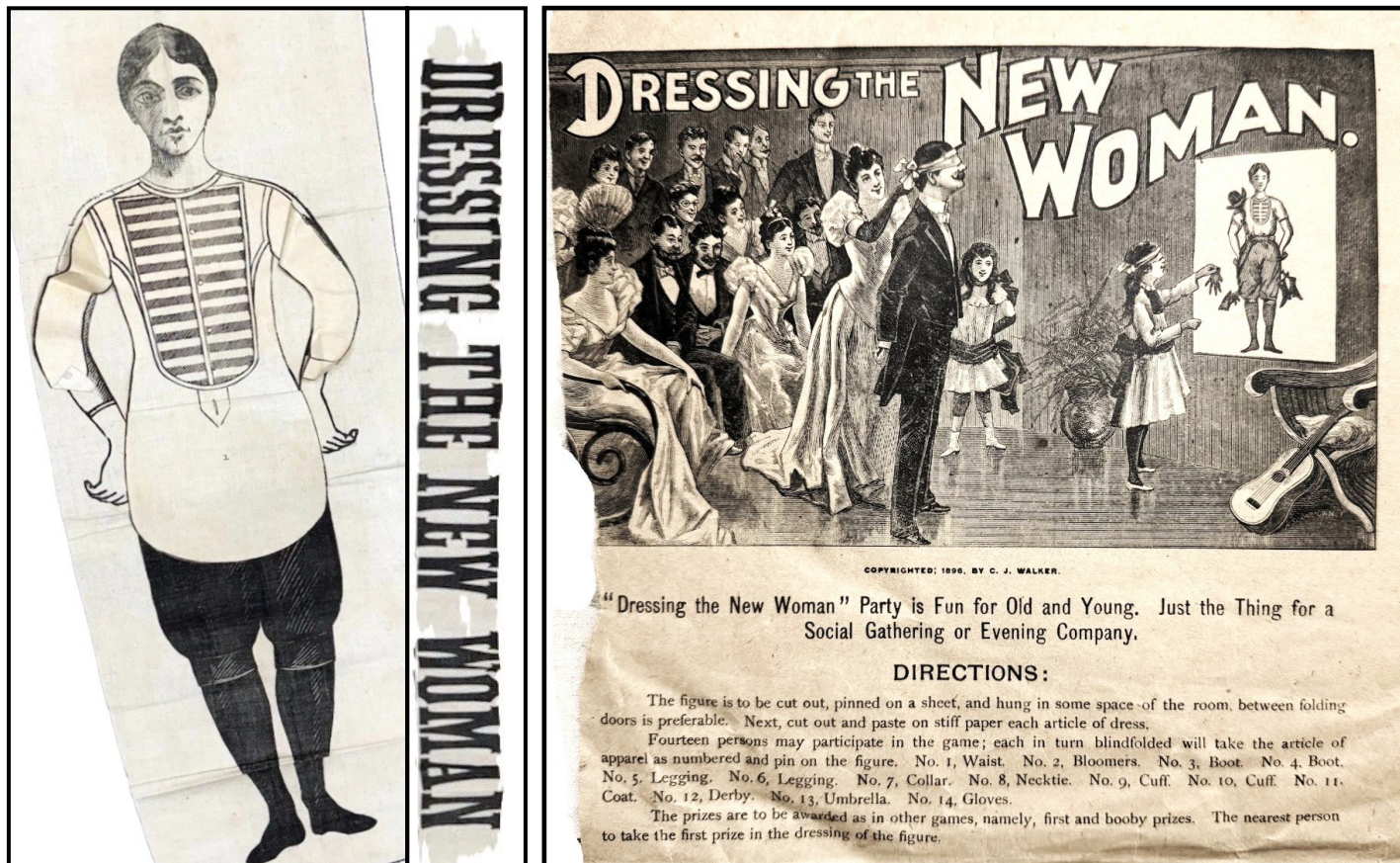
Christabel's campaign was managed by several former WSPU militants, including Flora Drummond and the Kenney sisters. But despite all the contributions others gave to help her campaign, she lost at the December 14, 1918, elections to Labour candidate John Davison who received 9,389 votes to her 8,614. She never again ran for Parliament, eventually moving to the United States where she became heavily involved in evangelicalism.

While no posters for her Parliamentary run have yet been uncovered by collectors as one has for Charlotte Despard, Christabel did publish a series of full-page ads in *Britannia*, the official journal of the Women's Social and Political Union, now known as the Women's Party. *Britannia* was the successor to *The Suffragette*, also edited by her, which in turn had evolved from *Votes for Women*. Issues dated November 22 through December 13 also contain news about her campaign. *Britannia* ceased publication on December 20, right after the election.



The New Woman Game

John Koster kindly provided *The Clarion* with images of an 1896 parlor game called “Dressing the New Woman,” copyrighted by C. J. Walker. The game itself is printed on muslin fabric and measures approximately 13.5” x 36”. As you can see from the picture on the accompanying envelope, the game appears to be a variation of “Pin the Tail on the Donkey” and is designed for “both old and young.” The name of the game is an indication of how ubiquitous the term “the New Woman” had become by the end of the 19th century that even children were aware of its significance.



Nina Allender, Suffrage Illustrator

Nina Allender was the most prolific if not arguably the most influential of all artists who produced work for the American suffrage movement. During her career as the designated “official cartoonist” for Alice Paul’s *The Suffragist*,” she had drawn 287 illustrations for the movement, which not only helped to advance the cause of suffrage but also served as a counterweight to the images of the suffragist as an ugly, man-hating haridan that had been promoted by anti-suffrage artists. Her conception of the suffragist, labelled by some as “The Allender Girl,” was a New Woman, attractive and fashionable, but also intelligent, highly capable, and dedicated to a just cause.

Allender was born on Christmas Day in 1873 in Auburn, Kansas to Dale Evans, a local superintendent of schools and Eva Moore, a teacher at a prairie school. In 1881, Allender moved with her parents to Washington, D. C., where they had obtained government jobs. Her own ambition, to become a serious artist, was delayed when in 1893 at the age of 19 she married a dashing and charming Englishman, Charles H. Allender. The marriage proved to be a total disaster when Allender reportedly took a sum of money from the bank

... Nina Allender, cont'd.

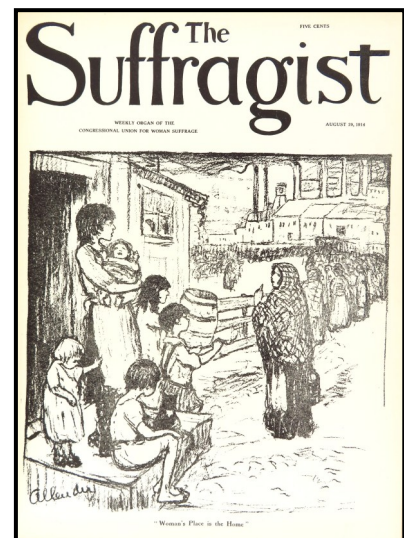
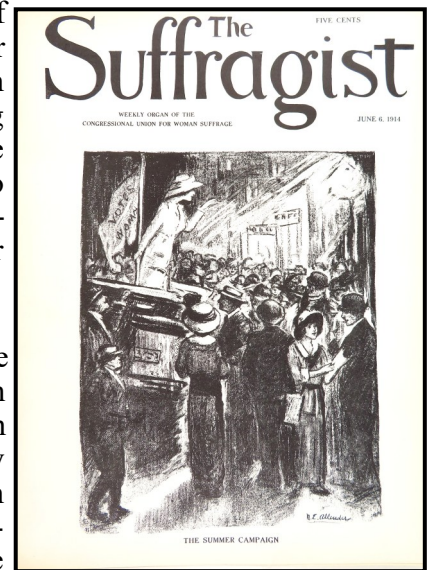
where he worked and ran off with another woman to parts unknown. It was later revealed that Charles Allender also had left England to avoid a prison sentence there for embezzlement and forgery.

Divorcing her husband in 1905 although still retaining his name, Nina Allender focused on her ambitions to become an artist. She previously had enrolled in classes at the Corcoran Museum of Art and then studied under Robert Henri and William Merritt Chase at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts before touring Europe to enhance her career. Her work was shown in a Washington Society of Artists exhibit in 1909, where one critic characterized her art as “some excellent little snow pictures.”

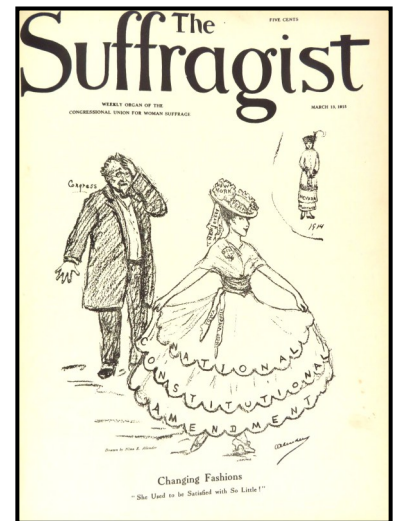
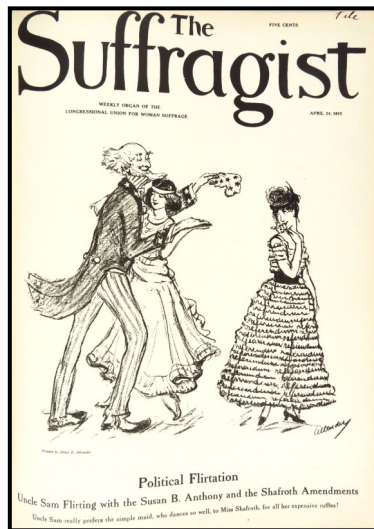
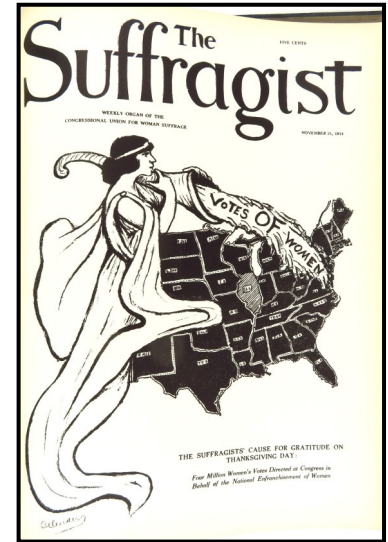
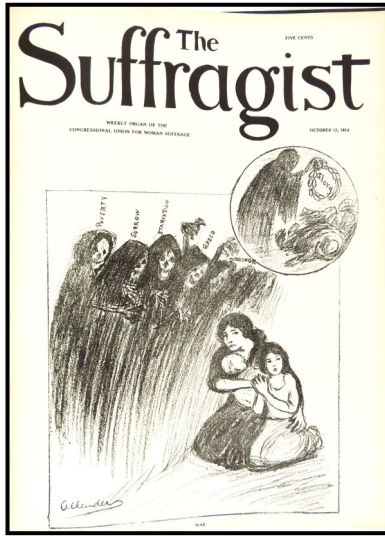
Concomitant with Allender’s burgeoning career as an artist was her commitment to social activism, particularly with respect to suffrage. In 1912, she travelled to Ohio to canvas door-to-door on the state’s upcoming franchise referendum. She volunteered in 1913 to assist the National American Woman Suffrage Association in their upcoming demonstration in Washington on March 3, prior to Woodrow Wilson’s Inauguration. That same year she became President of the District of Columbia Woman Suffrage Association, and in 1914 she relocated temporarily to Wilmington, Delaware to head the Delaware Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage and to co-ordinate a parade on May 2. When Alice Paul’s National Woman’s Party began to picket the White House to pressure President Wilson to support a National Suffrage Amendment, Allender joined the picket line.

Alice Paul had founded *The Suffragist* in 1913 as the official publication of the Congressional Union, later National Woman’s Party. She coaxed Allender to contribute cartoons to the journal, and on June 6, 1914 her first illustration appeared showing the summer campaign of that year. It portrays two young suffragists, one addressing a city crowd from the back of an automobile while the other passes out leaflets. Allender was hesitant initially to respond to Paul’s call, insisting that “she painted and preferred to paint.” But her friendship with Paul and her dedication to the suffrage message transformed her early reluctance.

Allender’s portrayal of women fell generally into three categories: (1) The aforementioned “Allender Girl,” a term not of Allender’s choosing but which distinguished her images from those of Charles Dana Gibson’s “Gibson Girls,” who were ethereally beautiful, and immaculately dressed, but totally uninvolved with either politics or careers. (2) The poor woman with children who, without meaningful political voice, was oppressed by a dominating patriarchal culture; and (3) The allegorical woman who represented a new age of fairness, equality, and economic opportunity.



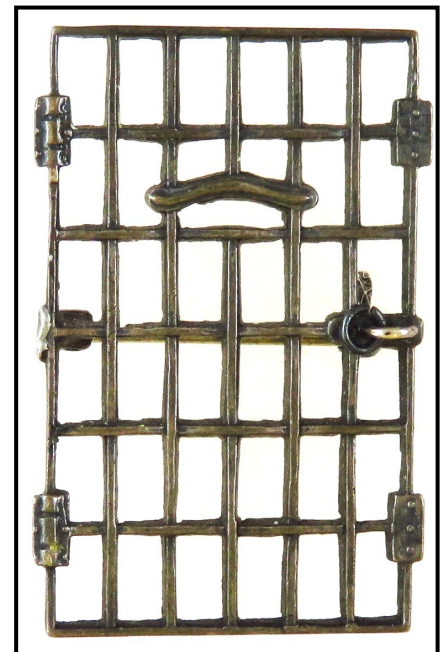
... Nina Allender, cont'd.



In her illustrations, Allender had to negotiate her way through several minefields. Editorial cartoons in the past were generally a male province and could be vicious in their attacks. In her depictions of bloated businessmen, corrupt or malingering politicians, and a reluctant Woodrow Wilson, Allender needed to be forceful, but, at the same time, always positive, always hopeful. Her “Allender Girls” were generally dressed in white, suggesting hope despite present circumstances, and her backgrounds could sometimes contain an image of a rising sun of a new age.

In addition to her editorial cartoons for *The Suffragist*, Allender also designed the “Jailed for Freedom” pin that is pictured below. This pin, which was modelled after Sylvia Pankhurst’s “Holloway Badge,” was given to the suffragists who had been imprisoned in the infamous Ocoquan Warehouse and who had been savagely beaten by their guards.

Allender’s original drawings for *The Suffragist* were stored originally in the Library of Congress, but they have since been moved to the



... Nina Allender, cont'd.

“Sewall-Belmont House and Museum” in Washington, D. C., which has been renamed the “Belmont-Paul Women’s Equality National Monument.” Collections of *The Suffragist*, whether in original format or on microfilm, can be found in many major libraries throughout the country. Allender’s art was certainly a contributing factor in helping the public to overcome the anti-suffragist imaging of the activist as a threatening, alien force to the stability of society.



Edith Parson Williams Postcard Set

The charcoal grey set of cards pictured below presents us with several enigmas. Entitled “Suffragettes Series” and copyrighted in 1912 by C. Wolf of New York, it follows the comic tradition of depicting women in men’s roles as a consequence of their winning full voting rights.

The first problem is purely technical and is, perhaps, unimportant to all but the most studious of collectors. There are 23 known cards in the set, numbered 1-23, although numerals on the cards as well as Parson’s name are set in a font that is difficult to read. But multi-card sets, particularly large ones, were generally issued in even numbers, not odd, so the question arises, is there a card numbered “24” that somehow has escaped the attention of collectors? A rubber stamp inventory notice from the German-American Post Card Company on the back of card “4” indicates that this is series # 208 and that it consists of 24 designs. If so, what has happened to “24”? Does the design actually exist? If you have further information, please get in touch.

But a more important question is, what was the intention of the artist in creating this series? Very little is known about the artist Edith Parsons Williams apart from the fact that her designs on other postcards often featured images of fashionable young women. She does not appear to be linked to the production of any other pro- or anti-suffrage images. Was the series the result of Williams’ own creative imagination or was it an assignment from a publisher wishing to cash in on current demands for postcards relating to the suffrage movement?

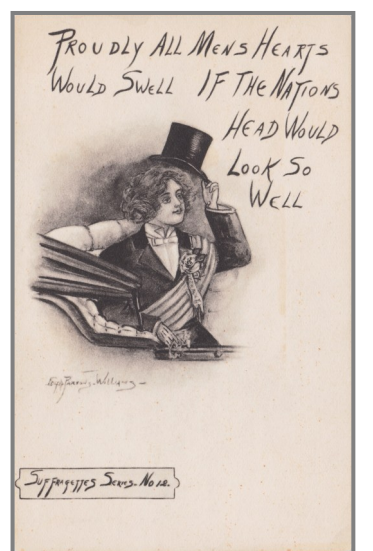
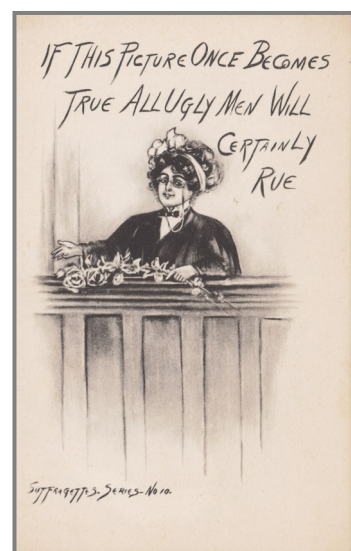
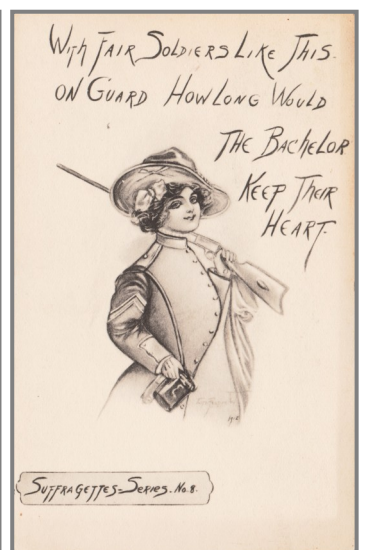
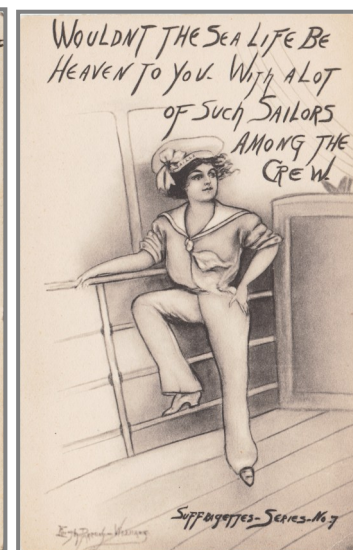
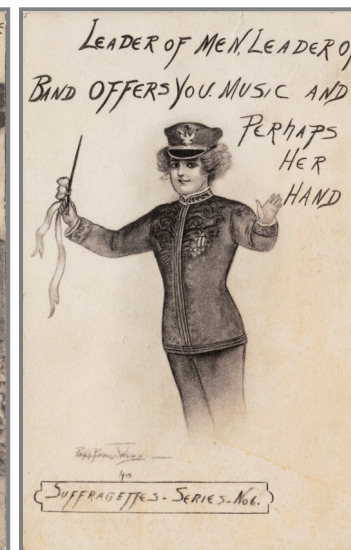
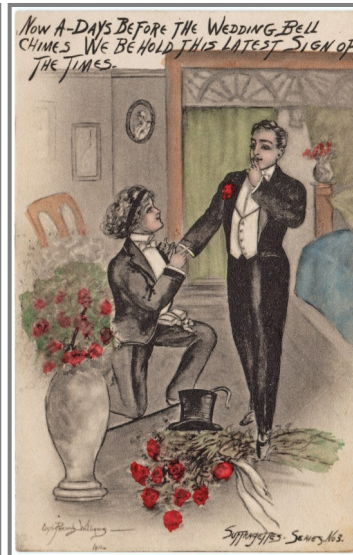
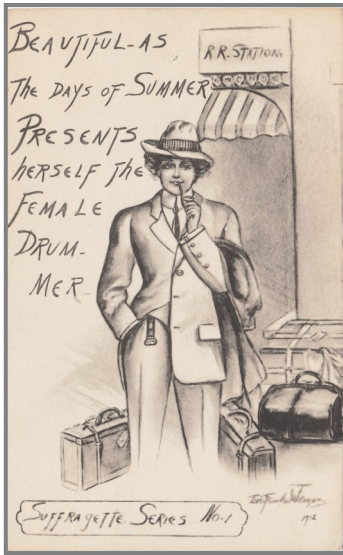
Could the series be considered to be mildly satirical and anti-suffrage, or, given Williams’s sex, is there a possibility of a subversive element to her work? From a feminist perspective, is there any hint that the women portrayed here have a deeper level of capability that is unrecognized by men caught up in what some scholars would call “the tyranny of the gaze”? Many postcard artists were women, although their works were often unsigned. Does this encourage us to re-evaluate our analysis of comic cards to look for sub-texts that run contrary to or even undermine what on the surface appears to be a mocking attitude to the aspirations of women?

In each of Williams’s designs, attractive women assume male roles, such as that of a sailor, a diplomat, a fire chief, a band leader, a judge, a letter carrier, a soldier, or a chauffeur. These women are assumed to be successful in the new roles assigned to them, not because their skills match those of men but because their attractiveness constitutes a different type of capability, that of enticing men with their powers albeit in a manner that is natural as opposed to consciously seductive.

The female diplomat will be a fine leader: “Proudly all men’s hearts would swell if the Nation’s head would look so well.” In a play on words, the female letter carrier distributes the mail while “incidentally enrapturing the male.” If men are reluctant to submitting to a female barber for a shave, they need not fear: “Even the barber’s chair will prove a bliss, if this fair barber will finish with a kiss.” If women were to become sailors, “Wouldn’t the sea life be heaven to you. With Lots of such sailors among the crew.”

Many scholars are now turning to post cards of the period to study popular attitudes towards male-female relationships in general and to the suffrage movement in particular. Suffrage themed postcards are not a mere collectible, they are a reflection of period culture and history. The more we study them, the more we gain an understanding of the atmosphere in which suffragists struggled to achieve their goals.

... Edith Parson's Postcard Set, cont'd.



... Edith Parson's Postcard Set, cont'd.

