Issue # 45 Fall 2020



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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Notes From The Editor

Interest in suffrage memorabilia has increased exponentially during the past year or so. Part of this rise, obviously, is due to the attention paid to the 100th anniversary of the passage of the 19th amendment. But scholars and historians have been drawn more and more to the inherent possibilities of ephemera to explicate in part the culture of both the movement and public reaction to it.

The last issue of *The Clarion* was sent out to approximately 175 persons, over double the amount of previous subscribers. Thanks to Tom Keefe, who helped in putting the mailing list together. Facebook certainly has helped generate more public interest in the topic but so have centennial celebrations and exhibits, along with more items currently becoming available through dealers and auctioneers. Speaking of Facebook, I would like to congratulate Bob Fratkin and Germaine Broussard for their successful launching of three Facebook blogs that deal not only with suffrage but also with women candidates and issues. You can access all three by clicking on https://www.facebook.com/groups/229690651502240/. The first site will lead to the other two. Dave Holcomb has uploaded all 44 issues of *The Clarion* on the suffrage blog, so if you were missing any, here is a convenient place to find them. Greg Cross has provided us with a mechanism to index the later issues, which is extremely helpful!

In this issue we have a fascinating article by Robert Cooney about how the suffrage movement is viewed through the prism of the Modern Romance Novel. Until Bob's essay, I never realized how popular the subject had become in contemporary escape literature. In a way, I suppose, these books serve as a reflection of at least some modern concepts of suffragists in the manner that early postcard images of the movement serve to enlighten us as to how the general public at the time viewed the movement. Bob is both a wonderful writer and an excellent graphic designer. His *Winning the Vote* is one of the best books on the American suffrage movement that I have come across. Superbly written, it combines an informative overview of suffrage history with revealing photographs and colorful images of memorabilia. It is available online at the National Women's History Alliance at https://shop.nationalwomenshistoryalliance.org/ushistory-resources-c197.aspx The price is \$49.95 for individual copies, but if you order four or more, the price is only \$30.00. Other possibilities for ordering are through AmericanGraphicPress.com as well as Amazon. A descriptive summary of the book can be found on the next page under *Recommendations*.

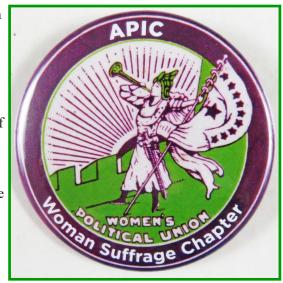
Our next issue will focus on suffrage postcards, an area of increasing interest not only to collectors but to scholars as well. Some of the most noted suffrage deltiologists (postcard collectors) have committed to submitting articles for this issue, which I think all of you will find of interest. There will, of course, be articles also on buttons and other memorabilia. It should be out around the beginning of January.

We are always looking for articles for future issues of *The Clarion*, so please feel free to let me know about some idea that you either have written about or would like to explore. While the focus in *The Clarion* is on suffrage, there always will be room for features on women running for office and on women's issues, including current topics. In the past *The Clarion* has both pictured and discussed ERA buttons, women's protest buttons, and items for women candidates. It will continue to do so, but we need your contributions.

The cover of this issue, "The Enfranchised Woman," features a program from a mass meeting held by the National American Woman Association at Carnegie Hall on February 17, 1913. The image of an allegorical woman with banner was taken from a drawing by artist and suffrage supporter Florence Stover, who presented it to the Brooklyn Headquarters of the Woman Suffrage Party. It was later made into a postcard. The editors of the official journal of the English Women's Social and Political Union found it so attractive that they featured it in their issue of March 21, 1913.

Finally, pictured to the right is the new official membership button for the WSAPIC Chapter. We had intended on passing these out free to all chapter members at the Nashville National Convention this year but "the best laid plans o' Mice an' Men gang aft agley." We still plan to hand these out at the next major APIC show, which we hope will be soon. If you would like one now, they are still free, but we are asking \$4.00 to defray the cost of mailer and postage.

My address is Ken Florey, 84 Laurel Crest Road, Madison, CT 06443.



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Another Non-Suffrage Badge

A number of years ago, a small quantity of the badge, pictured below, with the word "Yes" superimposed over a map of Australia, appeared in the hobby. It was traded and sold as a "possible" suffrage piece, the justification somehow being that the pin was old and did suggest a nationwide referendum of some sort.

I was at the time a bit dubious about this attribution. Australia had always been a progressive country with respect to voting rights for women. Several states had given them access to the ballot in the 1890's, and finally all women throughout the Australian Federation were allowed to vote in national elections in 1902 with the passage the Commonwealth Franchise Act. But this button, while early, did not seem to be of that period.



Frances Bedford, founder in 2009 of the Muriel Matters Society (Matters was a famous Australian Suffragist who assisted with the English movement), however, kindly provided me with information about this button. It definitely is not suffrage related but refers to the controversy over conscription in Australia that emerged during WWI.

Australia did not at the time have the legal authority to compel its soldiers to fight overseas; military personnel could only engage in foreign battle on a voluntary basis. Labor Prime Minister Billy Hughes reached the conclusion that conscription was absolutely necessary to reinforce those volunteer troops.. Opposed by his own party in the senate, he attempted to take the issue to the people through a plebiscite that was referred to as a referendum. In October 1916, in a bitter fight throughout the country, Hughes' referendum was defeated. A second attempt was made in December of 1917, and it likewise failed to pass. Australia, as a result, was the only country besides India and South Africa not to introduce conscription during WWI.

The above pin was one of several at the time urging Australians to support conscription. A collection of three of these pins, including the one pictured above, is on display at the Museums Victoria Collections. On a special note that was quite a coincidence for me. Frances Bedford is an Independent Member of Parliament representing the constituency of Florey (spelled the same as my name). She was first elected to Parliament in 1997 as a member of the ALP. She resigned from that party in 2017 but still continues in her role as an independent.

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Belva Lockwood and Dr. Greene's Nervura Tonic

In the last issue of *The Clarion*, we pictured a stock certificate for "Belva Lockwood's Improvement Syndicate," a company that planned to manufacture a nerve tonic. We mentioned that Lockwood, a temperance supporter, previously had endorsed Dr. Greene's Nervura, despite knowing that it contained 17 % alcohol. Since then, we have been able to locate a copy of that endorsement from 1898, one in which Greene makes some rather bold suggestions linking

DR. GREENE'S NERVURA CURES BELVA A. LOCKWOOD, FOREMOST WOMAN OF HER TIME.

Belva A. Lockwood, the Acknowledged Leader of American Women has Been Belva A. Lockwood, the Acknowledged Leader of American Women has Been Iva A. Lockwood, the Acknowledged Leddommends Its Use to All Weak, Cured by Dr. Greene's Nervura and Recommends Its Use to All Weak, Tired, Nervous, Run Down and Suffering People.

Dr. Greene's Nervura Blood and Nerve Remedy Has Proved Itself the Greatest and Grandest Medicine in the World. It Cures the People. It Gives Health, Strength, Vitality and Vigor to All. Use It and Watch Your Aches Disappear and Your Strength Return.



Belva A. Lockwood.

There is no word so powerful among women, no influence so great, and no authority so high as the utterances of a recognized leader when speaking to her sister women for the good of

womankind.
When, therefore, the voice of Belva A. Lockwood, of Washington, D. C., who is recognized among women as their mightiest leader and champion in all woman's movements which mark this generation, is raised in the interests of women; when this most eminent woman lawyer and lecturer in the world, representative of her sex to such an extent that she has been lawyer and lecturer in the world, representative of her sex to such an extent that she has been twice nominated for President of the United States by the Equal Rights Party, who has been honored by membershlp in more American and Foreign Societies than any other woman, publishes the fact to the world that she owes her present good health and strength to the use of Dr. Greene's Nervura blood and nerve remedy, it comes as a positive proof, a revelat on of the br. Greene's Nervana blood and herve remedy, it comes as a positive proof, a revelat on of the way to health to the thousands upon thousands of people who droop and languish under the nervous disorders and the weaknesses, pains and aches of female complaints It rings like a clar-

over-taxed

ion note of hope and health for the weakneath for the weak-ened, worn out, dis-couraged women of our land, depressed alike in nerve power and bodily strength, who live on without strength, energy or ambition, but who will now know from the wonderful cure of Mrs. Belva A.
Lockwood, through
the use of Dr.
Greene's Nervura, and from her enthusiastic praise of this grand remedy, and urgent advice to women to seek its remarkable health-giving, invigorating and restoring powers, that good health strong nerves, vigor ous bodies always fol-low the use of Dr. Greene's Nervura, and nerve remedy.

Mrs. Lockwood says:

"I have used Dr. Greene's Nervura blood and nerve remedy and am pleased to say that it has improved my digestion, relieved the sleeplessness under a great nervous strain, during which I believe that sleep would otherwise have been improved the sleep would otherwise. have been impossible, and seems in every way to have been impossible, and seems in every way to have built up my general health. The attacks of faintness to which I had previously been subject have entirely disappeared. It increases the appetite, tends to cheerfulness and general good feeling, and leaves no ill effect.

"I can freely recommend it to all persons afflicted with nervous disorders, or that tired

afflicted with nervous disorders, or that tired feeling which is so common. I recommend it also to nervous people, aged people and to all persons in delicate health."

"BELVA A. LOCKWOOD, A. M. & B. L. "Secretary American Peace Bureau."

Do not suffer another moment, but get Dr Greene's Nervura blood and nerve remedy and be cured.

Lockwood's success to his tonic: "When this most eminent woman lawyer and lecturer of the world, representative of her sex to such an extent that she has twice been nominated for President of the United States by the Equal Rights Party, who has been honored by membership in more American and Foreign Societies than any other woman, publishes to the world that she owes her present good health and strength to Dr. Greene's blood and nerve remedy, it comes as a positive proof, a revelation to the health of thousands upon thousands of people who droop and languish under the burden of ill-health, overtaxed strength, nervous disorders and the weaknesses, pains and aches of female complaints."

In the ad, Lockwood offers her own testimonial: "I can freely recommend it to all persons afflicted with nervous disorders, or that tired feeling which is so common. I recommend it also to nervous people and to all persons in delicate health."

All of this is reminiscent of the tobacco advertisements in the 1940's and 1950's, where Hollywood stars and professional athletes swore that their lungs were improved by the brand of cigarettes that they smoked.

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Emma Beckwith—Candidate for Mayor



In 1889, Emma Beckwith, under the aegis of Belva Lockwood's Equal Rights Party, ran for mayor of Brooklyn, New York. Even though laws current in New York prohibited her from voting for herself, there were no apparent restrictions then in place to prevent her from competing for the office.

All but forgotten today, her candidacy elicited hostility and derision from the New York press. In reporting about her ratification meeting that took place at the corner of Bridge and Willoughby Streets, the *Times* described the performance of two women musicians at the event whose "rattling and screeching . . . fairly drowned the noise of the stamping and applause in the hall overhead, where a Democratic Committee meeting was in progress." A more benevolent *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* commented that her run, along with Belva Lockwood's two attempts at the Presidency, was not taken with any expectation that she would win but that she was acting "vicariously for all other women who are the victims of oppression and unequal laws" and "the agitation attracts more attention."

The Hornellsville Weekly Tribune noted: "Bad Brooklyn boys annoy her by singing 'Whoa, Emma!' in front of her house," an allusion to a popular song of the day not connected with Beckwith herself.

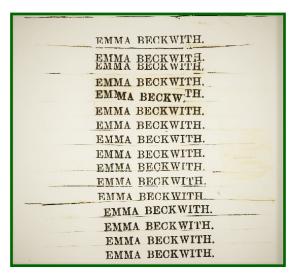
EVERETT ASSEMBLY ROOMS, Fulton St. and Gallatin Place, (Entrance on Gallatin Place)- Street	BROOKLYN, Nov 2 th 1889
Street Street ON JA CARDONS. I. Y. C. B. C	
#CO ## Replace of the state of	C. CHARTERS, DR. **
RECEIVED PA	S20. En
	J. Maries

This is a receipt for rental of a room at the Everett Assembly Rooms, where Beckwith held her nominating convention.

... Emma Beckwith, cont'd.

Her platform was somewhat quixotic. In addition to placing women on the school board, police courts, police stations, and prisons, she wanted to hire them to clean the streets because she considered "a broom to be a proper implement for a woman."

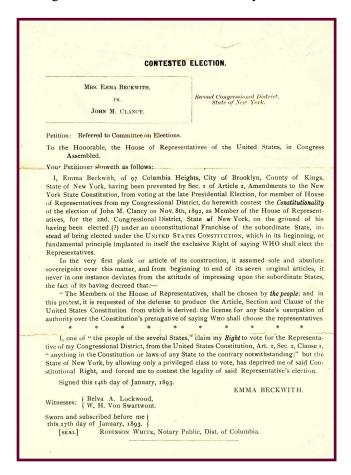
She also wanted to have ballots printed up in pink instead of the traditional white, but abandoned the idea of ballots altogether in favor of pasters, or small strips of printed paper that could be glued over her opponent's names on their own ballots.



A strip of paster ballots that voters could use to cast their vote for Beckwith

Her candidacy did draw some positive attention from prominent suffragists throughout the country. Belva Lockwood showed up at her home just prior to the election "determined to come on and assist her in all my power." Mrs. Hattie E. Merrill, Treasurer of the Indiana Woman Suffrage Association, wrote her a letter of support and noted that Mr. St. John had sent her the Brooklyn papers with news about her campaign.

Obviously, Beckwith did not win, but the local political establishment did, at least, record her votes, which totaled 25 throughout the various wards of Brooklyn.



Beckwith's efforts on behalf of the suffrage cause did not end with her candidacy. On January 14, 1893, with Belva Lockwood as her lawyer, she filed a petition, pictured at left, to the U. S. House of Representatives seeking to overturn the election of John M. Clancy to Congress from the 2nd District of New York. Her objection involved no particular animus towards Clancy but rather challenged the Constitutionality of his election. She argued that the Constitution decreed that members of Congress "shall be chosen by the people," and that New York State, by prohibiting women from voting, violated that principle by excluding some of the people.

Despite her advocacy for women's rights, Beckwith began to draw away from supporting traditional woman's suffrage organizations and their leadership. In a February 1890 interview with *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* she announced her intention to attend the newly formed National American Woman Suffrage Association [NAWSA] Convention, even though she had not been selected as a delegate. She wanted to introduce her ideas about foreign women and voting rights into the platform as well as advocating the idea that "every female citizen wear a badge instead of the yellow ribbon now recognized as the emblem of women suffragists. The badge shall be red, white and blue, the colors of this grand country where all are free and independent, except women."

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... Emma Beckwith, cont'd.

In 1897, her dispute with the national organization resulted in what some saw as a renunciation of her previous views on the franchise for women. She joined forces with the suffrage apostate Phoebe Couzins, one of the first women in this country to graduate with a law degree, in attacking NAWSA saying that "it exists for the purpose of giving some [of the leadership, Susan B. Anthony in particular] . . . a good fat living." An irritated Anthony pointed out in response that "not an officer in our organization receives one cent in salary."

After this conflict, Beckwith apparently withdrew from the struggle for women's rights. In her later years, she moved with her husband, Edwin, to the Spiritualist community of Lily Dale, whose inhabitants all believed in the possibility of communication with the dead. Ironically, Susan B. Anthony, as *The Clarion* pointed out in its previous issue, had visited there several times in the early 1890's to an appreciative audience. Beckwith died at Lily Dale in 1919 at the age of 70.

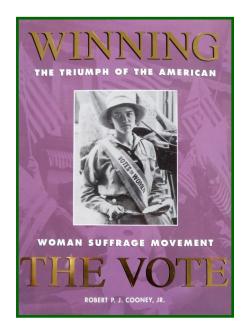
The documents illustrated above all come from the collection of the late Frank Corbeil and were auctioned off several years ago by Heritage Galleries of Dallas, where they brought the grand total of \$1.00 plus buyer's premium. It is unlikely that collectors today, despite Beckwith's obscurity, would allow her papers to pass by them without intense competitive bidding.

Recommendations

Periodically we will be making recommendations of books, web sites, and other sources that we have found helpful. If you have any suggestions in this area, please let us know.

(1) The following description of Bob Cooney's book *Winning the Vote: The Triumph of the American Woman Suffrage Movement* was taken from the website of the National Woman's History Alliance:

"This beautifully designed hardback presents the suffrage movement clearly and chronologically, with emphasis on the remarkable personalities and turbulent political campaigns of the early 20th century. The book uses over 960 photographs, posters, leaflets, and portraits to illustrate this fascinating account of the expansion of American democracy. Large format images and a fast paced text highlight key developments between 1848 and 1920, including over 50 state electoral campaigns and the final, controversial, and hard fought drive for the 19th Amendment... The book includes illustrated profiles of



78 American women and men, black and white, who led the drive for equal rights, and an unprecedented display of the symbolism, color, and imagery used by the increasingly sophisticated suffrage movement. The opening three chapters, out of eighteen, cover efforts for full democracy in the 19th century, and an Epilogue follows suffragists into government and other influential areas after 1920. . . . 496 pages, 9 x 11" over 960 photographs and color illustrations, extensive bibliography, index, credits. American Graphic Press."

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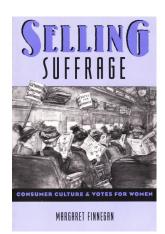
... Recommendations, cont'd.



(2) One of my favorite sites to visit on the Internet is Marguerite Kearns' **Suffrage Centennials.com** (https://www.suffragecentennials.com/), which contains information about suffrage centennial events, new books, profiles, and other news. This supplements her "**Suffrage Wagon**" blog at https://www.suffragewagon.org/. She also maintains another site dedicated to Inez Milholland, the suffrage martyr, at https://inezmilholland.wordpress.com/ along with The Suffrage Wagon News Channel on YouTube found at https://www.youtube.com/user/suffragewagon. Self-described, the "Suffrage Wagon News Channel specializes in videos, news and stories about what it took to win this important right. Build links between the past, present, and the future. Videos, audio podcasts, news and views. Shoulder to shoulder coverage since 2009. Find out about the 'Spirit of 1776' suffrage campaign wagon that inspired the news channel." Marguerite's grandmother, Edna Kearns, achieved fame on Long Island for driving the "Spirit of 1776" around the area promoting women's rights. Marguerite herself was recently featured in a *New York Times* article on August 7, 2020 entitled "Legacy of Suffrage—100 Years Later These Activists Continue Their Ancestors' Work." Also featured in the article is our own Coline Jenkins, great-great granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Currently the article is on-line at https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/08/07/us/suffragists-descendants.html



- (3) An extremely valuable source for scholars, historians, and for those interested in early women candidates for office is "Her Hat Was in the Ring—U. S. Political Women Who Ran for Office Before 1920." It can be accessed at http://www.herhatwasinthering.org/index.php. Created and maintained by Drs. Wendy E. Chmielewski, Jill Norgren, and Kristen Gwinn Baker, this website "identifies women candidates for elective office in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, giving biographical information for each woman, information about her campaign, party affiliation, photographs, and lists of selected resources. We estimate that women ran in well over 7,000 campaigns by 1920." So far the site has biographical records for 3,916 of those women who ran in 5,297 campaigns. If you should come across new information about women candidates from the period that you can't find on the site, please pass it along to the site's editors.
- (4) There are, obviously, many fine books available about suffrage history that collectors should consider. I know that one of Ronnie Lapinsky Sax's favorites was Margaret Finnegan's *Selling Suffrage* from Columbia University Press, still available on Amazon. Finnegan's well researched and well-written work studies the history of woman suffrage from the 1850's to the passage of the 19th amendment and reveals how activists came to identify with consumer culture and employ its methods of publicity to win popular support through carefully crafted images of enfranchised



women as "personable, likable, and modern." Although not a book specifically about suffrage memorabilia, one of its chapters does discuss how suffragists used such items as part of their advertising. Finnegan, not a collector herself, shows a profound understanding of the culture of those objects. Her style is entertaining and accessible. I well understand why Ronnie, who loved to collect magazine ads related to suffrage, was so enthusiastic about this work.

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Covers of Suffrage Romances and Historical Fiction

Robert Cooney

The lurid covers are what drew me in first. One rarely sees suffragists portrayed in color, only black and white photographs. But here, in full color, are vibrant young women exuding confidence and intrigue, and trading passionate glances with handsome males, while carrying a sign, driving a wagon or sporting a "Votes for Women" sash. This is the world of suffrage romances.

Politically correct? Not particularly, most of the time. But wholesome, entertaining and fun? More than likely. At least the covers are.

Romances have been around forever so it should be no surprise that some feature distinctive women like suffragists. They are almost all young white women, however, with little diversity even among the men. Apparently more diverse romances are in the works and the readership is growing.

The settings of these books are a departure from the mostly urban-based suffrage history we know, and they remind us that the movement was truly national. American suffragists, as well as British ones, were bold women with dreams, skills, open hearts and the desire for adventure. These are women born in or drawn to small western towns in states like Iowa, Colorado, and Alaska as well as to the urban centers of New York and London.

Unlike shrewish stereotypes, these are regular girls who believe in family, education and women's rights and then go about their lives integrating that outlook with other things — usually romance. This is politics as an allure, an aphrodisiac. There is the clash of opposites, the agony of change and the emergence of new life.

Some of these books are historical fiction while others are romances or mysteries pure and simple. The cover illustrations often have a campy commercial slickness, like most romances, that strikes an entirely different note for how this political movement is portrayed. These are popularly oriented images and it's refreshing to discover, here of all places, a new look – a different and more personal treatment of women who called themselves suffragists.

What's refreshing is that they're clearly drawn and there's no mistaking them. While some of these titles feature steamy romantic poses, many clearly display the suffrage angle in their cover art (see attached).

Wearing a wide-brimmed summer hat on the cover, the star of "Quinn" sports a bright red, white and blue "Votes for Women" ribbon across her chest. The girl flirting with a man on the cover of "The Right Choice" wears one, too. A bright ribbon of green, white and purple is prominently featured on the cover of "Suffragette in the City," while the sash on "Suffragette Girl" is simply white. The "DNA Sisters Suffragettes" proudly display yellow ribbons. Similarly, signs and clippings that read "Votes for Women" decorate several covers.

As for the stories inside, the basic themes remain consistent: "He wants her, but she wants voting rights first" (Voting for Love). A typical summary of the Historical Romance "To Tame a Texan," by Georgina Gentry, goes like this:

"Staging a suffragette protest at the state capital, teacher Lynnie McBride loses her job and lands in jail alongside cattle driver Ace Durango, who hopes to prove himself to his family and is both irritated and intrigued by Lynnie's feisty behavior."

Suffragists, who are almost always called suffragettes, are described as spunky, feisty, outspoken, passionate, fearless and talented. Yet the plots and romantic twists they face are familiar and, one has to assume, end happily, perhaps with a surprise. There's something of a familiar acceptance of these young suffragists – they are not seen as angry or alien; rather, there is an assumption of wholesomeness, honesty and strength.

These suffragists hold a number of occupations including school teacher, journalist, investigator, telegraph operator, nurse and even medical examiner. In *The Simpering*, she's a "card shark and ex-nun" and she wins the town of Simpering, North Dakota, in a card game. There she builds an empire with her women friends, The Mighty Five.

Keeping the focus on romance while still acknowledging her politics, there are a number of overtly marriage-oriented books and series: Suffragette Brides, Scandalous Suffragette Brides, Scandalous Suffragettes of the West, The Suffragette Takes a Husband, Suffrage and Suitors, Rebel Love Song, and the steamy-covered Scarlet Suffragette Books. Some situations are too obvious to ignore.

One of my favorite covers is *A Great Catch*, featuring a smiling young woman casually tossing a baseball and looking at the reader with her arm on her hip and her head cocked. She is, of course, a "spunky suffragist . . . with neither the

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... Covers of Suffrage Romances and Historical Fiction, cont'd.

time nor the need for a man in her busy life." That is, until she crashes into Carter Stockton, a pitcher and "a recent college graduate," at an Iowa roller skating rink.

Luck is in the air here, along with romance and adventure. It's easy to imagine these books by their covers; I'm sure they offer even more entertainment inside.

A Selection of Romance Covers referencing suffrage and suffragists - Robert Cooney

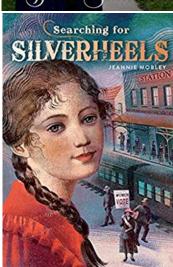


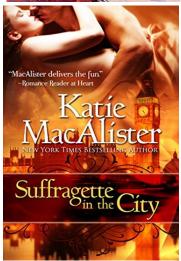












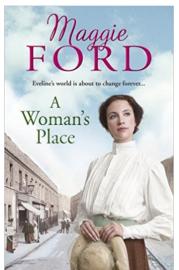


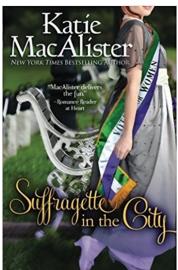
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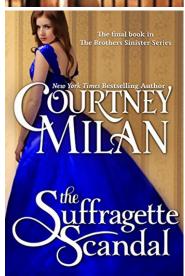
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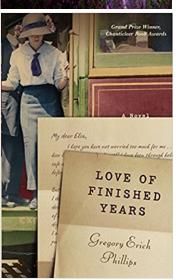


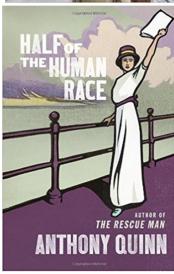


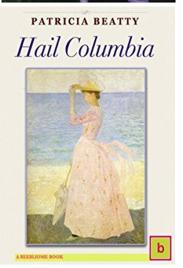


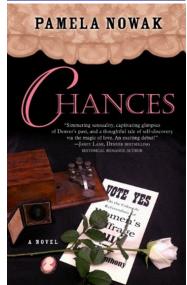


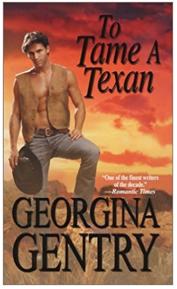


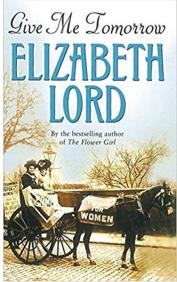








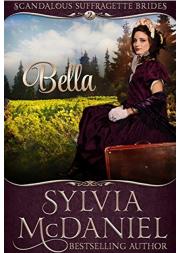




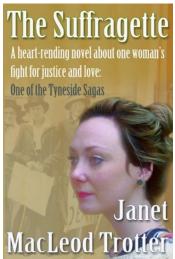


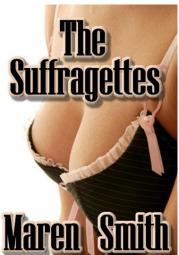
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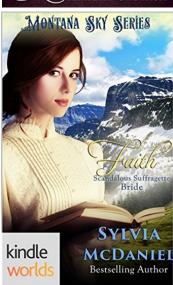
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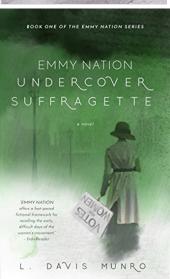


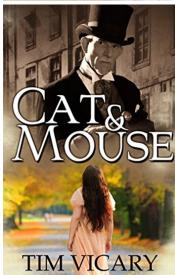




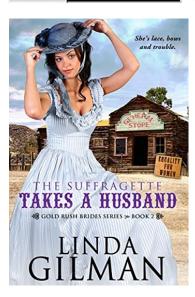




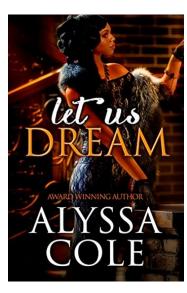












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Stars and States

The following is presented as a guide to collectors to help them in dating a badge by counting the number of stars that appear in its design. All known state campaigns for suffrage are listed here, but only those that were successful are boldfaced and numbered. If a pin contains five stars, it was probably issued around 1910 when Washington became the fifth state to give women full voting rights. If it contains six, it was made around the time that California awarded its women inhabitants full voting rights in 1911. The modern celluloid button was not patented until 1894 and was not employed by suffragists until the 20^{th} century, so no celluloid badges with only one, two, or three stars exist.

Order	Date	State	Order	Date	State
	1867	Kansas	7	1912	Kansas (#3)
	1871	Nebraska (Constitution Defeated)	8	1912	Oregon (#6)
	1874	Michigan	9	1912	Arizona
	1877	Colorado	10	1913	Illinois (act of legislature)
	1882	Nebraska (#2)		1913	Michigan (#3)
	1884	Oregon	11	1914	Montana
	1887	Rhode Island	12	1914	Nevada
	1889	Washington		1914	North Dakota
1	1890	Wyoming (act of legislature upon admission of State)		1914	South Dakota (#4)
	1890	South Dakota		1914	Ohio (#2)
2	1893	Colorado (#2)		1914	Missouri
	1894	Kansas (#2)		1914	Nebraska (#2)
3	1896	Utah (act of legislature upon approval of new Constitution)		1915	Delaware (legislature defeats bill)
4	1896	Idaho		1915	New Jersey
	1896	California		1915	New York
	1898	South Dakota (#2)		1915	Pennsylvania
	1898	Washington (#2)		1915	Massachusetts
	1900	Oregon (#2)		1916	Iowa
	1903	New Hampshire		1916	West Virginia
	1906	Oregon (#3)		1916	South Dakota (#5)
	1908	Oregon (#4)		1916	Arkansas (partial suffrage by act of legislature)

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... Stars and States, cont'd.

Order	Date	State	Order	Date	State
	1910	Oregon (#5)		1917	Maine
5	1910	Washington (#3)	13	1917	New York (#2)
	1910	South Dakota (#3)	14	1918	Oklahoma (#2)
	1910	Oklahoma	15	1918	Michigan (#4)
6	1911	California (#2)	16	1918	South Dakota (#6)
	1911	Alaska (act of legislature as territory)		1918	Louisiana
	1912	Ohio		1918	Texas
	1912	Michigan (#2)		1920	Maine (#2)
	1912	Wisconsin		1920	North Dakota (#2)

Wage Earner's Suffrage League



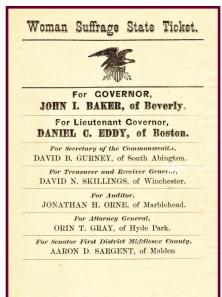
One of the rarest and most interesting of all California suffrage buttons was this 1 ¼" red, green, and white celluloid pin issued by the Wage Earner's Suffrage League. It included the initials of the League along with the ubiquitous phrase, "Votes for Women." Louise LaRue, head of Waitresses Local #48, had started the WESL in San Francisco in 1908, when she felt that middle-class women, who dominated the suffrage movement at the time, neither understood nor appreciated the situation and difficulties facing workingwomen. LaRue was assisted in her efforts by Minna O'Donnell, who was able to attract the vigorous support of labor to the suffrage movement in 1909 when the Union Labor Party's candidate, Patrick Murphy, was elected Mayor of the City. LaRue and O'Donnell were soon joined by Maud Younger, who had earlier helped to heal the division between middle-class and working-class women. Although born into a background of wealth and privilege, Younger identified with lower class women, and helped to start up a labor union for waitresses.

An organization with a similar name but no apparent direct connection was founded in New York on March 22, 1911 when Rose Schneiderman and Leonora O'Reilly withdrew from the Socialist Party to create a separate suffrage organization run by and for factory workers. They were assisted in their efforts by Mary Ritter Beard, who later was also active in the National Woman's Party.

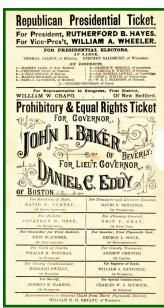
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The Story of Two Ballots

Many early suffragists, such as Frances Willard, were supporters of Temperance, which they clearly associated with Women's Rights. Husbands who drank their wages away placed significant financial burdens on their families especially during a time when married women had little title to their own property. Women also had few legal or social protections from abusive, alcoholic husbands. Because the Prohibition Party began as a progressive force in society and because its leadership generally favored the equality of women, suffragists often offered their support to its campaigns.



The Woman Suffrage ballot placed on the left came about as the result of an attempt on the part of suffrage activists in Massachusetts in 1876 to align themselves with the Prohibitory or Prohibition Party. The agreement reached was that while women could not legally vote in the general election for federal and state offices, they still were allowed to participate in Prohibition caucuses and help select candidates for the state ticket. In return, they would work for those candidates, even to the point of distributing party ballots at the polls. Lucy Stone and Mary Livermore took part in this Massachusetts campaign. At Temperance headquarters throughout the state transparencies were hung with the names of John I. Baker and Daniel C. Eddy (the Prohibition candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor respectively) on one side and the phrase "Prohibition and Equal Rights" on the other. However, many local Prohibitionists repudiated the original nominations once the caucuses were over because women had taken part in the selection process. They re-held the convention, this time denying women a formal vote. The ballot on the right shows the revised and "official" final slate.



In response to this action, women in Malden in Middlesex County held their own caucuses and "re-nominated" the Baker-Eddy ticket along with other local and sympathetic supporters, printing 1,700 ballots for their candidates under the rubric of the "Woman Suffrage State Ticket." Even though it was considered unseemly by some at the time for women to work at the polls on election day, the activists who distributed these ballots were treated with courtesy, and the Suffrage Ticket received 41 votes of the 1,340 cast in the district, a total larger than that first cast for the old Liberty Party of Massachusetts, which later evolved into the Free Soil and the Republican Parties.

Carrie Chapman Catt and the Woman Suffrage Party

The Woman Suffrage Party, primarily a New York City organization, was founded in 1909 by Carrie Chapman Catt at the Convention of Disenfranchised Women, which took place at Carnegie Hall on October 29. This convention, modeled after those of the Democrats and Republicans, consisted of 804 delegates and 200 alternates. It was at the time the largest delegate suffrage body ever assembled in New York.

Catt organized the Party with military precision. The organization planned to provide a leader for each of the 2,127 election districts of the City. Catt and her co-workers believed that by reaching into every district to appeal to voters they would be able to bring suffrage to the people, thereby eventually influencing both parties and legislators.

Although its leadership was socially conservative and generally wealthy, the WSP sought out the working poor, minorities, and immigrants. They printed much of their literature in other languages to reach newly arrived Italians, Jews, and Chinese. They also distributed pamphlets with testimonials from sympathetic Catholic clergy.

Catt herself was part of the non-militant wing of the suffrage movement. During her early years as a member of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which she was President from 1900-1904 and 1915-1920, she

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... Carry Chapman Catt, cont'd.

expressed her unease with the more radical views of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. She was especially disturbed when Stanton published her *Woman's Bible* in 1895, a work that challenged traditional religious beliefs about women's inferiority to men. Catt also had an uneasy relationship with Stanton's daughter, Harriot Stanton Blatch, whose Women's Political Union, also a New York based group, was more militant than her WSP. She bitterly opposed Alice Paul's picketing of the White House during WWI, fearing that it would reflect poorly on the movement as a whole.

But under her leadership, the WSP was an extremely active force for suffrage, engaging tirelessly in many forms of "visual rhetoric" designed to influence people's opinions. It sent forces to local political conventions, held mass meetings, issued thousands of leaflets in many languages, conducted street meetings, parades, plays, lectures, suffrage schools, entertainments and teas. Its penchant for the theatrical may be one of the reasons why it issued so many buttons and badges. By 1917, its membership had increased to 500,000, when New York finally granted women full voting rights in that state.

The colors of the WSP were black on yellow, following a scheme that had been in the suffrage movement since 1867 when they appeared in the drive in Kansas. To show allegiance to the state, a few of their badges were printed in the semi-official colors of New York, blue and yellow (and white). The "Suffrage First" pins evolved from Catt's belief that women should devote themselves to the movement before they became involved with any other service organization.

The WSP was one of the few groups in the United States to issue buttons using their name or initials only, without any other specific reference to suffrage. They also experimented by issuing a button with a cloth rather than celluloid front as well as a "clicker" or noisemaker badge. Fairgoers who wore a "WSP" button at Clason Point in New York on August 17, 1912 were given free admission to Fairyland Park. It was there on "Suffrage Day" that the Woman Suffrage Party held mass meetings, soapbox talks, and "button selling bees."

It is not certain that all of these buttons pictured on the following pages were issued by the WSP, but they do follow their color scheme, and it is likely that the overwhelming majority are. Of especial interest to memorabilia collectors is the wooden stub pen pictured in this grouping.















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... Carry Chapman Catt, cont'd. (2)



















