Issue # 60 Summer 2024

THE CLARION

Real Photo Postcard of Katherine Hepburn, President of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, Along With Her Children

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

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

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Editor's Remarks

In our last issue, we noted that in 1920, Harriet May Mills, as the Democratic Party nominee for Secretary of State, was the first woman to run for State Office in New York. Wendy Chmielewski notes, however, that is not entirely true if one looks outside the Democratic and Republican Parties and considers third-party candidates. There were: "several women who ran for state-wide offices before 1918, the first election year after women in the state won full suffrage. Pauline Newman ran for secretary of state in 1908 on the Socialist party ticket. In 1910 Frances Witherspoon also ran for the same office as a Socialist. She was later a founder of the War Resisters League and an active member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. In 1914 Florence Cross Kitchell ran for the Secretary of State office, also on the Socialist ticket. Of course, none of them won." Wendy is one of the women behind the *Her Hat Was in the Ring* Web Site that currently has identified 5,746 U. S. women candidates who campaigned for elective office between 1859 and 1920. It contains biographical information for each woman, along with information about her campaigns, party affiliation, photographs when available, and selected resources. It is a wonderful resource for anyone interested in early women candidates and can be accessed at https://herhat.historyit.com/public-sites/home/project?hsxezn=kezfcv. This is an on-going project, so please consult Wendy if you have information about additional women who qualify.

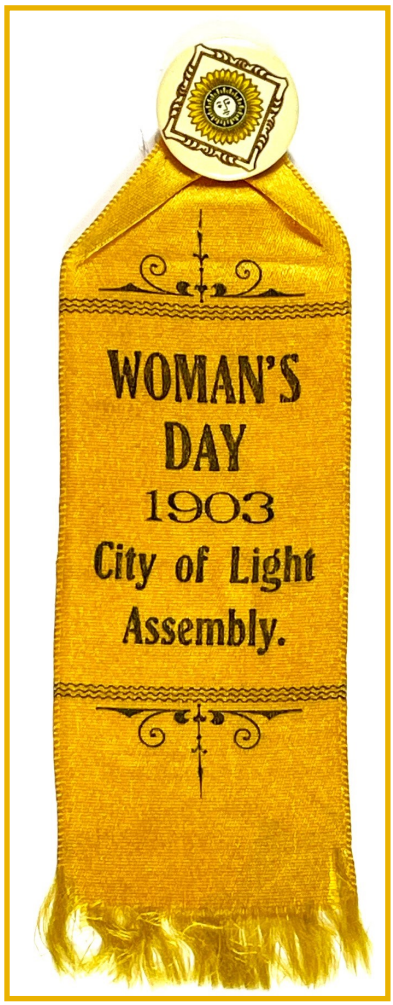
Featured on the cover of this issue of the *Clarion* is a Real Photo postcard of Katharine Hepburn, the mother of the actress and President of the Connecticut Woman's Suffrage Association. An attached note to the back of the card identifies her children as Marion and Peg, left to right in front, and Richard and Katharine, the future actress, in back, also left to right. The card raises some interesting questions about photographs of suffragists in general. There are known Carte de Visites and Cabinet Photos from the 19th century picturing these historic women that were handed out to supporters. But some of these early photographs were also designed to be given out privately to family and friends, so the question arises when one comes across these photographs, what was the intended audience for their creation? Coline Jenkins, the great-great granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, once showed me her ancestral family photograph album that contained some fascinating views of both Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. My assumption is that the overwhelming majority of these photographs were distributed to family, but that is only an assumption that is difficult to verify. The Hepburn photo is unposted and contains no text to indicate its purpose. Again, is the intended audience family and friends or suffrage supporters looking for images of their heroes?

There will be a meeting of the Woman Suffrage Chapter of the American Political Items Collectors biannual Convention to be held this year at the Seven Springs Mountain Resort in Seven Springs, Pennsylvania from August 5-10. Our chapter meeting is scheduled for Tuesday, August 6 from 3:30 to 4:15 in the Wintergreen Room (Seminar Room). Because there are no meetings scheduled in the room after us, I am hoping to get the time extended to allow for a Power Point Presentation on the topic of *English Suffrage Ephemera of Militancy and Response.* This talk was given originally at the National Ephemera Society Convention held last March in Greenwich Connecticut. If we can nail down the equipment for its showing, I think that you will find the images of suffrage ephemera to be particularly appealing,

As always, we are looking for contributions from our members for articles for the *Clarion.* If you have a topic that you think might be of interest, please get in touch. Even images of rare items from your collection would be wonderful!

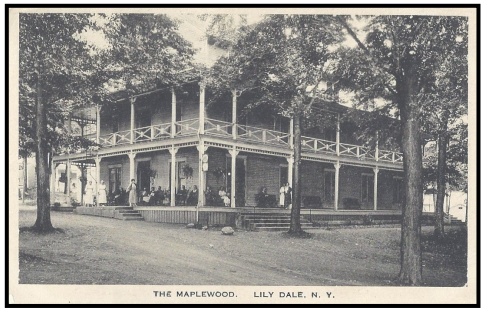
Susan B. Anthony, a Ribbon and Communicating with the Dead

The ribbon shown below has an interesting suffrage connection and serves as a link between the suffrage movement and the then popular cultural/religious belief in Spiritualism. The ribbon was produced for an event at the City of Light (Lily Dale) at which Susan B. Anthony, despite her advancing age, and Anna Howard Shaw were featured as speakers. The celebration of Women's Day at the hamlet took place every year and generally had a suffrage focus with presenters supporting the movement.



A story about Lily Dale and its suffrage connections appeared in an earlier issue of *The* Clarion, but, perhaps, it might be appropriate to review a few basic facts about the hamlet to set the context for this ribbon. Lily Dale was incorporated in 1879 as Cassadaga Lake Free Association, a camp and meeting place for Spiritualists, those who believed that it was possible to communicate with the Dead. The name of the hamlet was changed to The City of Light in 1903, a change that is reflected on the ribbon shown on the left, and finally to Lily Dale Assembly in 1906. It is still in existence today containing about 275 residents, all of whom are members of the Spiritualist Church.

Each year Lily Dale is host to about 22,000 visitors, who come to the hamlet for its classes, workshops, demonstrations in communicating with dead spirits, and private meetings with mediums. It currently is probably the largest center of the Spiritualist Movement left in the United States as similar centers have experienced a serious decline in membership or have folded altogether.



The Maplewood Hotel where Anthony stayed when she visited Lily Dale

Inspiration Stump where mediums give free sample readings to those assembled

Always a community associated with Free Thought and Progressive ideas as well as communication with dead spirits, it was heavily supportive of the women's rights movement. Marian Skidmore, one of its early leaders, was an outspoken proponent of woman suffrage. At her invitation, Susan B. Anthony often visited the community and spoke on behalf of "Votes for Women."

Lily Dale also had its own Woman Suffrage League as seen in the Real Photo postcard that is pictured here.

Within the world of Spiritualism, women had obtained an identity and authority that their counterparts outside had not. Spiritualists believed that women in general had a sensitivity that men lacked, and thus were better able to commune with the spirits. Not all mediums were women, of course, but enough were to offset the patriarchal structure that many at the time felt to be

… Ribbon & Spiritualism, cont'd

imbedded in traditional religion. It was woman, not man, who was more attuned to the ultimate nature of all things, living or dead. The connection then between Spiritualism and women's rights appeared only natural, for to deny those rights was to deny one of the basic beliefs inherent in the movement.

Susan B. Anthony was not the only suffragist to be attracted by Lily Dale and its activities. The hamlet hosted a Woman's Day each year, bringing in such leaders of the movement as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Anna Howard Shaw, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, May Wright Sewall, Vice President-at-Large of the International Council of Women, and Harriet May Mills, President of the New York Woman Suffrage Association, whose pass to visit the community is shown on the right.

It is quite possible that the ribbon displayed at the beginning of this article once belonged to Mills. It came in a grouping of suffrage ribbons that was sold by Heritage Auctions, many of which were owned by her.

Anthony and other suffragists were generally progressive in their ideas, endorsing not only equal rights for women but also abolition, and, in some cases, Temperance (a Progressive idea at the time). Even those activist women who were not necessarily believers in Spiritualism and communicating with the dead were, nevertheless, apparently receptive to those who were. Hence, the bonding of suffrage leaders with the Spiritualist Association of Lily Dale and why the ribbon pictured above is a historic piece associated with the history of the suffrage movement.

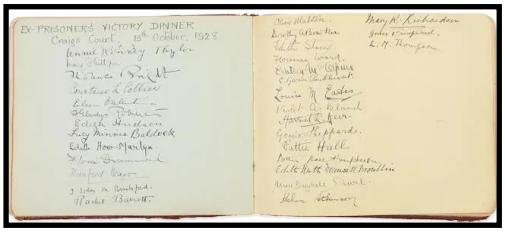
Bonhams Latest Auction

Bonhams of England held an on-line auction on June 20 at their Knightsbridge Galleries in London that featured thirteen suffrage lots, most of which were English in origin, but with a few American items mixed in as well. Included in the auction were two hunger strike medals, badges given out by the Women's Political Union to members who went on hunger strikes while incarcerated in Holloway Prison. Manufactured by Toye and Company, each badge came with a small metal disk at the bottom inscribed with the recipient's name on one side and "hunger strike" on the other. Ribbons contained one or more bars indicating the number of times the suffragist had gone on a hunger strike. Each medal came in a purple box with green velvet lining, with words honoring her printed in gold on white silk. Prices for these items can vary considerably, depending upon the fame of the recipient, whether local historical societies are interested in a particular piece, and how many bars were attached to the badge. It is not often that hunger strike medals come on the market, since many are now in the possession of museums. It is highly unusual, therefore, to find two in the same auction. All prices below include the Buyer's Premium and are expressed in American dollars and not British pounds.

Rona Robinson, whose medal appears at the left, was one of the first women ever to be so honored. She received her medal from Emmeline Pankhurst at a special ceremony at Albert Hall on December 9, 1909 that also involved Emily Wilding Davison, the first suffrage martyr. She had been imprisoned on August 20 (the date shown on the bottom of the ribbon) for being one of the "Seven Viragos" who disrupted a speech by Minister of War Richard Burdon Hall at Sun Hall in Liverpool. It was a violent demonstration in which objects were hurled and windows broken. Once in prison, the demonstrators immediately went on a hunger strike, forcing authorities to release them after several days of incarceration. Robinson was again arrested on October 9 for interrupting a speech by the Chancellor of a university in Manchester, demanding that he speak out against the forcible feeding of imprisoned Manchester suffragists. Her subsequent hunger strike earned her another bar on her original badge. This piece realized a very respectable $27,531.08 in USD.

... Bonhams, cont'd.

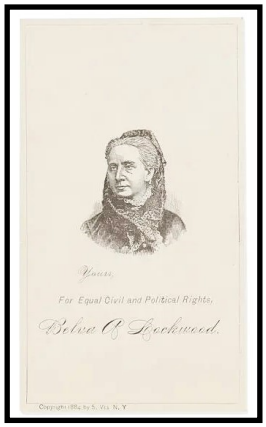
Clara Giveen, whose medal is pictured to the right, had a particularly dramatic and violent career as a militant for the Women's Social and Political Union and became famous for being "the Hurst Park Arsonist." She was suspected of being one of the "Young Hot Bloods" who took part in a nationwide campaign of destruction in 1913 after the Government had abandoned the latest Franchise Bill that would have given some women the right to vote. Arrested several times, she earned her first bar on the above medal for four-month prison sentence that she received on March 1912 for breaking twelve windows at Jay's Department Store on Regent Street. The second bar, dated 3 July 1913, was for her role in the Hurst Park attack, which involved the burning down of the grandstand at the race course to commemorate the death of Emily Wilding Davison who had been trampled to death by the King's horse at the Epsom Derby. Her medal failed to attain its minimum $15,182.58 starting price, which surprised me greatly, Perhaps the auction could not sustain the appearance of two hunger strike medals in the same sale. Hunger strike medals are extremely rare, and it is quite possible that another will not appear in the marketplace for a while. Given recent prices, I estimated that the Giveen medal would realize between $27,000-30,000. It, obviously, did not, but I suspect that it will bring approximately that amount the next time it is offered for sale.



The china cup and saucer pictured above are part of a set that originally made its appearance at the refreshment room at the Prince's Skating Rink Exhibition, organized by the Women's Political and Social Union in Knightsbridge for two weeks in May 1909. Designed by Sylvia Pankhurst, daughter of WSPU founder Emmeline Pankhurst, the china was sold off originally in sets of 22 after the exhibition, although pieces could be purchased individually as this cup and saucer probably were. This abbreviated set sold for $4,533.19, which very well may be a record price for the cup and saucer alone. The piece pictured in the middle is a satirical handkerchief titled "Women's Rights and What Came of It '1981'." It depicts a dystopian future in 100 years if women were to obtain the vote. Gender roles would be reversed and women would take on traditional male responsibilities in government, science, law, and the military. Men would be restricted to such tasks as doing the laundry. This piece has always been a popular item and has in the past received a final bid north of $5,000. Here, perhaps because the handkerchief showed some signs of aging, it failed to obtain the minimum bid of $1,264.84. The final item, pictured to the right above, is truly a historic item. It is an autograph album compiled by Helen K. Watts over a 60-year period from 1908 to 1962 that charts a lifetime of friendships among militant suffragists and contains a significant number of signatures of the most noted members of the WSPU, including Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, Constance Lytton, Annie Kenney, Flora Drummond and Marion Wallace-Dunlop. Many of these autographs were obtained at various dinners and reunions such as the "Ex-Prisoners' Victory Dinner/ Craigs Court 13th October 1928," the "H.M. Prison Leicester/ Sept. 4-8: 1909 Hunger Strike," "Welcome Supper/ Morley's Café June 7: 1912," and "Deputation Dinner/Fifth Anniversary/ February 24: 1914/ Quadrant Restaurant Regent Street." This historic album went for $13,762.60.

... Bonhams, cont'd.

The National Union of Women Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) was one of the oldest continuous suffrage organizations in the United Kingdom. Because of its non-violent, law-abiding principles, it has often been contrasted with Emmeline Pankhurst's militant Women's Social and Political Union. This badge, done in the organization's official colors of red, green, and white, realized a handsome and, perhaps, record price of $1,295.22. The piece in the middle, a souvenir napkin created by Sarah Burgess for a 1908 NUWSS demonstration, brought $1,133.32, also a high or near high. Burgess, a dealer and manufacturer of souvenir items, produced a variety of napkins for suffrage demonstrations in the London area. Her napkin made for a June 21 demonstration of the WSPU in the same year brought criticism from the organization because they did not authorize it. Still, they expressed delight in the fact that suffrage was now making such an impact on English society that merchants were making money from it. The sash to the far right raised some questions for the cataloguer because of its faded condition, and he or she was not certain about its original colors, whether they were pink or faded purple and green and white. If pink, this sash was produced by the Actresses' Franchise League, whose colors were pink, green, and white. If purple, it was the product of the WSPU. In my opinion, this is a WSPU sash. The lettering is exactly the same as found on WSPU examples. Moreover, when colors fade on grosgrain sashes, they often change in hue. Green, for example, often becomes yellow when its blue constituent fades out (green, as most of you are aware, is a combination of blue and yellow.). Whatever, this item realized a final price of $4,533.04, reflecting the recent interest in sashes.



The three items above, despite being highly sought-after pieces, all failed to achieve minimum bids. They are all from the American suffrage campaign, and thus, in all probability, did not attract attention from Bonham's largely English clientele. The Belva Lockwood card in the upper left is one of the few official campaign items from her historic run for President in 1884. She ran again in 1888, and, unlike Victoria Woodhull before her, passed the Constitutional age requirement of 35 to be eligible to serve. This particular example has a blank reverse, but there is another version that contains information about her candidacy including her headquarters' address and campaign materials that were available. Its failed minimum was $758.90, quite a reasonable starting price for such a rare piece.

... Bonhams, cont'd.

The iconic "Sarah's Suffrage Victory" thread holder was long thought to honor Sarah Bagley, an early Massachusetts labor activist. Recent research by Gregory Cross, however, which appeared in issue #53 of *The Clarion,* dispelled that idea. The "Sarah" alluded to here was more probably Sarah Swan Blake, who was the wife of the producer of the thread holder, C. Chandler Blake. Its failed minimum was also $758.90, even though recent auction prices have generally been in the $1,500 range. The final American item to appear in the auction was a tin die-cut bird painted in black, blue, and yellow. It was produced by Gertrude H. Leonard and Theresa A. Crowley for the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association for Blue Bird Day on November 2, 1915, the date for the referendum in the State on Voting Rights for Women. There is a small hole in the piece at the top so that it could be nailed to fence posts, electricity poles, and barn doors. Long a collector's favorite, this bird failed to attain a minimum bid of $1,897.08.

Individual suffrage items have been disappearing of late from the marketplace. Fortunately for collectors, several major sales from reputable auction houses have taken their place. The Bonhams sale is one of them.

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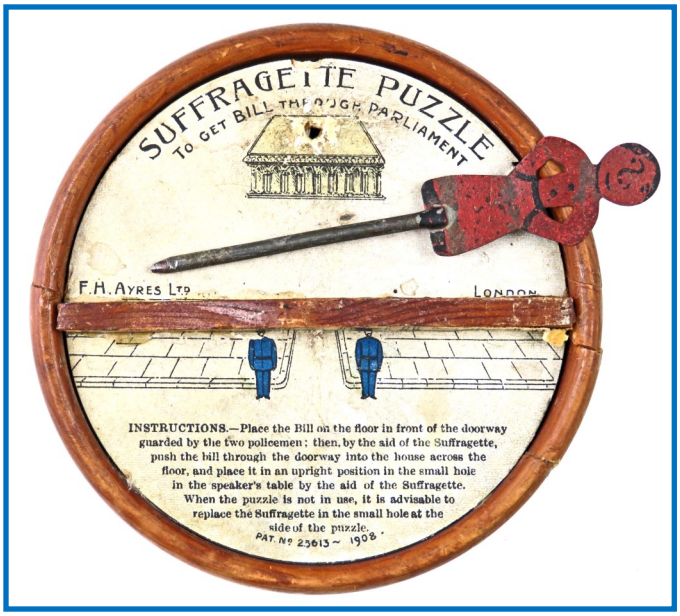
English Suffrage Game



The full name of this piece is "Suffragette Puzzle to Get Bill Through Parliament." Made sometime in 1908-09 by F. H. Ayers of Aldergate's Street in London, its title alludes to the failure of suffragists to get the Woman's Suffrage Bill passed that was introduced in Parliament in 1907 but ran out of time to become law before it was acted on. Game players were instructed to take "The Bill," which was represented by a metal pin, and push it through an opening in the standing wooden doorway to the House by means of a tin die-cut "Suffragette" that was attached to a thin metal rod. Once through, the Bill had to be manipulated upright onto the speaker's table. Concealed under the door and table, however, were two magnets that made the task virtually impossible to complete. The piece is quite rare, although another does exist in an English museum devoted to puzzles. Theoretically a children's game, it follows the pattern that most suffrage "toys" were designed more for adults.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Suffragette Puzzle

The advertisement, pictured below, appeared originally on page 109 of the November 1913 issue of *Maclean's Magazine.* It promoted "Mrs. Pankhurst's Great Suffragette Puzzle," manufactured by "The Suffragette Puzzle Company" of Ottawa, Canada. It sold for 10 cents. It's unclear exactly what the puzzle consisted of, but the ad asks "Do you want to have some fun with her? . . . She challenges your intelligence, your ingenuity, and your will power. . . . Can you conquer her?" Although the manufacturer claims that "half-million sold," its rarity and the fact that none have ever appeared in an APIC auction both suggest that the assertion is mere advertising hyperbole. Very few suffrage or anti-suffrage pieces have come out of Canada, this puzzle being a curious exception. It appears to have been a part of an Edwardian trend towards gamification of social issues.

Alice Park Button Collection

Illustrated on the next page is the suffrage button collection of California activist, Alice Park, who was instrumental in the passage of the 1911 suffrage referendum in that state. Several years ago, we published another photo of this collection that was taken from the book *The Story of a Sub-Pioneer* by Sara M. Algeo, a friend and correspondent of Park's. It is a relatively famous image, and is a part of the print holdings of several museums in the country, including that of the Huntington Library in Los Angeles. Algeo described Park's collection of "suffrage emblems and pins [as] to the best of my belief, the finest in existence." Her words suggest that collecting suffrage buttons was a common pastime among many supporters during the period. Robert Cooney has provided us with a different photo of this collection, however, one that with its lighter background brings the various buttons pictured into much sharper focus. It is taken from the Sophia Smith collection at Smith College.

We are reproducing Bob Cooney's updated version, not only because of its superior clarity to the earlier image that appeared in the *Clarion,* but also because of the large turn-over in WSAPIC membership since then; many of you may be unfamiliar with the collection itself. In addition to its historical value, it assists us in recognizing as suffrage both buttons and badges whose affiliation to the movement may not be immediately obvious, such those picturing nothing but flags or scales. Moreover, it also casts further doubt on dubious items that have appeared in suffrage collections over the years whose "authenticity" relies entirely on supposition and tradition. There is a good chance that if such buttons do not appear in this photograph, they are not suffrage related.

… Alice Park Button Collection, cont'd.

Image Provided by Robert Cooney

… Alice Park Button Collection, cont'd.

The collection is extremely impressive, even by today's standards, especially when one considers that Park did not have the internet to use as an aid, nor were there button auctions or organizations at her disposal. It consists of approximately 170 pro-suffrage badges from both the United States and throughout the world. Park also sought anti-suffrage pins, but she pinned these to the rear of the cloth lest their appearance sully the positive nature of her collection. According to Lisa Kathleen Graddy, curator of the Political History Collection at the Smithsonian, Park's badges are incorporated in the holdings of the museum.

Park also put together an impressive assortment of suffrage posters that was later given in 1950 to the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Harvard Radcliffe Institute by Mary Winsor. Winsor, a Philadelphia suffragist, had purchased them expressly for this donation. Park's collection consists of 66 posters, 55 of which relate specifically to suffrage. Most of these are English, eleven are American and two are from the international congresses she attended. This collection and the one owned by the Howland Stone Store Museum in Sherwood, New York are probably the two largest compilations of suffrage posters outside the Smithsonian, and possibly even surpass the holdings of that institution.

Park's collection apparently drew notice even from its early stages. The *Ren-Gazette-Journal* of Nov. 1, 1913, noted that it consisted: "of more than 90 suffrage buttons and pins from England Holland and other countries, the United States furnishing more kinds that all other countries combined." Park then added extensively to the number of pins in her collection. Park, herself, noted that she had traveled extensively, which resulted in the number of foreign badges in her collection. Park placed badges, posters, pictures, and other memorabilia that she owned in exhibits in Elko, Carlin, Lovelock, and Reno to show in part evidences of suffrage activity throughout the world.

Park was an activist and advocate for a number of social issues. She was a Socialist, a vegetarian, a pacifist (she opposed participation in the Spanish-American War), a founder of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, an advocate for labor (she favored a six-hour work day at a time when even an eight-hour day was an ideal, not a fact) birth control, fair treatment of animals, and sex education in schools. She helped form legislation in California that ensured equal guardianship of minor children to both parents. Previously men had complete legal control over children, including the right to sell their unborn.

Park was born in Boston on February 2, 1861. In 1884, she married Dean W. Park, a metallurgist and traveled with him to various mining regions in Colorado, Montana, Texas, and Mexico, before settling with him in California. Her husband passed away at a relatively young age in 1909, but Park herself lived on until October 18, 1961, when she died at her home in Palo Alto at the age of 100. Perhaps relatively unknown to suffrage scholars nationally, she had a profound impact on the movement in California.

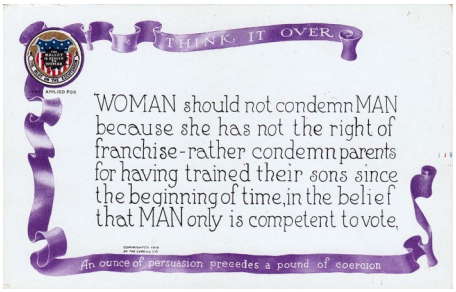
Postcards, Jewelry, and Escutcheons

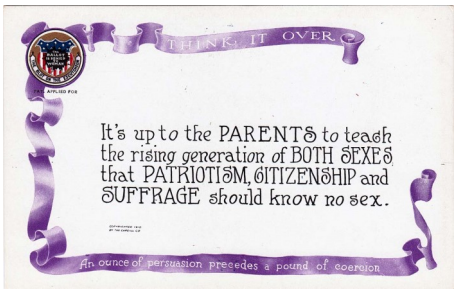
On October 15, 1910, *The Woman's Journal,* the official publication of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, ran two full-page conjoined ads. The first was from the Cargill Company of Grand Rapids Michigan, promoting thirty postcards related to woman suffrage. They came in sealed packets of fifteen each for sale at thirty-five cents a set or sixty-five cents for the pair. Each card had as part of its design a seal with the words "The Ballot is Denied to Woman—The Blot on the Escutcheon." Although Cargill was a private company, it announced that the cards were "endorsed an approved by the National American Woman Suffrage Association," which was to receive part of the proceeds. The company also advertised "Suffragist Stationery" that was printed with the same "Blot on the Escutcheon" emblem in four colors and "packed one quire in box with envelopes and mailed to any address" for $1.00.

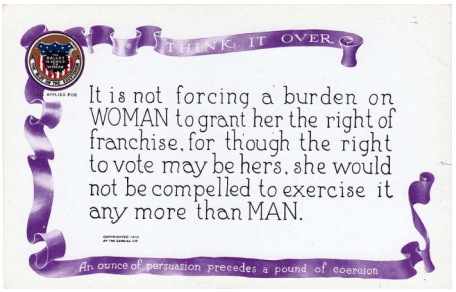
… Postcards, Jewelry, Escutcheons cont'd.

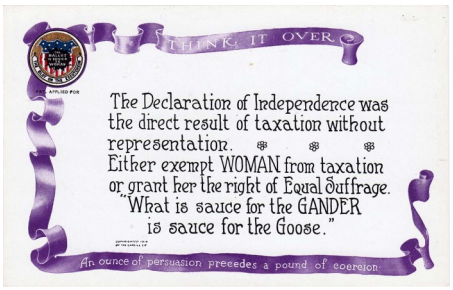
The second related ad, from the Butler Bros. Jewelry Company of Attleboro, Massachusetts, was for suffragist jewelry, all in the Escutcheon design created and licensed by Cargill. As with the case of the postcards, these items were endorsed by NAWSA, who was again to receive part of the proceeds. In the ad, Butler advertised a small gold- filled pin for fifty cents, a sterling silver example at seventy-five cents, and a solid gold version for $2.00. It noted that it could provide the same design on hatpins, brooches, cuff links, sash pins, scarf pins, collar pins, barrets, veil pins, belt buckles, rings, and other articles of jewelry.

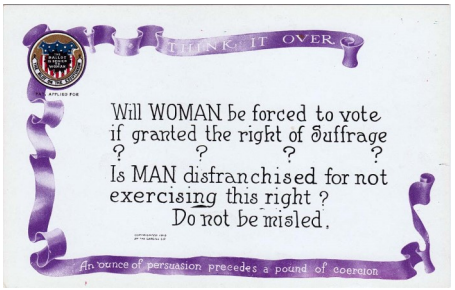
Examples from the Cargill postcard set are well known to collectors. The first twenty-two cards, numbered 101-122, consisted of a series of aphorisms or policy statements, arguing for the right of women to vote.

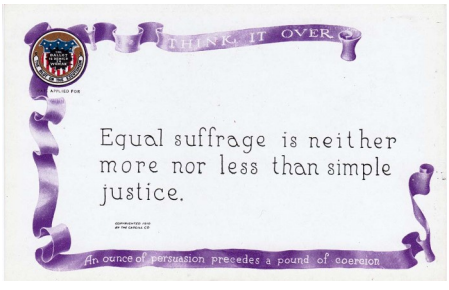


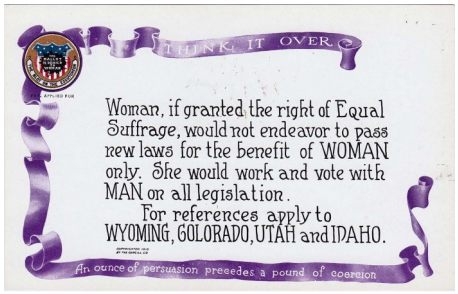


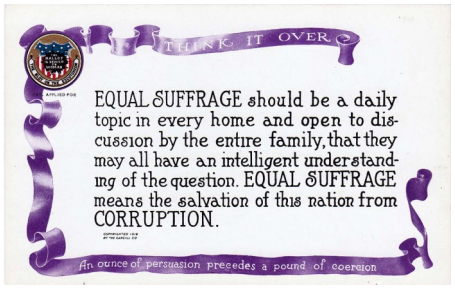


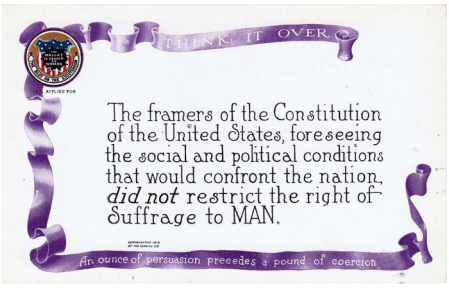


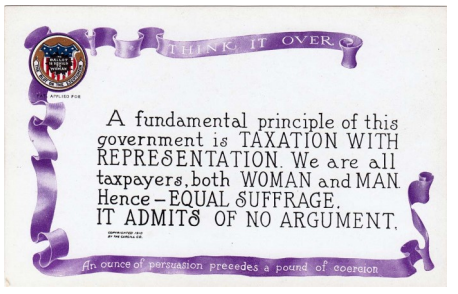


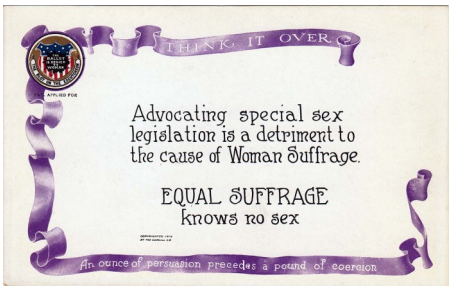


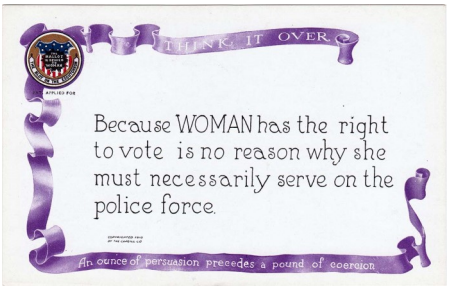


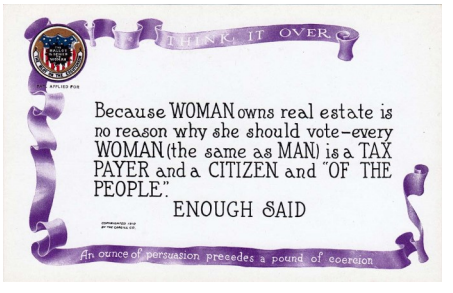


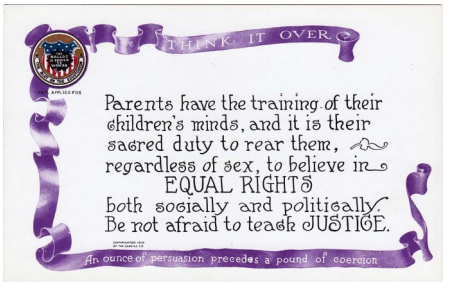


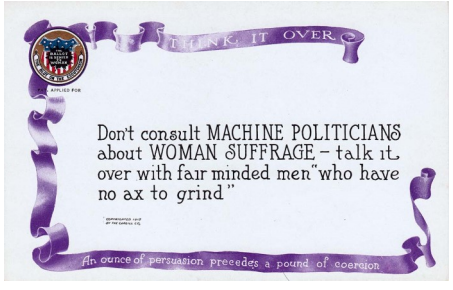




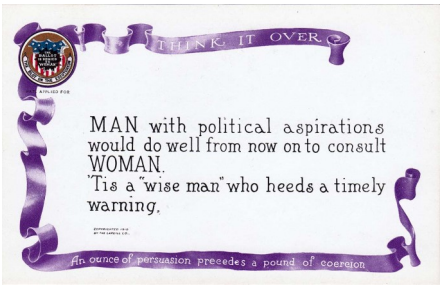


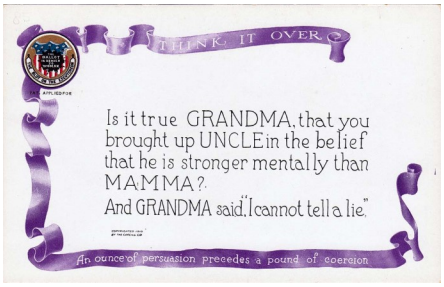


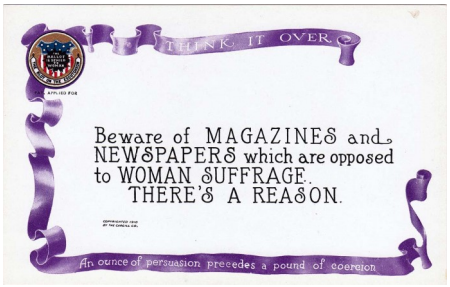


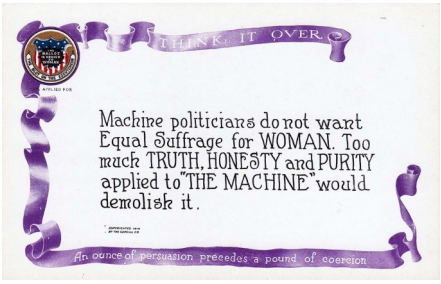


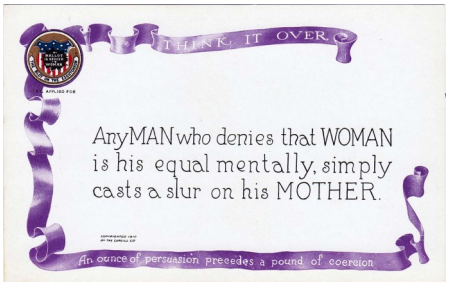
… Postcards, Jewelry, Escutcheons cont'd.

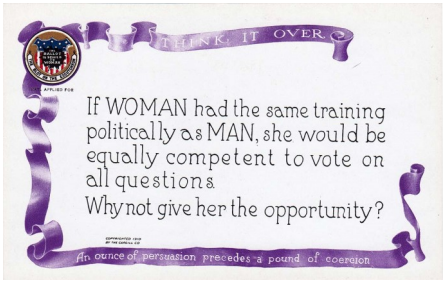


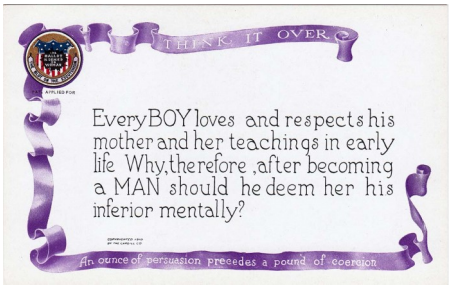




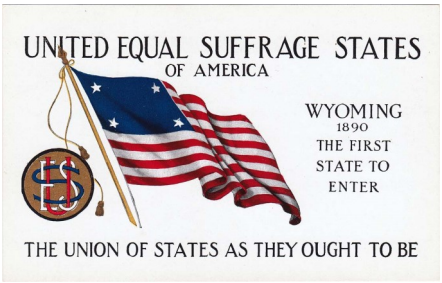


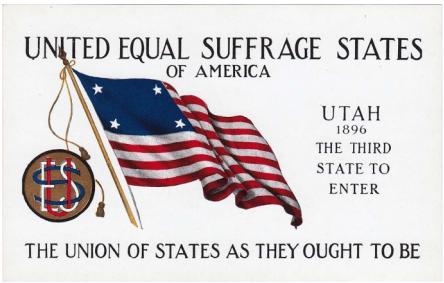


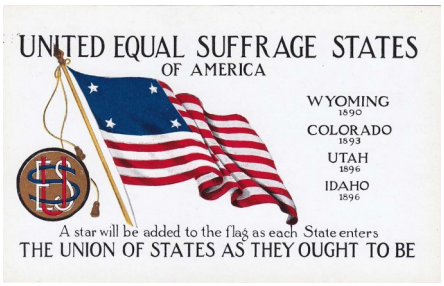


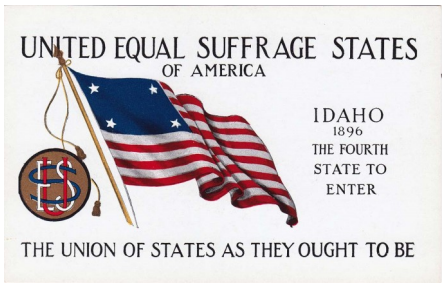


Cards numbered 123-127 honored those four states that at that time had extended full balloting rights to women, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho, with one card honoring all four. Washington also came on board in 1910, the same year that these cards were published, but too late to be included in the set.



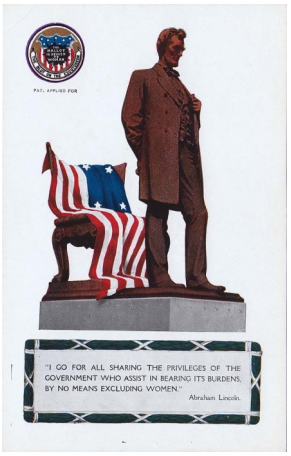


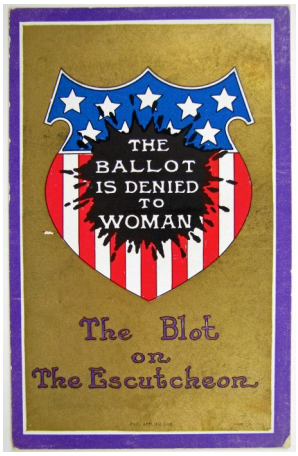




The last three cards, 128-130, pictured a suffrage flag, a full card design of the escutcheon, and a statue of and a quotation by Abraham Lincoln. Theoretically since the cards were sold in sets, they all should have been issued in equal quantities, but card number 111 has proven to be elusive, and, for that reason, has been highly prized by collectors. There is no known official reason for its rarity, but some have suggested that its slogan ("Advocating special sex legislation is a detriment to the cause of Woman Suffrage. Equal Suffrage knows no sex") may have been too controversial for some and, therefore, was withdrawn. The movement did face arguments among its members regarding the question of whether or not women, once obtaining the vote, nevertheless should have some form of protective status.

… Postcards, Jewelry, Escutcheons cont'd.





Cargill was both creative and aggressive in promoting its product line, hinting that the postcards were an inherent part of the movement. A week after its initial advertisement, the firm once again made an appearance in *The Woman's Journal,* this time urging all suffragists to support Equal Suffrage Week, which, in its eyes, lasted from October 31 to November 8, 1910. They could help especially by requesting retailers to fashion full window displays of suffrage products, including postcards, stationery, and jewelry. Cargill urged suffragists to target those "100,000 stores that carry postcards." It was careful not to mention its own cards in this plea, lest it appear that its advice was self-serving. Still the implication was clear, and Agnes E. Ryan, the business manager for *The Journal,* praised Cargill specifically for its distribution of promotional materials for Equal Suffrage Week. Over the next year, Cargill continued to advertise its postcards not only in NAWSA's paper but also in such trade publications as *Novelty News, Pharmaceutical Era, National Druggist,* and *Walden's Stationer* that appealed to businesses and stores that were likely to sell its products. It also advertised for agents willing to sell suffrage merchandise, especially postcards and stationery.

13/18" Enamel Pin

1" Enamel Fob

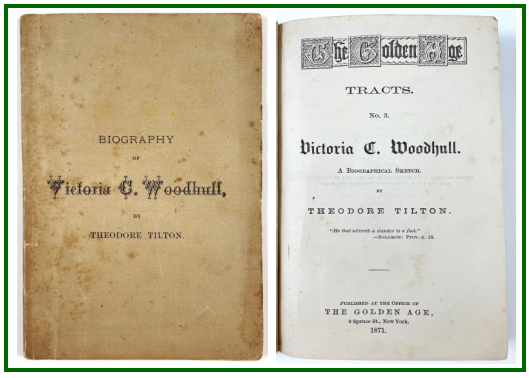
Butler, likewise, promoted its suffrage jewelry through various venues even outside of movement publications. The firm, for example, secured a booth at the Boston Horticultural Show February 7-11, 1911 where it sold its jewelry. Its pieces even attracted the attention of the British suffrage periodical *Votes for Women* where the "Blot on the Escutcheon" ring and locket were cited as examples of products that were made popular by including the "Votes for Women" slogan. But despite Butler's attempt to advertise its Escutcheon line, sales, unlike those of Cargill's, appear to have been minimal. To the best of my knowledge, only two examples have ever turned up in auction, one fob and one small pin. I have never seen any examples of Butler's belt buckles, cufflinks, rings, or scarf pins. Perhaps prices may have been a factor. At a time when a typical suffrage celluloid button sold for two cents to a nickel, it was undoubtedly difficult to interest the average woman in an item that sold between fifty cents and two dollars. Cargill's postcards, on the other hand, were around two cents each.

An 1840 Campaign Biography and Mother's Vote

The Campaign Biography was the nineteenth-century equivalent of the present-day political television commercial. Written by a supporter if not a friend of the candidate, it emphasized the subject's humble beginnings (whether he was actually born in poverty is beside the point), his commonplace education, his industriousness, and his connection to the people. Edmund Sullivan notes other commonalities included a focus on patriotism, a playing down of things intellectual, a de-emphasis on business ties and wealthy cronies, and an acknowledgement of the subject's faith with only vagaries expressed about his specific religious denomination. While many of the authors of these biographies could be characterized as "hacks," some very prominent writers did contribute to the genre. Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote an account of his college room-mate, Franklin Pierce. William Dean Howells penned biographies of both Abraham Lincoln and Rutherford B. Hayes, and Lew Wallace, author of *Ben Hur,* authored a campaign piece on Benjamin Harrison. In the century that was to come, Franklin D, Roosevelt composed a life of Al Smith.

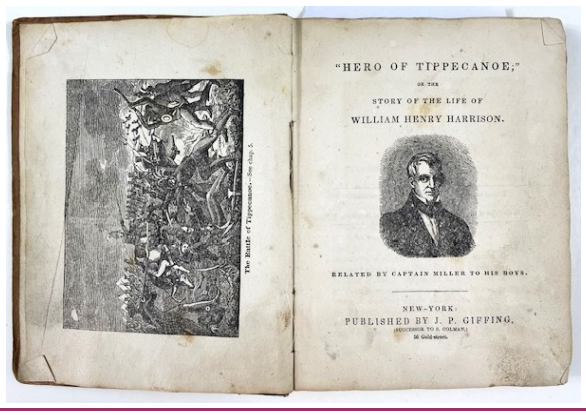
William Miles, in his *The Image Makers, A Bibliography of American Presidential Campaign Biographies,* believes that the first true such biography was a revised edition of John Henry Eaton's panegyric on Andrew Jackson that was issued for the 1824 campaign. He does note, however, that John Gardner's life of the Federalist John Adams, published in 1796, contains many of the characteristics of the genre.

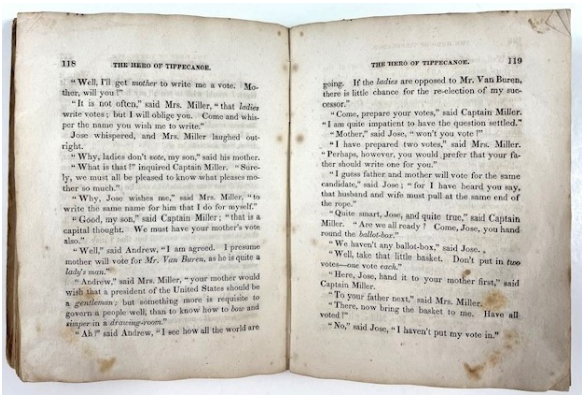
There was no campaign biography published for Belva Lockwood, but there was one written by Theodore Tilton for Victoria Woodhull. Miles does not list the Woodhull piece, perhaps because of the circumstances surrounding its composition. The biography was written at Woodhull's insistence, not because she desired a campaign tract but because she needed a defense against her mother's accusation of "scandalous acts" in a recent court action. Woodhull was later to reveal the scandalous affair between Henry Ward Beecher and her biographer's wife in an account in her infamous *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly.*


BIOGRAPHY
OF
Victoria C. Woodhull,
BY
THEODORE TILTON.

The Golden Age
TRACTS.
No. 3.
Victoria C. Woodhull.
A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.
BY
THEODORE TILTON.
THE GOLDEN AGE,
1871.

The topic of Voting Rights for Women, however, does come up in an intriguing fashion in a campaign biography for William Henry Harrison that was published in 1840, eight years prior to Seneca Falls. Entitled *"Hero of Tippecanoe;" or the Story of the Life of William Henry Harrison*, it takes the form of a children's book in which a Captain Miller narrates the life of his hero to his four sons, William, Thomas, Andrew, and Jose. The family decides to have a vote to see who it would rather have as President, Harrison or Martin van Buren. There is a bit of a problem in that Jose has not as yet learned to write and cannot fill out a hand-written ballot.


"HERO OF TIPPECANOE,"
OR THE
STORY OF THE LIFE OF
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.
RELATED BY CAPTAIN MILLER TO HIS BOYS.
NEW-YORK:
PUBLISHED BY J. P. GIFFING,


118 THE HERO OF TIPPECANOE.
"Well, I'll get *mother* to write me a vote. Mother, will you?"
"It is not often," said Mrs. Miller, "that *ladies* write votes; but I will oblige you. Come and whisper the name you wish me to write."
Jose whispered, and Mrs. Miller laughed outright.
"Why, ladies don't vote, my son," said his mother.
"What is that?" inquired Captain Miller. "Surely, we must all be pleased to know what pleases mother so much."
"Why, Jose wishes me," said Mrs. Miller, "to write the same name for him that I do for myself."
"Good, my son," said Captain Miller; "that is a capital thought. We must have your mother's vote also."
"Well," said Andrew, "I am agreed. I presume mother will vote for *Mr. Van Buren*, as he is quite a *lady's man*."
"Andrew," said Mrs. Miller, "your mother would wish that a president of the United States should be a *gentleman*; but something more is requisite to govern a people well, than to know how to *bow* and *simper in a dancing-room*."
"Ah!" said Andrew, "I see how all the world are

THE HERO OF TIPPECANOE. 119
going. If the *ladies* are opposed to Mr. Van Buren, there is little chance for the re-election of my successor."
"Come, prepare your votes," said Captain Miller. "I am quite impatient to have the question settled."
"Mother," said Jose, "won't you vote?"
"I have prepared two votes," said Mrs. Miller. "Perhaps, however, you would prefer that your father should write one for you."
"I guess father and mother will vote for the same candidate," said Jose; "for I have heard you say, that husband and wife must pull at the same end of the rope."
"Quite smart, Jose, and quite true," said Captain Miller. "Are we all ready? Come, Jose, you hand round the *ballot-box*."
"We haven't any ballot-box," said Jose.
"Well, take that little basket. Don't put in too votes—one vote each."
"Here, Jose, hand it to your mother first," said Captain Miller.
"To your father next," said Mrs. Miller.
"There, now bring the basket to me. Have all voted?"
"No," said Jose, "I haven't put my vote in."

… Campaign Biography, cont'd.

The problem is resolved when Jose asks his mother to write out his ballot for him. She responds that "It is not often that ladies write votes; but I will oblige you. Come and whisper the name you wish me to write." When Jose does so, he causes his mother to laugh when he requests that she also cast a vote. Captain Miller calls this a "capital thought," and concurs, "We must have your mother's vote also."

Son Andrew, while agreeing, nevertheless dismisses the possible value of his mother's choice, believing that a woman would cast a frivolous vote: "I presume mother will vote for *Mr. Van Buren,* as he is quite a lady's man." The mother responds, arguing for the capability of women to make an intelligent choice based upon issues, not silly externals: "your mother would wish that a president of the United States should be a *gentleman;* but something more is requisite to govern a people well than to know how to *bow* and *simper* in a drawing-room."

The results of the secret ballot indicate that all six members of the family are Harrison supporters. While there is obviously a paternalistic tone to the whole proceedings, the argument is there for bestowing the franchise to women. Son Jose sums it up by commenting: "I wish that ladies might *all vote,* mother has done so well." She responds: "I suspect, my son, if the *ladies* had a voice in this matter, they would vote for someone who would so manage that their husbands and children should have *food* and *clothing".* Her comments here portend a future argument of some suffragists that women needed the vote to supplement their traditional roles as wives and mothers, that there is nothing revolutionary here that men need to fear.

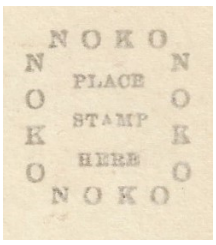
What Are Real Photo Postcards?

Specialists in suffrage memorabilia who may not necessarily be familiar with the history of deltiology are sometimes confused by the term "Real Photo" postcards. "Real Photo" is a designation given to those postcards that were developed directly from a negative onto photo paper with a pre-printed postcard backing. The other type of photo-card, the Printed Card, was produced from images that were either screened or etched onto plates and then run off on a printing press. The start-up expenses for this second type could be high at times, but once the plate was prepared, it was a cost-effective process, particularly if a publisher planned on producing large numbers of a popular scene. It is relatively easy to distinguish between the two types by looking at specimens through a magnifying glass. If the image is made up of tiny dots, it is a Printed Photo. If it has no visible dots, it is a Real Photo.

The first true Real Photo postcard was issued in 1899, although earlier prototypes can be found dating back to the 1870's. It wasn't until the early 20th century, however, through the developments and marketing strategies of the Kodak Company that Real Photo postcards became so popular with the public. The first of these developments occurred in 1902 when Kodak introduced for sale a thin postcard base upon which film negatives could be developed directly, resulting in an instant card for mailing. In the following year, 1903, the company introduced the Kodak 3A Folding Pocket Camera that produced photo size negatives making the process of production even easier. Photos taken from cameras other than the 3A could also be printed on Kodak paper, but there were compatibility problems as the negatives were often of a different size from the Kodak card. If the negative was too large for the card, it had to be cropped. If too small, it left a white space, either at the bottom or one of the sides of the card. If you find a Real Photo postcard from the period with an empty white space, it is an indication that the photographer was using Kodak's special paper but not its 3A camera. The 3A came with a stylus that could be used to write directly onto the negative in white, a feature that allowed for captions on the finished product.

… Photo Postcards, cont'd.

Kodak's innovations were designed originally for the amateur (and sometimes professional) enthusiast who wished to create postcards at home. In 1907, Kodak significantly increased the production of these cards by creating a special service whereby customers could send their negatives directly to the company to have them transformed into cards. This was a helpful convenience for amateur photographers who had neither the skill, inclination, or equipment to develop photos themselves. Other companies such as ANSCO also manufactured cameras that were geared towards the production of Real Photo postcards, but Kodak controlled the marketplace. It also controlled about ¾ of the photo paper market through such brands as ARISTO, ARTURA, AZO, NOKO, SOLIO, and VELOX, whose names were typically printed in the "stamp box" of the card, another indication that the piece in question was "Real Photo."



The names AZO, CYKO and NOKO found surrounding or inside the stamp box pictured above are product names for the postcard paper and an indication that the card is "Real Photo."

Because Real Photo cards could be manufactured in small quantities, they were especially popular among individuals to add to their family photograph albums, local photography studies, who sometimes worked with area merchants to promote their businesses, and itinerant photographers, who traveled around the area to depict local events. Several large-scale postcard firms such as Bamforth and Valentine, however, also made on occasion Real Photos for the general public, although they generally relied on lithographic means of production.

The popularity of Real Photos roughly coincided with a concurrent rise in interest in suffrage memorabilia, and the theme of women's voting rights began to show up in a variety of ways on these cards. One enterprising suffragist in a brief article entitled "Get Out Your Cameras" that appeared in the September 25, 1909 issue of the *Woman's Journal* urged women to take advantage of the new format. Noting that the holiday season was coming up, she suggested to supporters that they arrange "fetching groups of children holding the suffrage flag and photographing them for suffrage postcards." She argued further that "there is money, and, what is better, useful propaganda work for the person or club that can evolve a really bewitching postcard along this line. . . Let those of our readers who have cameras and artistic taste try it."

Illustrated below are a series of cards with suffrage related themes or symbols, taken by both amateur and professional photographers, for a variety of various purposes.

… Photo Postcards, cont'd.

Because Real Photo cards seldom came with much identification apart from an occasional caption in white on the front of the piece, their original purpose for their creation is generally obscure, although we can make surmises. The image on the previous page to the left showing a woman in a white gown holding up "Votes for Women" pennant may have been created either as a fund raiser or as a holiday card to send to friends, The card in the middle shows the participants in a Chautauqua event, The Chautauqua was an adult education and social *movement* in the United States that peaked in popularity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While not specifically created for the suffrage movement, it could be adapted for that function. Grace Wilbur Trout, who is identified on the front of the card, was the President of two mid-western suffrage organizations, the Chicago Political Equality League and the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. The names of the others pictured have been written in pencil on the rear of the card. The sharpness and clarity of the image suggests that it may have been taken by a professional photographer to record the event. It is likely that distribution of the card was restricted to participants in the Chautauqua and perhaps to family and friends. The card to the right pictures Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association along with her two daughters. Although she is not identified on the card, other promotional materials distributed by the CWSA confirm who she is.

The image of a horse-drawn carriage from the Hyatt Ice Company with "Votes for Women" hand-drawn on the protective canvas indicates a dual purpose. Local merchants often hired photographers to produce Real Photo cards for them to advertise their businesses. This local merchant obviously intended to show his customers that he was supportive of the franchise. The card at the center, pictures four women dressed for a historical pageant, one of who is carrying a "Votes for Women" sign. Pageants such as this in various forms were quite popular for suffrage gatherings to indicated the progress of women in American history. The card to the right is a picture of President Totten of the Domino Club of Cold Spring Harbor of Long Island in New York atop a horse covered with a "Votes for Women" blanket. Although Totten was a supporter of suffrage, some local activists took offense at this image believing that he might be mocking them. To mollify them and to defend his intentions, he offered to treat all of them to an ice cream social.

The card on the far left above pictures May. J. Walker (Mrs. Richard Coke Burleson), Grand Marshal of 1913 Pre-Inaugural Suffrage Parade in Washington. Walker led a tragic life. A socialite and accomplished equestrian, she was divorced from her husband in 1936, who alleged cruelty on her part as well as interference with

… Photo Postcards, cont'd.

his military duties. In 1940, she shot and killed Burleson's second wife, Isabelle Reise Knowlton. The murder gained national attention. The jury, convinced that she was insane, sentenced her to 12 years for voluntary manslaughter. She served 8 years of that sentence before being released in 1948. She lived out the remainder of her life in obscurity. At the time that this card was produced, no one, obviously, was aware of the unfortunate events that were to come.

The middle card pictures three women looking at what appears to be either a photograph or postcard album. On the back the trio is identified as Velma, Myrtle, and Goldie Rominger. If you look carefully in the upper right, you can see a "Votes for Women" pennant hanging on the wall, an indication of how suffrage culture had permeated everyday life at the time. The figure on the right portrays a solitary woman carrying a home-made "Votes for Women" sign. While in all probability a positive statement, many mocking cards were produced during the period that attempted to ridicule the movement, often with men dressed up as "suffragettes."

As part of their campaign in 1915 to pass a suffrage referendum in Pennsylvania, local activists had recast at the Meneely Foundry in Troy, New York a replica of the Liberty Bell that they place on a specially modified truck that they drove throughout all 67 counties of the state. They made an especial attempt to visit small towns and rural areas, places that would not otherwise be exposed to the suffrage movement. Because these stops were often made in such thinly populated places, there was no real incentive for large commercial publishing houses to cover these events. Area photographers had to take their place if there was to be any record at all of any of these small, local appearances. In the card pictured to the left, we see this Bell at a stop in front of Butch's Butcher Shop (identified in pencil at the rear of the card), in Sligo, Pennsylvania. The card in the middle pictures Maude Ballington Booth giving a speech at the Conference of Great Women held at Alva Belmont's estate in Newport. Rhode Island in 1914. This conference also celebrated the return of Consuelo. Mrs. Belmont's daughter from England, where she left an unhappy marriage. While a famous event, there are few extant pictures, and we have to rely heavily on Real Photo postcards to see much of it at all. The card to the right showing "General" Rosalie Jones leading her band of "Pilgrims" into Washington for the huge suffrage parade that took place in March 1913, the day before President Wilson's inaugural ceremony. Jones, a socialite from Long Island, headed a contingent of supporters in a journey by foot that extended all the way from New York to Washington to promote the cause. This card as indicated by the markings on the front, was probably issued by a larger commercial postcard firm and not by a local activist.

… Photo Postcards, cont'd.

There were a number of anti-suffrage Real Photo cards issued during the period, with some probably intending to be little more than a mild-mannered attempt to be amusing, others depicting both vicious racist and anti-feminist imagery. In their book *Real Photo Postcard Guide,* Robert Bogdan and Todd Weseloh point to the inscription "K.K.K.—Hanford," as an indication that the float pictured in the image on the upper left was one created by the Ku Klux Klan. The card in the center depicts a man in blackface wheeling a 'baby" (another man in blackface) in a carriage that has a "Votes for Women" pennant on the side. There are other anti-cards that portray men in blackface as suffragettes, in an attempt to ridicule both by linking them together. The card to the right probably was not intended to be anti-suffrage, but it does serve as interesting social commentary nonetheless. It pictures a school float at an Industrial Fair in Goldhill, Oregon. The boys are holding a banner identifying them as "Future Presidents." The girls to their right carry a banner that labels them as "Future Suffragettes."

Because most Real Photo cards were, for a variety of reasons, printed in limited numbers, it is probable that many don't survive. Those that do, however, provide a wonderful and sometimes unscripted look at suffrage culture in America. Their quality does vary. Some contain washed out colors and slightly fuzzy images. Others are bright, clear, and wonderfully distinct. Collectors of Real Photo cards in general obviously favor the latter. Suffrage scholars, though, often have little choice if they wish views of historical scenes that otherwise do not exist in any other format.