



# THE CLARION



**SUSAN B. ANTHONY**

WILL LECTURE IN

**BROADWAY HALL,**

WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 17TH, 1876.

SUBJECT:

**Woman wants Bread not the Ballot.**

**ADMISSION 10 CENTS.**

TO ALL PARTS OF THE HOUSE.

No Reserved Seats. Doors open at 7. Lecture at 7-45.

Tickets at Boynton's Book Store and at the door.

Stewart & Cabie, Practical Printers, 33 Washington Street, Boston.

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

*A non profit organization dedicated to the preservation of political memorabilia*

*[www.apic.us](http://www.apic.us)*

Kenneth Florey, Editor

Emilia van Beugen, Associate Editor

Collaborative Contributors:

Robert Fratkin Germaine Broussard

## Editor's Notes

The broadside pictured on the cover of this issue of The Clarion advertises what was Susan B. Anthony's stump lecture between 1870 and 1880, "Women Want Bread, Not the Ballot." Unfortunately, it was never written down, although Anthony's friend and biographer, Ida Husted Harper, did print a reconstruction of the speech in her *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, Volume II, Chapter XXVII.

In explaining the circumstances behind her speech's enigmatic title, Anthony referenced a scene that occurred many years ago in England. Miners and workingmen, starving in mines and factories, gathered in mobs to take bread wherever they could find it. Their political friends tried to educate them, generally unsuccessfully, as to the source of their poverty. At one such "monster" bread meeting in Manchester, John Bright, M.P. and suffrage supporter, said to them: "Workingmen, what you need to bring to you cheap bread and plenty of it, is the franchise." But, as Anthony related: "those ignorant men shouted back to Mr. Bright, precisely as the women of America do to us today, 'It is not the vote we want, it is bread,' and they broke up the meeting." She concluded her speech by declaring: "to secure both national and domestic tranquility, to 'establish justice,' to carry out the spirit of our Constitution, put into the hands of all women, as you have into those of all men, the ballot, that symbol of perfect equality, that right protective of all other rights."

When Anthony first began her lecture tours, she felt intimidated, believing that she was a poor public speaker. Nevertheless, she eventually overcame her fears, in part because her message demanded it. It is unfortunate that despite the numerous lectures that Anthony delivered all over the country, very few broadsides advertising her appearances survive today.

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News has come in recently about the imminent publication of Marguerite Kearns' new book: *Unfinished Revolution: Edna Buckman Kearns and the Struggle for Women's Rights*. I have asked Marguerite to write up a press release for us, and she has kindly consented to do so. The release appears later in this issue. Marguerite is responsible for hosting several suffrage blogs, which are well worth following. The book is due out in June, and concerns, in part, the suffrage wagon "The Spirit of '76" that her grandmother drove around Long Island in support of the campaign. As some of you may recall, her grandmother and the wagon were pictured on a Real Photo postcard that surfaced several years ago and now forms part of the collection of Rose Gschwendtner.

*As always, we are soliciting articles about suffrage related topics from the readers of The Clarion. If you have an idea for an article or story, please get in touch. We would love to publish it.*

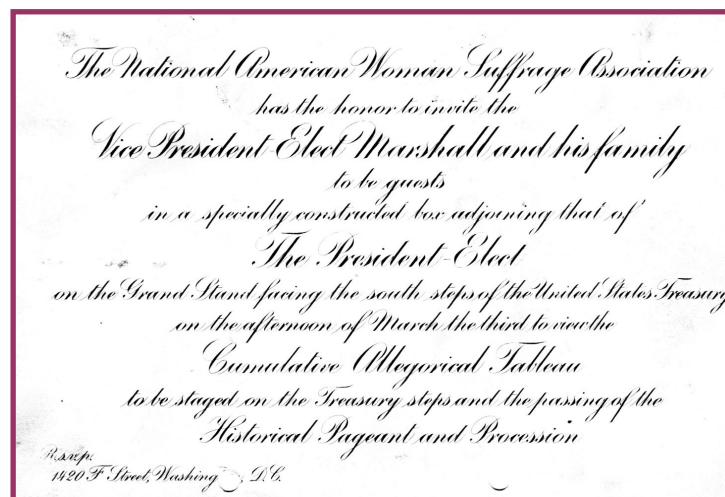
## Harlem Equal Rights League



The “Harlem Equal Rights League,” also known as the “Harlem Woman Suffrage League,” was organized in January of 1905 by Maud Malone, who served as its recording secretary along with Martha Williams as its president. The League was one of the more militant of the suffrage organizations of its time, with Malone herself known for her outspoken ideas. A librarian by trade, she believed that militancy involved arrest and jail. She once said of her fiery comments: “I am in rebellion against the entire country, our forefathers declared that rebellion was proper in a case of taxation without representation. This is a sham republic and it will never be a true one until the rights of women to vote are recognized.” In 1905, she urged women to follow Susan B. Anthony’s example and vote illegally in whatever precinct they resided in. She also interrupted speeches by politicians such as Theodore Roosevelt, demanding to know their position on Votes for Women. Still, she refused to characterize her heckling as militant action: “My heckling of a candidate is not militant. It is a privilege of free speech.” At the time of the League’s inception, Harlem was largely a “white” community with the substantial African American migration yet to come. The pin above is undated, but another, put out by the Women’s Political Union for the 1915 suffrage referendum in New York, features the same line drawing of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, so this button likewise may have been produced in that year.

## Thomas Marshall Woman’s March Invitation

The largest and most significant historically of all suffrage marches was that organized by Alice Paul for the National American Woman Suffrage Association that took place on March 3, 1913 in Washington, D. C. It was scheduled purposely to be on the day prior to Woodrow Wilson’s Inauguration as President and that of Thomas Marshall as Vice President. The crowds were huge, and, although largely friendly, did include hostile demonstrators and opponents to suffrage. Paul had been promised police protection, but their presence was minimal. At one point during the parade, viewers surged onto the streets, making it impossible for the marchers to proceed. Finally, in response to Paul’s urgent plea, the National Guard arrived and cleared the streets, and the suffragists were able to proceed.



### ... Thomas Marshall, cont'd.

The march ended at the steps of the U.S. Treasury, where an allegorical tableau, designed and directed by Hazel MacKaye, took place. The allegory illustrated “those ideals which both men and women have been struggling through the ages and toward which, in co-operation and equality, they will continue to strive.”

This 5 ¼” x 8” engraved invitation was issued to Vice President Elect Thomas Marshall and promised him a special box adjoining that of President Elect Wilson. Neither Wilson nor Marshall attended the event and the boxes probably were never built. Wilson did not arrive to his own inauguration until March 3, the day prior to the event, and, when he stepped from the train, was surprised by the sparse crowd that awaited him there. When he asked where everyone was, he was told that they were watching the suffragette parade.

## Mrs. Belmont and the Lunchroom Queen

Alva Belmont, society matron and avid suffrage supporter, was disliked by many in the movement because of her imperious attitude. Mary Gray Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt’s biographer and presumed spokesperson, commented that “Mrs. Belmont was a militant by temperament and, knowing nothing about the past history of the movement, was inclined to think that it began in the summer of 1909 with her own advent.”

But Belmont was enormously wealthy, having first married William Kissam Vanderbilt, and, after divorcing him in 1895 for his infidelities, marrying Oliver Hazard Perry Belmont in the following year. She used her money to help support not only the movement but also a variety of social causes that benefited the poor.

In 1909, she formed the Political Equality Association, one of the more active New York City suffrage organizations, and set up shop in 1911 at No. 40, East 34th Street. One of the features of her headquarters was the lunchroom, presided over by Mary Donnelly, who was dubbed by *The New York Times* as “The Lunchroom Queen.” The lunchroom was open to both men and women, and, in Donnelly’s words, “was the gathering place for the Fourteenth Assembly District. All sorts of working people came to eat, artists, writers, doctors, bankers. This enterprise was a financial and suffrage success. There is, and always will be, a connection between suffrage and food.”

But all of this was to change the following year when Belmont moved her headquarters to 41st Street, spending \$530,000 for the building and its refurbishments. Ostensibly, the change was to the betterment of the lunchroom, but it did not quite work out the way Donnelly had hoped. She sat alone on a chair and sold tickets in the form of aluminum tokens on which both the amount and name of the Political Equality Association had been impressed.



For 50 cents, the patron was given a full lunch and directed to a room, done in green, with a trellised effect. The tables were covered with clean white tablecloths and paper napkins, and the luncheon ware, made in England by John Maddock, was inscribed in blue on white, the official colors of the Association, with the words “Votes for Women.” This was the same set of china that was later used in 1914 at Mrs. Belmont’s famous luncheon for the Conference of Great Women at her Newport Estate.



## ... Lunchroom Queen, cont'd.



The less wealthy were sent to another room, where they could buy "a good, hot meal, though more simple," for 15 cents. Patrons at headquarters could purchase souvenirs, including a small suffrage milk or cream jug for 25 cents that was also made by Maddock in the same scheme as the other china.



"The Lunch Room Queen" Mary Donnelly  
Table Setting with Suffrage China



"Votes for Women"  
Creamer

The problem for the lunchroom, however, came when Mrs. Belmont's interests shifted more and more to "The Department of Hygiene," which she had installed on the second floor of the building, and whose function was to be, in her words, "human repair work." She had become obsessed with the idea that the modern working girl should look her best, and offered lectures on hygiene, and, at a slightly higher cost, "soap, powder, and other ablutionary cosmetic ointments, conducive to greater pulchritude." She even obtained the services of a hairdresser to work on women's hair during their lunch hours.

What bothered Donnelly especially were the "Beauty Barkers," such as Mrs. W. D. Morgan, who stood outside her door, rerouting potential lunch customers to the room on the second floor, with pleas of "Won't you go upstairs? Don't you want to look around upstairs? We have the face creams upstairs?" Donnelly claimed that poor working girls told her: "We don't want face creams. We came here for luncheon and suffrage!"

According to Donnelly, the Department of Hygiene originally progressed quite well. Soaps, skin foods, hair tonics and corn plasters "sold like hot cakes. Women came in from the country expecting to get free dental treatment and free doctor's attendance. They thought that hygiene covered everything." But a few weeks later, business dropped off because "the demand was for food, not soap and pills." Donnelly was not against a woman trying to be as beautiful as she could, but she was for "suffrage first, last and all the time."

And so, in February of 1912, Donnelly, "the Lunchroom Queen," left Mrs. Belmont behind and sought to raise funds in the Fourteenth Assembly District to open up another establishment based on the premise of suffrage and food. There is no record that she was successful. Belmont, herself, did not stay long at her new headquarters, merging her Political Equality Association with Alice Paul's Congressional Union in 1913. She also joined with Paul when the CU became the National Woman's Party in 1914.

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Satin Skin Cream	.50	Benzoin and Almond Cream	.50
Satin Skin Cream	.25	Cold Cream	.50
Liquid Satin Skin	.50	Cold Cream	.25
Glycerine Jelly with Rose	.25	Tooth Powder	.25
Glycerine Jelly with Lilac	.25	Tooth Paste	.35
Glycerine Jelly with Witch Hazel	.25	Violet Powder	.15
Hair Tonic	.50	Liquid Shampoo	.50
Dandruff Remedy	.50	Shampoo Cream	.50
Liquid Corn Remedy	.15	Camphor Ice	.25
Corn Paste	.25	Violette Water	.50

Benzoin and Witch Hazel Soap  
Single Cake, 25c. Three in a box, 75c.

Complexion Soap, cake	.10	Castile Soap, cake	.10
12 cakes in a box	1.20	12 cakes in a box	1.20

Guaranteed under the Pure Food and Drug Act, June 30, 1906

Send Stamps or P. O. Money Order to

#### DEPARTMENT OF HYGIENE

15 EAST 41st STREET : : : NEW YORK

## The Duchess of Marlborough and Her Suffrage Button Assignment

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, New York socialite, suffrage activist, and founder of the Political Equality League, placed extreme pressure on her daughter, Consuela, to marry the Duke of Marlborough. Consuela was very reluctant, but finally agreed when her mother indicated that her health was deteriorating because of her refusal. The marriage fell into the Downton Abbey arrangement of the period. Rich American wife brings her fortune into the union, and, in return, obtains a title. Unfortunately, Consuela's marriage, unlike that of the famous English television series, was an extremely unhappy one, and she finally left her husband.

While Consuela was away, she received a charge from her mother to which she responded by sending her a collection of buttons from over twenty-five different English suffrage organizations. Mrs. Belmont used them to decorate

a "Votes for Women" pennant that she had hanging up at her suffrage headquarters then located at 15 East 41<sup>st</sup> Street in New York. In addition to buttons, Consuela also sent her mother "regalia of many societies," or the colored sashes worn by English suffragists to indicate their respective suffrage affiliations.

Mrs. Belmont explained to the editors of *The Woman's Journal* that: "My daughter not only sent the buttons, but at my request went to the various Headquarters and sent me all their latest literature, including beautiful calendars and a wonderful collection of suffrage posters." Belmont's fascination with buttons and other suffrage memorabilia was reflective of the period in general, and her collection mirrored the interests of a number of other activists.

## 2 Problematic Pins

Described below are two pins that have always intrigued me regarding their possible connection or non-connection to the suffrage movement. If you have ideas about either, I would appreciate your input.

The first is a 7/8" brown on tan celluloid button with the legend "Vote for Women." Is the phrase here simply a variant of the traditional "Votes for Women" without the "s" or is it a post-suffrage era piece urging support for women candidates? The button in question was manufactured by Whitehead and Hoag, and the back paper lists a July 1896 copyright, a date that the manufacturer included on its pins throughout the suffrage era. No organization's name is listed on the pin, and the colors are not those of any major suffrage group. As an aside, the phrase "Votes for Women" first appeared in England in 1905 during a Women's Social and Political Union demonstration. It was quickly brought to the United States where it was appropriated by American activists.



My guess, and it is only a guess, is that this is a pin advocating voting rights for women rather than supporting women candidates. I am not an expert on dating pins, but the item in question appears old and the copyright date on the back paper, while not totally authoritative, suggests a button produced somewhere between 1905 and 1920. If so, who put it out and for what occasion or rally?

### ... 2 Problematic Pins, cont'd.

The second pin, also a 7/8" celluloid, which was printed in the black and gold colors of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, is a favorite of mine. But the nature of its slogan has always bothered me from the day that I picked it up. The button states emphatically "My Father and Mother Will Vote—Will Yours?" If this is a true suffrage button, the phrase hints that the wearer comes from a state where women were allowed to vote while urging those who live in a non-suffrage state to fight even harder for the cause. The back paper states that the button was produced by the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association and manufactured for them by the Sommer B Company of Newark.

The problem here is that New Jersey Women did not have the right to vote in national elections at the time this pin allegedly was made. The 1917 referendum in New Jersey that would have granted women the franchise was defeated, and women in the state could not vote for President until the 19th Amendment to the US Constitution was passed in 1920. Thus, if this button is, indeed, a New Jersey item, it would have to have been produced after the suffrage era, not during it.

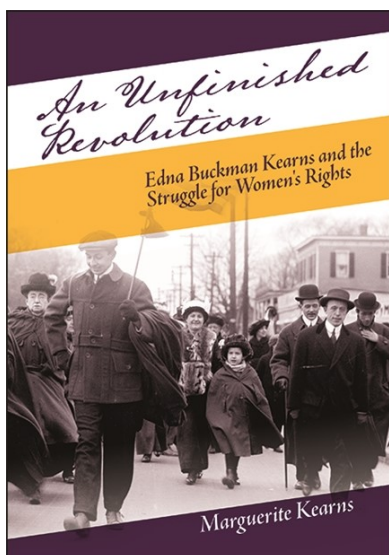


A few years ago while helping another collector to dispose of his suffrage collection I came across another copy of this pin. Here the back paper referenced not the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association as mine does but rather the manufacturer, Whitehead and Hoag. I wonder, therefore, if the back paper on the button in my collection was originally part of the pin or from a later "marriage." If you have this pin, I would appreciate your looking at its back and telling me what you find. If there are other copies of this pin with the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association label, my conclusion would be that it was issued in late 1920 after women had obtained the right to vote but just prior to the NJWSA becoming a branch of the League of Women Voters.

## WHAT WAS THE US WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT REALLY LIKE?

*An Unfinished Revolution: Edna Buckman Kearns and the Struggle for Women's Rights*

*As direct contact links are broken, suffrage descendants pick up the slack*



Marguerite Kearns started asking questions about her suffragist grandmother Edna Buckman Kearns when she was ten years old. She couldn't understand why no photos of Edna were displayed in the home where she was raised. She realized later that family members hadn't processed the grief of Edna's death in 1934. They loved her, and reminders of family history, including photos, made the matter worse.

Such an emotional family dilemma has taken decades to resolve. And the outcome will be revealed in a memoir to be released by SUNY Press (State University of New York) on June 1, 2021. *An Unfinished Revolution: Edna Buckman Kearns and the Struggle for Women's Rights* by Marguerite Kearns has been in the works for almost all of her life. Now this literary accomplishment fills in an enormous gap about how voting rights activism on the local, state, and national levels impacted suffrage and peace activists on the ground, as well as in other generations—four generations, to be specific, in the author's family.



### ... An Unfinished Revolution, cont'd.

The memoir and family history from SUNY Press makes vivid and specific those individuals and families more than 100 years ago who experimented with freedom and equality in their personal lives. The gap between the outpouring of US suffrage histories and biographies during 2020, as well as the national suffrage centennial celebrations, leaves behind a wide canyon divide. It's between what we know and the actual impact that this decentralized social movement played in the lives of tens of thousands of women and men across the nation.

Awareness of gender and other inequities can be identified throughout the history of the United States. "If it hadn't been for writer and newspaper editor Frederick Douglass who attended the 1848 women's convention in Seneca Falls, New York, we might be in a very different situation today," said Kearns. She learned about Douglass from her grandfather Wilmer Kearns. Douglass insisted that US women add the right to vote to the priorities and goals of the Seneca Falls convention.

"The 2020 election of the first woman to serve in the White House was set in motion by Frederick Douglass, and other activists who were persistent and unrelenting," Marguerite Kearns added.

"Even though my grandmother Edna Kearns died in 1934, my grandfather and my mother were responsible for making sure I understood 'why I am the way I am,'" the author continued. As stories of the suffrage activists piled up before and after the centennial of the Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in 2020, the impact on individuals and families has become even more worthy of note. In 1904 when Edna May Buckman and Wilmer Kearns married in a Quaker ceremony, women were still considered the legal property of their husbands.

"It was a dehumanizing position for women of all back-

grounds," says Marguerite Kearns. "More women, however, were enrolled in college and universities. And more women than ever were questioning the institution of marriage itself."

Marguerite Kearns writes in an accessible creative nonfiction style that reveals the context of the times, as well as how her family members were witnesses and participants in history being made.

***"And instead of a lengthy list of accomplishments, this is the story of a real family, their secrets, scandals, AND activism as a family priority," she adds.***

The author begins asking questions of family members at age ten, and then expands her understanding of this dramatic part of US history as the decades pass during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The early women's rights movement was decentralized (there were hundreds of organizations). It was also multi-cultural and diverse. Participants had to agree on one thing—that women should vote. It took years for any group of activists to pass the torch to the next generation. The book suggests that this important social revolution remains "unfinished."

The year 2020 was the centennial of women voting in the United States, and the book, *An Unfinished Revolution* traces this journey in one family. It's funny, informative, and highly adaptable to conventional as well as other types of teaching and learning. The book has 100+ vintage photos, most from the author's personal collection.

Marguerite Kearns is the descendant narrator who brings the story to life, as well as up to the present day. She participates in the 2019 women's march in Santa Fe, New Mexico carrying a photo of her family members in a 1914 suffrage movement march from New York City to Albany.





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**... An Unfinished Revolution, cont'd.**

**Edna Buckman Kearns and her parents are buried in the Quaker burial ground in Plymouth Meeting, PA. Edna's suffrage campaign wagon, the "Spirit of 1776," is in the permanent collection of the New York State Museum in Albany, NY. The suffrage wagon was exhibited in 2010, 2012, 2017-18, and now is on exhibit in the "Windows on New York" exhibition at the museum that lasts until the end of 2021.**

**The City of Long Beach (NY) is installing a historic marker on its boardwalk in 2021 commemorating the suffrage organizing work of Edna Kearns. Another historic marker featuring the Kearns suffrage campaign wagon was unveiled on Huntington, NY's main street in 2018. The historic markers are part of a state and national votes for women trail funded by the Pomeroy Foundation.**

"My grandparents were making history, and I tell the story of their witness and participation," says Marguerite Kearns. She is a freelance writer who loves down-to-earth stories about real activists who make a difference in social justice movements.

**FOR MORE INFORMATION:**

The book's web site: [Unfinished-Revolution.com](http://Unfinished-Revolution.com)

2021 catalog book listing for SUNY Press:

<http://www.sunypress.edu/p-7061-an-unfinished-revolution.aspx>

Details about Marguerite & Book:

<https://go.authorsguild.org/members/4469>

Contact the author at [MargueriteKearns@gmail.com](mailto:MargueriteKearns@gmail.com) for interviews, book signings, readings, workshops, and special programs.

## Iowa Suffrage Ribbons

There is just one button so far that is known by collectors to have been produced for the campaign in Iowa. It is a 7/8" black on gold celluloid pin with the wording "Votes for Women June 5<sup>th</sup>." It was made to advertise a referendum on suffrage in that state in 1916, the same year that the issue also appeared on the ballot in West Virginia and South Dakota. Unfortunately, the measure went down to defeat in all three states. Still, Iowa women did have some form of restricted suffrage as early as 1894, albeit limited to the right to vote "at any city, town, or school election, on the question of issuing any bonds for municipal or school purposes, and for the purpose of borrowing money, or on the question of increasing the tax levy."

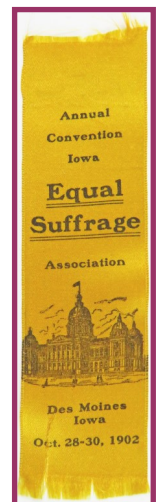
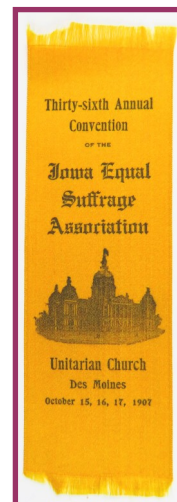


The primary suffrage organization in that state, the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, was formed in 1870, and held yearly conventions after its inception. It wasn't until 1891, however, that the Association was finally incorporated under state law. Its gatherings attracted a number of distinguished suffragists, both from within the state and from without, including Carrie Chapman Catt, who served as a delegate to the 1885 convention in Cedar Rapids, Lucy Stone, her husband, Henry Blackwell, Anna Howard Shaw, Laura M. Johns from Kansas, and, the indefatigable sojourner, Susan B. Anthony.

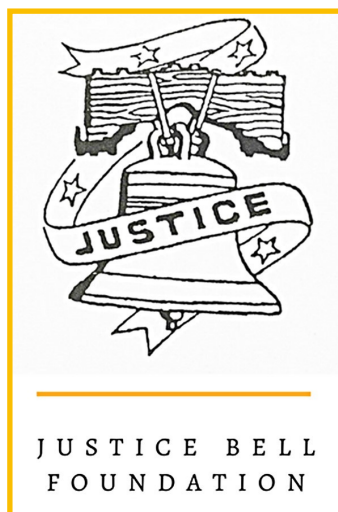
Conventions were held throughout the state, in towns and cities large and small, including Cedar Rapids, Perry, Oskaaloosa, Corydon, Des Moines, and Marshalltown. Boone was a perennial favorite. In 1886, Mary J. Coggeshall of the executive committee of the Association along with Martha C. Callahan, established a state paper, the *Woman's Standard*, an eight-page monthly. Iowa also had one of the first suffrage parades in the country in 1907, characterized by Clara M. Richey, recording secretary of the IESA, as "a monster parade," but one that "required great courage to take part in it."

Iowa suffragists were very hopeful that the suffrage plank would pass in the 1916 referendum. They were well organized, well funded, supported by a number of influential men, and helped by visits from the national suffrage organization. Anti-suffrage forces also came out. John P. Irish traveled from California to defeat passage, but he left the state early after women reprinted and circulated editorials that he had written during the Civil War in which he showed disloyalty to both Lincoln and the Union. But it was not the anti-suffrage forces that ultimately were the problem. It became necessary for the Republican Party to withdraw its support after they had nominated a "wet candidate" for Governor for the fall election. They feared that if women, many of whom had Temperance sympathies, were given the right to the ballot, they would vote against him. The final tally was close, ayes, 162,683; nays, 173,024, but suffragists lost by 10,341 votes.

Suffrage ribbons, obviously, were produced for a variety of purposes; but their main function, at least in Iowa, was that of providing a souvenir for convention delegates. State suffragists, responsible for only one locally related button, created at least six ribbons, including a variety with a metal stickpin attached. There are undoubtedly a number of others, hitherto, unrecorded. The IESA preferred to use churches for meeting places, with engravings of them often appearing on the ribbons for that year's event. The examples pictured below are not always in the best of condition, but they have survived and that is the important point.



## Pennsylvania Justice Bell Foundation



Amanda Owen of the Justice Bell Foundation recently sent me a DVD entitled “Finding Justice,” which was very much appreciated. You may recall from images of postcards pictured in the last issue of *The Clarion* that in 1915 suffragists in Pennsylvania had a copy of the original Justice Bell recast with some modification in the wording. The Bell was placed on a specially built truck that traveled through all 67 counties of the State in an attempt to muster up support for a suffrage referendum held that year. If you would like to see the trailer for this short but fascinating video and to learn more about the Foundation, click on <https://www.justicebell.org/> Their mission statement is as follows:

### Mission Statement

The Justice Bell Foundation is a nonprofit organization whose mission is to educate, inspire and mobilize current and future voters. With programs for schools and organizations, a film about the women’s suffrage movement, and a replica Justice Bell, the Justice Bell Foundation is committed to reclaiming women’s history, highlighting women’s contributions, and promoting voter participation.

Amanda Owen

Executive Director

[Justice Bell Foundation](https://www.justicebell.org/)



### JUSTICE BELL FOUNDATION

Our mission is to celebrate women’s contributions, advocate for women’s equality, and honor the Justice Bell and its historic role in the American struggle for women’s suffrage and equal rights.

Email: [info@justicebell.org](mailto:info@justicebell.org)  
Website: [justicebell.org](https://www.justicebell.org)

Like us on Facebook  
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Photo courtesy of Kenneth Florey

Photo of Suffrage Liberty Bell provided by the Justice Bell Foundation



## A Suffrage Pin, the Green Cross, and a Poem



The above button was issued during WWI by the National American Woman Suffrage Association as part of its war effort. It was promoted by the National Chairmen of Suffrage Agriculture and Thrift, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers of New York and Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of Missouri, who were in charge of food production and food conservation for NAWSA. The work of their committee extended across 30 states. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of NAWSA, qualified as a “soldier of the soil” by “putting up many cans of food for winter use.”

Theoretically, all 2,000,000 women of the Association who followed Catt’s example by becoming “soldiers” could wear the “Erin Green Cross.” Its rarity today suggests, however, that production was limited. Still, someone thought enough about the pin to fashion a poem about it, the only poem that I am aware of ever written about a specific suffrage item:

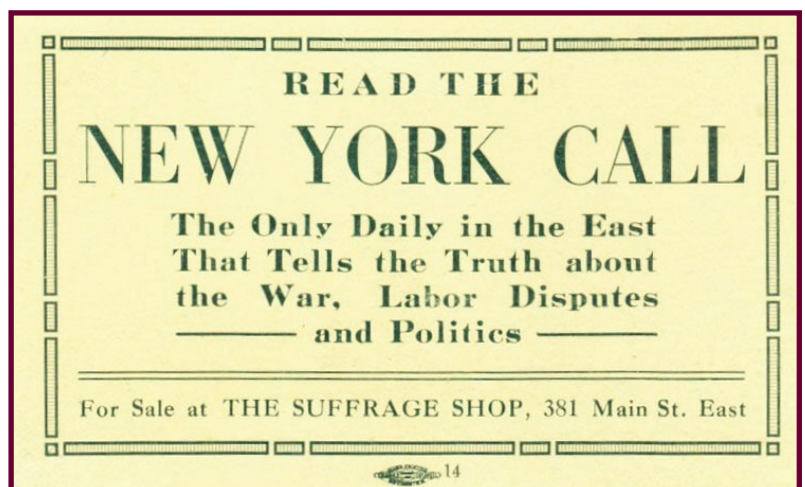
Oh, sisters dear, and did you hear  
The news that’s going round  
Of the bright green cross that’s being worn  
By tillers of the ground?

## Suffrage and Socialism

### The Suffrage Shop

The small advertising card pictured here was distributed by “The Suffrage Shop,” a Socialist connected business, located at 381 Main Street East, in Rochester, New York. The shop combined sales of suffrage literature and artifacts with space for speakers and other activities. In 1915, it added a consignment area where members and non-members alike could bring in various items for sale with the shop taking a 20% commission.

It was in operation as late as 1917, and the only business of its kind not directly connected with a mainstream suffrage organization. *The New York Call* was a Socialist paper published in New York City. City activists broke with the Socialist Party in 1912, which may provide a clue as to the dating of this piece.

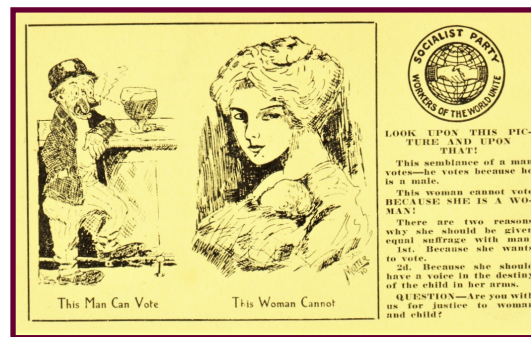




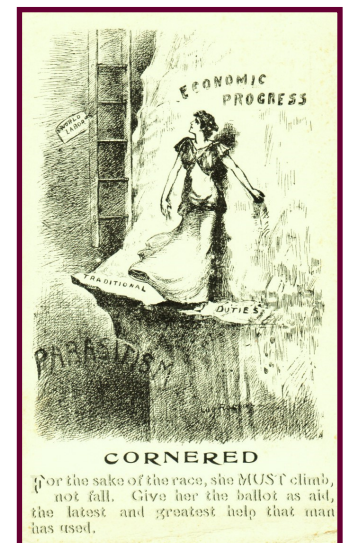
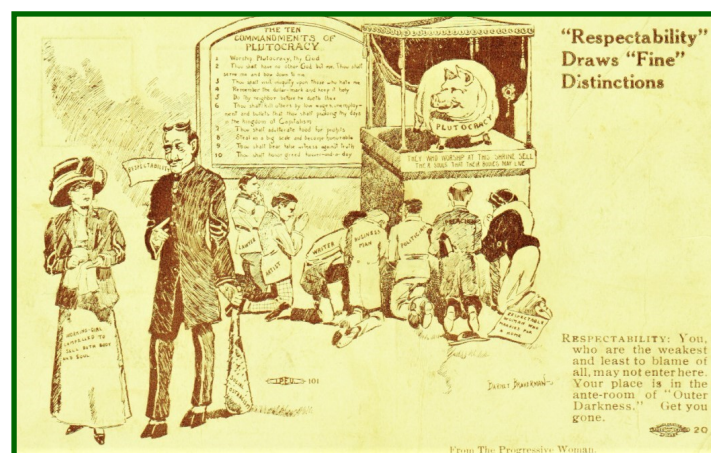
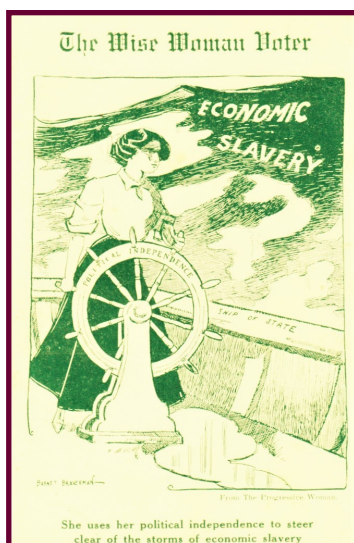
... Suffrage and Socialism, cont'd.

## Socialist Party Suffrage Postcards

The Socialist Party, in its various manifestations, issued several postcards promoting either suffrage specifically or the rights of women to chart their own destinies. Perhaps the most famous is the first card below that deals with a topic of concern in both America and England related to who could vote and who couldn't. Those who could not, besides women, were often characterized by such terms as "insane" and "idiot" that would hardly be considered acceptable today. Here the eligible voter is represented by a drunk at a bar and the non-voter by a mother with child at her breast.



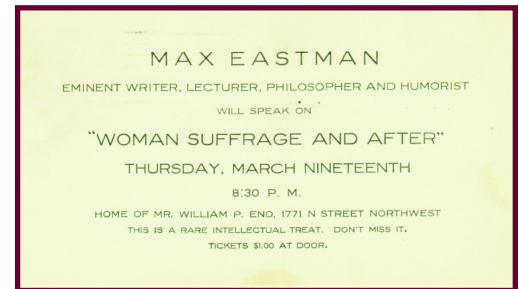
The first two postcards below came from illustrations that first appeared in "The Progressive Woman," a magazine that had been started up in 1907 by Josephine Conger-Kaneko, who felt that Socialist men cared little about the specific problems faced by women. Originally called "The Socialist Woman," it underwent its name change in 1909. Many activists and writers contributed to the publication including suffragist Alice Stone Blackwell, daughter of Lucy Stone, Eugene V. Debs, George Bernard Shaw, and poet Ella Wheeler Wilcox. The cards that Conger-Kaneko published did not as a rule address specifically the topic of suffrage but they did expose the problems facing the powerless woman in a capitalistic society. That theme is mirrored in the third card below published by an unknown source that probably was also Socialist Party related.



The concern of Socialists both to express public support for suffragists and to tie in economic theory with women's rights can be seen in a variety of cards that they published announcing various political meetings. The first here promotes a speech by Lena Morrow Lewis, "advocate of the rights of women" in Springfield, Massachusetts. The second, published by the Socialist Women of Chicago to announce a meeting at the Garrick Theatre, employs the generic image of a woman holding up a suffrage standard. The third promotes a lecture by Max Eastman on the topic "Woman Suffrage and After." Eastman was a writer, editor, political activist, and supporter of Socialism. For several years, he edited *The Masses*, and then, in 1917, co-founded *The Liberator*, a radical magazine of politics and the arts. After woman suffrage had become a fact and after the purges of Joseph Stalin, he switched politics and became a harsh critic of Communism and later Socialism.



## ... Socialist Party Suffrage Postcards cont'd.



## Suffrage Socialists in Parade

On March 3, 1913 in Washington D. C., Alice Paul and the Congressional Union promoted the largest suffrage parade ever held, that which preceded Woodrow Wilson's inauguration the next day. Alice Paul and her Union returned to the Nation's Capitol on May 9 of the following year for another large march. One of the purposes of this second demonstration, which brought several thousand women from all over the country, was to urge passage of the Bristow-Mondell resolution calling for an amendment to the Constitution allowing women to vote in every state of the Union. Several postcards of that parade feature pictures of the Socialist contingent bearing banners that not only promoted their ideology, but also mocked anti-suffragists.

One of their banners reads: "Greetings Anti's, Welcome to our Colors," an allusion comparing the "red" associated with Socialism and Communism to "red," the official color of the anti-suffrage movement and to its official flower, the rose. The anti's typically linked suffrage supporters with radical politics. Another banner reads: "Anti's, train your cameras here! Anti's, are you seeing red?" The Antis photographed parts of the parade for later use as anti-suffrage propaganda just as they had during the march of the previous year. The Socialist suffragists were aware of their actions and ridiculed their efforts. Most of the Socialist women also defiantly wore a red rose in the parade, while other suffragists displayed a large bowl of the flowers in their windows with the announcement: "We recognize no monopoly in red roses."





### ... Suffrage and Socialism, cont'd.

So far, no known buttons or badges, pro or anti, have surfaced associating suffrage and Socialism. There are, however, examples of booklets, leaflets, and other paper material that relate the two topics. Some of the more interesting pieces appear below. They include: (1) an advertisement for "The Great Campaign Song, Votes for Women" that appears on the back of a piece of 10 1/2" x 14" sheet music, "The Socialist Bell of Liberty";

Dedicated to the Universal Cause of Socialism

## SOCIALIST BELL OF LIBERTY

THE BOSS - James, tell those people out there to stop that racket; it annoys me.  
THE VALET - I did tell 'em, Sir, but they say as how nothin' on earth can't stop 'em.

WORDS AND MUSIC BY  
**WESTON P. TRUESDELL**

PUBLISHED BY  
**THE CALIFORNIA MUSIC PRESS**  
SAN LEANDRO, CALIFORNIA

Price 55¢ Net, 3 Copies 60¢; 10 Copies \$1.75. (Mailed Postpaid in U. S. A.)

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(1)

## THE GREAT SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN SONG

A PAUSE. PRICE 25 CENTS. NEW PAPER PUBLISHED BY THE CALIFORNIA MUSIC PRESS, SAN LEANDRO, CAL.

### Votes for Women.

Dedicated to the Universal Cause of Equal Suffrage.

Words and Music by MARY LOUISE CARLETON.

Copyright, 1912, by The California Music Press.

(2) a pamphlet issued by the National Office of the Socialist Party entitled "Elizabeth Cady Stanton on Socialism" that presents a series of remarks by Stanton in support of Socialist positions. *The Progressive Woman*, alluded to here earlier, also published a leaflet with a similar title. These statements were often used by anti-suffragists to discredit the movement as a whole; (3) a 4-page leaflet published by the Socialist Party of Philadelphia containing a statement by Harriot Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, on why she joined the Socialist Party; (4) a pamphlet issued by the Socialist Party entitled "Why Women Should Vote" that was issued in preparation for the unsuccessful 1915 suffrage referendum that was held in New York. The back page of this pamphlet contains an ad for a lecture by Eugene Debs at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum;

Hamilton College Library  
512 p.  
\$1.00

### Elizabeth Cady Stanton on Socialism

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was invited by Susan B. Anthony to attend the Woman's Suffrage Conference, held in Rochester, just prior to our war with Spain, a letter on "Women and the War." Following in Mrs. Stanton's reply to Miss Anthony which will be interesting to many who had never heard of this grand old woman's development and of the conservative suffrage movement, into the recognition and acceptance of a broader need for the vote of men and women—that is, a need of economic freedom for all. She says:

"You ask me to send a letter as to woman's position in regard to the war. Many women with whom I talk feel surprised that they have no voice in declaring war with Spain, or in protesting against it. The vast majority of men are in the same position. Why care for a voice in an event that may happen once in a lifetime more than in those of far greater importance continually before us? Why groan over the horrors of war when the tragedies of peace are forever before us. Our boys in blue, our girls in white, in camp and hospital, are better off than our boys in rag, ever worked in mines, in factories, in prison houses and, in here, drug, degraded, and here, where the family head of scanty means working ten hours to keep their hapless situation in the depths of poverty."

— A friend of mine visited the bleaching department in one of our New England factories

(2)

### WHY I JOINED THE SOCIALIST PARTY

BY HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH

The name of Harriot Stanton Blatch is known and honored by all thoughtful Americans for her work in the cause of woman's suffrage. Her name is also known and honored by all thoughtful Americans for her work in the cause of Socialism. Her name is also known and honored by all thoughtful Americans for her work in the cause of Socialism.

Why did I join the Socialist Party? Because I believe in its fundamental tenets. It is the only party striking at the root evils of capitalism, which permits of men harvesting where they do not sow, at the wage and salary system which sets worker against worker of both hand and brain, in wasteful competition. And it is only the Socialist Party which proposes through state planning to free that usually forgotten and neglected toiler, the homemaker and mother, from "mundane economic dependence." These are the outstanding reasons of my allegiance to Socialism.

And why I joined the party just now instead of merely voting the Socialist ticket and letting my allegiance end at that, is another and more personal question. And here's the answer to that query:

By inheritance I have a lot of Revolutionary and Anti-Slavery blood in my veins. Not the sort of blood that primes a cause when the battle is won but fights for it in the darkest days on the firing line. When there's war on, I must get into the fray.

And there is war on. Socialism cannot amble along as in the days before 1914. The enemy is up and at us. It will crush every radical effort, if it can. My place then is out in the open on the radical side.

That's one reason for my stand—now here is another: One of the attacks being made on the cause I have at heart is that the Socialist Party is an American alien. I think that is an accusation just cooked up for the occasion, but it must be met as if made in good faith. I want to tell the Party men, I, and I have one thousand per cent. Americanism at my disposal. Every American who believes in Socialism and who is descended from the founders of his country, should feel in honor bound to join the Party. And if he is a red blooded American with sand in his gizzard, he will do exactly that.

And just here may I tell you a word of wisdom from the days of our forefathers? Old Ben Franklin used to say to his co-revolutionists, "We must all hang together, or we will all hang separately." A kind of common sense in that counsel, and applicable withal to the radical side.

(3)

### Why Women Should Vote

The opponents of women suffrage say that woman's place is in the home. They regard this as their strongest objection, but the most objection that is interposed against any progressive idea, it is superficial and wholly without thought.

There are few things that can compare in beauty with the love of a mother and the associations that are intertwined with a happy home. To a woman these things mean infinitely more than to a man. Not hours like these are not strewn around like pebbles on the beach. To many women they have never come within their experience, they are things to dream about, to yearn and sigh for. If ever we had this stately home, we eternally do not have it today. Capitalism, to which nothing is sacred except profits, has placed its foot and sacrilegious hands upon the home, torn it asunder and laid it in ruins.

If the woman's place is in the home we might ask, in whose home? In most cases the father cannot supply his daughter with a home after she has reached maturity, and in many cases where the father has been taken away, she necessarily leaves her own into the world, to earn her bread by the sweat of her brow, in order to keep what little semblance there is of a home, intact. How many women have never known, and how many will never know what it means, to live beneath the nurturing care of a real home? They must forever make their abode with the stranger. Yet we are told that woman's place is in the home.

But then she ought to get married and make a home of her own? Are the desirable men then so plentiful? Even if we take all the men, the good and the bad, the handsome and ugly, the mean and stingy, the liberal and spendthrift, how many of them can afford the luxury of a home? Relatively, the number of men who can afford to marry is becoming beautifully less. Economic conditions have so changed that the number of positions that are to be had with good wages are few and far between. The introduction of labor-saving machinery which has displaced a large amount of skill, pushes men into the ranks of the unskilled, reduces the value of their

into gladiators, and their spurs into prancing hocks," and the best guarantee for this is the growth of the Socialist movement.

The Socialist Party is the only political party that has unflinchingly stood for woman suffrage. The Socialist Party believes that the women, having the worse part in the struggle, ought not to be handicapped with any unfair restriction.

This fight for the extension of the suffrage is the same old fight that has been going on through the ages. That the same old fossils and reactionaries, and old women in male attire, will be found in the opposition, is no more than should be expected, but that the women will eventually possess the ballot does not permit any doubt.

We call upon all fair-minded voters to vote for the suffrage amendment on November 2nd, 1915

For further information call or write to Organizer, Socialist Party, 807 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

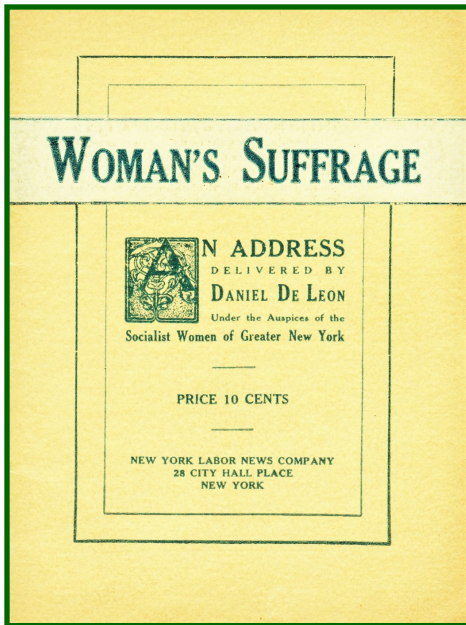
<b>EUGENE VICTOR</b> <b>DEBS</b> WILL LECTURE AT <b>B'KLYN LABOR LYCEUM</b> Willoughby, near Myrtle Ave. ON <b>THURSDAY EVE 1915</b> <b>OCTOBER 14 P.M.</b>	<b>ART FOR THE PEOPLE</b> <b>GALA CONCERT</b> AND BALL AT <b>KISMET TEMPLE</b> Rockaway Beach, near Rockaway Ave. and Fulton Street ON <b>THURSDAY EVE 1915</b> <b>OCTOBER 23 P.M.</b>
<b>General Admission</b> <b>25 Cents</b>	<b>Tickets, 25 Cents each</b> <b>At the Box Office, 35 Cents</b>

DON'T FOLLOW THE CROWD, GET THERE FIRST!

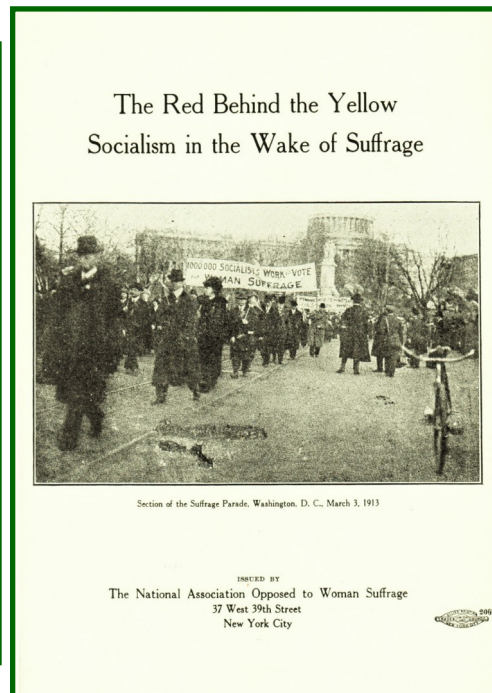
\* \* \* \* \* C. O. Thompson, Designer. \* \* \* \* \* 13 Spruce St., New York.

(4)

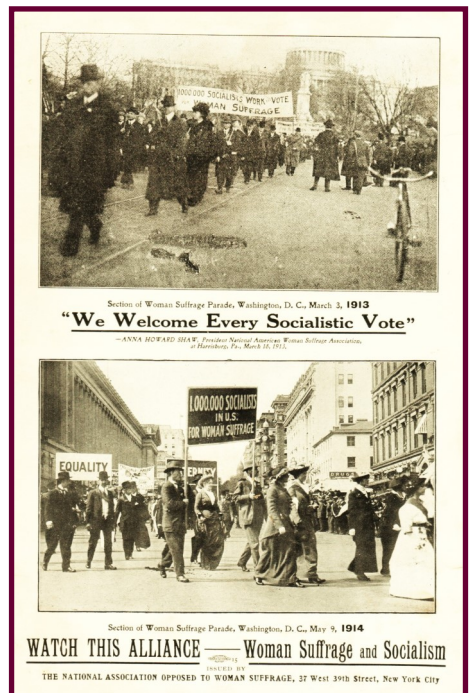
## ... Suffrage and Socialism, cont'd.



(5)



(6)



(5) an address that was delivered by Daniel De Leon, a prominent Socialist, under the auspices of the Socialist Women of Greater New York at Cooper Union on May 8, 1909; (6) several anti-suffrage fliers entitled "The Red Behind The Yellow Socialism In The Wake Of Suffrage," and "We Welcome Every Socialistic Vote," the latter of which was issued in several varieties. These pamphlets were distributed by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage and were a suffrage smear using photographs of self-proclaimed Socialists marching in the famous Washington, D. C. suffrage parade of 1913.