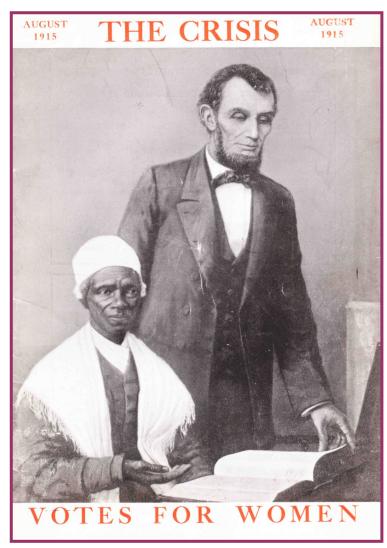
Issue # 46 Winter 2021



THE CLARION





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

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

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Page # 1 The Clarion Winter 2021

From the Editor

Our front-page illustration, picturing Abraham Lincoln standing behind Sojourner Truth, is taken from the cover of the August 1915 issue of *The Crisis. The Crisis*, the official journal of the NAACP, was founded in 1910 by the African American activist W. E. B. Du Bois, who served as its editor, along with several other leading African American intellectuals. Still published today, it is recognized as the oldest Black oriented magazine in the world.

This cover, which the journal termed a "composite photograph," was put together by Hinton Gilmore. The issue also includes an article entitled "Votes for Women—A Symposium by the Leading Thinkers of Colored America," with opinions in favor of Woman Suffrage by Rev. Francis J. Grimke, Hon. Oscar D. Priest, Benjamin Brawley, and John Hurst. Gilmore's composite, without the identifying words "Votes For Women," is also known as an insert on a metal badge. At one time, collectors were unsure of the intent of the badge, as Sojourner Truth was an activist in a variety of areas. This cover, however, clearly indicates that Gilmore's image was intended to promote Woman Suffrage.

There has been much interest recently in exploring the role of African Americans in promoting "Votes for Women." Unfortunately, little memorabilia survives related to Black contributions, despite their significance. This issue of *The Crisis* is probably the most circulated of any period piece that clearly outlines strong African American commitment to the cause.

Frances Bedford, the Hon. Secretary of the Muriel Matters Society, kindly sent me a copy of their recent monograph, *Muriel Matters—That Daring Australian Girl*. Well-written and graphically illustrated with various photos of memorabilia, it charts the history of the Australian born suffragist who went to England and became one of the more notorious members of the Women's Freedom League. If you are interested in the Society or in the history of Matters' more spectacular exploits, you should visit their website at https://murielmatterssociety.com.au.

Postcard Issue

This copy of *The Clarion* focuses on the importance of woman suffrage related postcards. These cards have grown extensively in popularity recently both among collectors and historians, who find in their imagery valuable commentary about period reactions to the movement. We are fortunate to have articles on these cards from three noted experts in the field.

Dr. Catherine H. Palczewski is Professor in the Department of Communication and Media Studies at the University of Northern Iowa, where she is also a member of the Affiliate Faculty of Women's and Gender Studies. She has written several informative articles on suffrage postcards for the *APIC Keynoter*. Her article, "The Male Madonna and the Feminine Uncle Sam: Visual Argument, Icons, and Ideographs in 1909 Anti-Woman Suffrage Postcards," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* vol. 91, no. 4 (November 2005): 365-394, is still regarded as the seminal journal study on suffrage cards. You might wish to check out her suffrage postcard website at https://scholarworks.uni.edu/suffrage images/.

Joyce Morishita is an artist with a B.A. and M.A. in painting at Northwestern University and also holds a Ph.D. in Art History. She taught for many years at Governors State University where she is now Professor Emeritus. She has exhibited her work at numerous galleries throughout the United States and is the recipient of NEA and Illinois Arts Council Grants. Postcard collectors know her as one of their favorite dealers as well as for her extensive collection of suffrage postcards.

Hal Ottaway, of course, has long been recognized as the Dean of the American Political Postcard, whose collection in the area is by far the most complete ever accumulated. What is not as well-known is the fact that Hal also has an extensive collection of woman suffrage postcards. Deltiologists know Hal as the organizer and promoter of the Wichita Postcard show, a major yearly event that draws people from all over the country. Hal has also provided an interesting idea for a future issue of *The Clarion*, a kind of checklist (with photographs) of state specific suffrage postcards. There are many.

Page # 2 The Clarion Winter 2021

Woman Suffrage and Feminized Men: Postcards' Unique Visual Argument Catherine H. Palczewski, University of Northern Iowa

Collectors of woman suffrage memorabilia are familiar with the many negative depictions of women circulating during the struggle for the 19th Amendment. In both verbal forms (e.g., speeches, pamphlets, news stories) and visual forms (e.g., political cartoons, figures, postcards), anti-suffragists argued woman suffrage was bad for women: Only unfeminine women supported woman suffrage and women would lose their femininity should they enter into the political arena. Woman suffrage masculinized women.









Now Madam Will you so quietly or shall I have to use force?





Anti-suffragists also argued woman suffrage was bad for men because it would feminize men. However, save for a few passing verbal comments during congressional debates occurring at the height of WWI and in a broadside produced by the Southern Women's League for the rejection of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment that likely circulated in 1920 when Tennessee was considering ratification, virtually all of the arguments about woman suffrage's effect on male masculinity appeared in visual form – in postcards.

The Tennessee broadside quotes Dr. William J. Hickson of Chicago University who offered a general diagnosis of society without mentioning suffrage: "The effect of the social revolution on American character will be to make 'sissies' of American men-a process already well under way." The broadside declared woman suffrage was a cause of this feminization: "Woman suffrage denatures both men and women; it masculinizes women and femininizes men."

Page # 3 The Clarion Winter 2021

... Feminized Men, cont'd.



Figure X. Josephine A. Pearson Papers, 1860-1943. Tennessee State Library and Archives.

Other than this broadside, the verbal argument that woman suffrage feminized men was made only five times in the hundreds of pages of *Congressional Record* woman suffrage debates between 1909 and 1919. The argument that men would be feminized, in some ways, was an un*speak*able fear: To voice the fear admits to its possibility and an admission of the possibility of emasculation and feminization is, itself, something that can take the manly out of the man. But postcards and cartoons could present the argument without putting any specific arguers' manliness at risk.

To understand the full range of arguments about suffrage, one needs to examine postcards – the social media form of the early 1900s. Like contemporary social media, postcards were cheap to buy and send, quick to arrive, and intensely visual. In these visual images, arguments about

the feminization of men could be made. Postcard images of men in the home are the primary traces of a potentially inarticulable fear of the emasculated man, a man made suitable for the private world of childrearing.

If you spend any time looking through woman suffrage postcards, you will likely notice that a dominant theme that emerges in depictions of men is that they will be weakened and feminized by woman suffrage. Repeatedly, men are shown doing domestic and, hence, feminine tasks like caring for infants and toddlers, cooking, cleaning, and washing. Most of the images depicted men as bumbling: children are crying, cats are getting into the milk, and laundry is falling on the floor. Not only are men feminized, but they are failures at domestic duties.

















Every time a man appears in the Dunston-Weiler series (which is in six of the twelve images), they are shown feminized, but unlike most other popular culture images, they are not shown as domestically incompetent.

Page # 4 The Clarion Winter 2021

... Feminized Men, cont'd.

Not only did postcards depict the horror of the feminized man, but one in particular also depicted the horror of a feminized nation. The Dunston-Weiler series postcard of "Uncle Sam, Suffragee" is the clearest example of this. Uncle Sam was the personification of the nation, an iconic representation of the United States. Thus, to feminize Uncle Sam was to feminize the nation.

The feminization of Uncle Sam is achieved through feminizing his clothes, stripping him of his facial hair, minimizing his height, and by making him the object of the act of suffrage – the suffragee. Uncle Sam is shown in striped skirt, duster coat, heels and oversized bonnet. Uncle Sam is dressed like a woman. He is shown with a clean-shaven face. shorn of his masculine beard. (In his comprehensive history of Uncle Sam, Alton Ketchum notes that 1865 marked the last appearance of a beardless adult Uncle Sam. As this postcard demonstrates, Ketchum was off by 44 years.) With the average man standing six and a half heads tall, comic characters are made to appear heroic by having smaller heads and larger bodies, so that



they are eight or more heads tall. When Nast finally stabilized the image of Uncle Sam, he was 7 1/2 heads tall. In contrast, Suffragee shows a nonmuscular Uncle Sam standing only about six heads tall, including his high heels but excluding his patriotic bonnet. Finally, as "Suffragee," Uncle Sam as representative of the United States is on the receiving end of suffrage, not as a right but as something wielded against him. He is the one to whom suffrage is done, and the result of having suffrage done to him is the loss of his masculine power. Woman suffrage transformed Uncle Sam from the larger than life representative of U.S. power to a figure who is acted upon and passive.

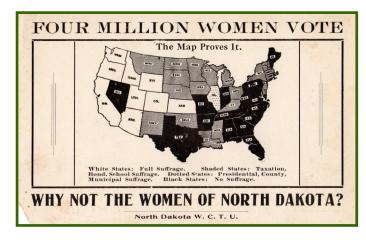
Woman suffrage postcards are fascinating, and those depicting men are all the more so because they represent an argument against suffrage – that it would emasculate men and the nation – that rarely appeared in the verbal arguments over the 19th Amendment. Thus, collectors of postcards have provided a valuable historical service. Without our preservation of these ephemeral bits of social history, we would not be able to access the full range of arguments over woman suffrage.

Elements of this essay are borrowed from Catherine H. Palczewski, "The Male Madonna and the Feminine Uncle Sam: Visual Argument, Icons, and Ideographs in 1909 Anti-Woman Suffrage Postcards," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* vol. 91, no. 4 (November 2005): 365-394. For images of postcards, see: https://scholarworks.uni.edu/suffrage/

Page # 5 The Clarion Winter 2021

Postcard Messages from Suffragists Joyce Morishita

Collecting items of and by suffragists, suffrage organizations and locations are of special interest to me. Postcards have great value in that they are a two-sided item. Printed postcards could be used to present the suffrage argument and to seek support. When discovering a great suffrage card for sale, one jumps for joy and then jumps even higher when discovering that it has a wonderful message. All too often, a message has nothing to do with the suffrage material on the front. Loved it when I found a postcard from a mother who asks her son not to forget women on voting day. She might not be well known but her heartfelt message is known to many of us, and she helps to paint a picture of one of the many suffragists who supported the movement (see below). Finding postcards of notable suffragists and organizations is really a joyful experience and finding a woman suffrage postcard with a message from such a person is a hallelujah moment.





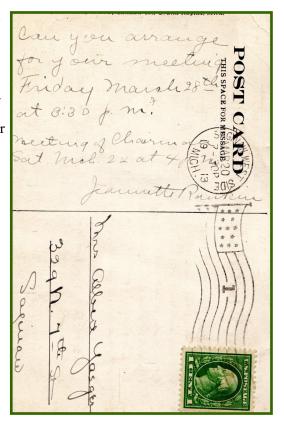
My personal suffrage collection includes cabinet cards and cartes de visite of well-known suffragists. They can be costly and may cause strain on the checkbook, but I find they are not as meaningful to me as a postcard with a message from one of them. I still do not have a cabinet card or cdv of Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin (1880-1973) of Montana, elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Republican from Montana in 1916 and again in 1940. However, I do have photo postcards of her and two postcards Rankin sent showing her support of sisters in other parts of the country. In a postcard asking, *In What Have Women Failed? Give Them The Chance To Vote in Michigan*, Rankin is arranging to meet with women in that state. The postcard is postmarked Grand Rapids, Michigan 1913 and signed by Jeanette Rankin (see right and below).

In What Have Women Failed?

Why should we reject the help of women? In what have women failed? What duty has society ever put upon women or what work have they ever undertaken in which they have not succeeded? In their domestic life, in their public life, in their social life, in their intellectual life, have they not done their work as well as men have done theirs? In home, in church, in club, and in school they have shown a conscientious devotion to duty, intelligence, patriotism and a marked capacity for service.

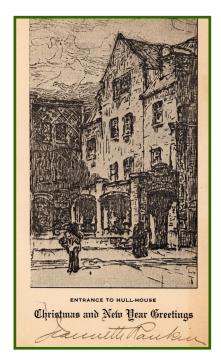
Is it not likely then that if they had the ballot they would bring a needed power for good into our political life?

Give Them The Chance To Vote In Michigan.

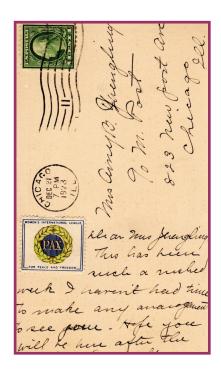


Page # 6 The Clarion Winter 2021

... Postcard Messages from Suffragists, cont'd.



I was fortunate to find another postcard signed by Rankin. It is a Christmas and New Year Greeting and shows the entrance to Hull House, a settlement house in Chicago established by suffragist Jane Addams. It is postmarked Chicago IL, Dec 21 1923. In addition to the United States postage stamp, Rankin uses a Women's International League for Peace and Freedom stamp, another cause dear to Rankin's heart.



These postcards are significant items in my own collection and demonstrate why postcards are so important in the scope of Woman Suffrage memorabilia.

Page # 7 The Clarion Winter 2021

Votes for Women Postcards from Kansas Hal Ottoway

I started collecting postcards in the early 1960's. Prior to this time, I was collecting advertising pencils, cigar bands, coins, stamps, and autographs. My Dad collected steam traction engines and early model gas and kerosene tractors, and together we started looking for advertising postcards and pinback buttons. We found postcards and pinbacks for J. I. Case in the beginning and were always looking for that big CASE Eagle that was the trademark for these agricultural engines, tractors, plows and threshing machines. Our search took us to mom and pop antique shops all over Wichita and small towns in Kansas. On Sundays in the fall, we would go to church and in the afternoon travel with my Mother and Sister, and we would go antiquing. These shops were just about our only source for pinbacks, and postcards, and slowly, one thing led to another. It seemed that older couples would have been antique collectors and in their retirement years they opened a shop and they were slowly selling their collections, and buying from others what they thought they might be able to resell. It happened all over the country. We established friendships with a few of the dealers and would leave our name and address and hope they might drop us a line if they found something like we were buying.

HOBBIES was the primary collector's publication in those years, and along that line there was this new publication we learned about called the ANTIQUE TRADER. It was either a monthly or a weekly, I cannot remember what came first, but this put us in touch with ads for people selling stuff, and we learned to go through the mail and if a *Trader* was in there, we pulled and opened it and immediately started reading for sale ads in specific categories. We learned to write a reply right away and if we REALLY wanted something, we would make a phone call. Farm sales were also sometimes where an album or two of postcards might be on the farm wagon the day of the sale.

And then someone started promoting and having an Antique Show in town, and in time there were two a year, and dealers would bring a box or two of postcards along with their general line of antiques. A shoe box or two of postcards was usually on the floor, maybe under their check out table. In other words, postcards were pretty low on their totem pole of importance.

John Kaduck and his wife wrote a book. "Rare and Expensive Postcards," and mostly these showed reduced size black and white postcard images. In those pages we started seeing postcards we owned. At some point Sally Carver wrote a book on Tuck Postcards and all of a sudden antique dealers would be breathless at telling you they had some Tuck Postcards in their stock. At some point the shoe box of postcards were brought up to the table top instead of being on the floor. The hobby was progressing in acceptance.

I had started collecting political campaign buttons and began picking up the political campaign postcards too. It was not until the late 1970's when the Kaduck's wrote an expanded 134 page "Rare and Expensive Postcards" book, and there for the first time was a page of Suffragette postcards. I liked what I saw and noted prices were minimum \$10 and on up to \$20 for the Dunston-Weiler Uncle Sam, Suffragee postcard with the lady standing with her hands on her hips. At some point I learned about Barr's Post Card News out of Iowa, and a Mr. Chet Barr who worked himself hard publishing this amazing newspaper format with mail auctions. Wow. Now we were able to buy individual postcards like we were seeing in the Kaduck books. We all thought we had it made. Our local antique shop's postcard boxes were picked over pretty soon, and in the mid 1970's, Hal Ross and Hal Ottaway joined with Bert and Bessie Jones here in Wichita, and Bert arranged to have a meeting place for postcard collectors to gather in the downtown public library meeting room. This led to asking about how can we get to see more postcards?

There was an active Windy City Postcard Club in Chicago, and I think that was just about the closest one to us here in Wichita. We decided to have a postcard show and our first one was in 1978. We had exhibits and no place to display them, so we ran a clothesline down the length of the meeting room and clothes pinned the display boards for everyone to see. It was a scream, and we had the best time ever. We were already short on space and so started looking for a much larger area and someone had connections with the All Saint's Catholic Church and we were able to rent their school gymnasium, and started having our show there in 1979, and have been there ever since. The show for 2020 was to have been our 43rd one and because of the COVID-19 virus we had to postpone that one until hopefully, October, 2021.

Page # 8 The Clarion Winter 2021

...from Kansas, cont'd



In all of those shows I believe I saw this Kansas Equal Suffrage postcard three times. One time I remember Ceil and Chick Harris came from St. Louis, Missouri for several of our early shows and spotted one of these Kansas postcards at our show, and bought it quickly for Ceil's collection of Woman's Suffrage. For some unknown reason it has always been elusive. We never thought of it as a "rare postcard" because it was not in the Kaduck book as being "Rare and Expensive," ha ha. It is flat printed and without any embossing. On the reverse side it says at the left top edge "Copyrighted by the Topeka Good Government Club, 1912." I do see in the lower left corner, to the upper right of the corner red square what appears to be artist's initials, "W.F." I do not know who this might be. It would be interesting to check newspapers and see if there are any advertisements or announcements about this postcard being available and for sale. My postcard that I show here was used November, 1912. My friend David Holcomb did check through his sources and did not find anything about this particular postcard. Thanks to him for searching.

The other postcard I want to show from Kansas is this poster type postcard made for the promotion of KANSAS. The artwork is by Coy Avon Seward, and the work is signed SEWARD about two inches above the lower right corner. It was copyrighted in 1911 and printed then to help celebrate both Kansas Day and a promoted Kansas Post Card Day, both on January 29, 1912. Their advertising suggested that individuals buy this special card and mail it to friends and family who lived outside the state. Some cities like McPherson, Topeka, Wichita, Salina and others added their two cents worth of promotion to the text box along the lower edge. This one shown is obviously from Topeka, our State Capital. What makes this Suffrage is that someone seems to have used maybe a rubber stamp that said VOTES FOR WOMEN and stamped these cards on the top half and to the right side, on a slant. The ink seems to have been a dark blue on the reverse of this card we see traces of ink where other cards had been under this one and the ink from the lower one has rubbed off on the back on the one I show. Now this is almost cheating to call this a suffrage postcard, I know, but we are so hard up for Kansas Suffrage cards, I thought why not, and wanted to share this with you.



A few lines please about the artist, C. A. Seward. My wife went to high school with Mr. Seward's granddaughter, Barbara Thompson, who has written extensively about her grandfather in various books documenting and telling his biography and about his artwork. He was an illustrator and worked here in Wichita, Kansas for the Western Lithograph Company. Mr. Seward with several other artist friends started The Prairie Print Makers group in 1930, and the wonderful prints that they made are in major museums and collections all over the world.

Page # 9 The Clarion Winter 2021

Real Photo Postcards and the Pennsylvania Liberty Bell Campaign

"Real Photo" is a term applied to those postcards that were developed from a negative directly onto photo paper with a preprinted postcard backing. Kodak even had a service whereby customers could send in their negatives to the company, which would then transfer the images onto a postcard; hobbyists, who had the right equipment, could create cards themselves.

The counterpart to "Real Photos", the more familiar "Printed Card," was produced from images that were first silk screened or etched onto plates and then run off on a printing press. "Printed Cards" were mass produced, while "Real Photos," sometimes the product of itinerant photographers, sometimes of local amateurs, were printed in small quantities, often consisting of only a handful of examples. "Real Photo" cards are especially prized by deltiologists (postcard collectors) because of their photographic look, their rarity, and their idiosyncratic nature. They could picture local events, scenes, and personalities that lacked the commercial viability that might induce attention from major publishers.

One particular subject area that attracts the interest of post card enthusiasts, historians and suffrage collectors alike is that of the 1915 Liberty Bell campaign in Pennsylvania when suffragists attempted to pass a referendum that Fall that would give women the right to vote in all elections. It involved the recasting of the original Liberty Bell, adding the words "establish justice" to the design, and driving it around the state to draw support for the cause. The idea originated from Katharine Wentworth Ruschenberger, who planned to have the replica cast at a ceremony at the Meneely Bell Foundry in Troy, New York with such suffrage luminaries as Carrie Chapman Catt in attendance. The newly cast Bell would then be brought back to Pennsylvania and placed on a truck modified and fortified to carry it. The Bell's bronze clapper was bound, with the intent to keep it silent until November, when activists assumed that the referendum would pass.

NEW LIBERTY BELL FOR PENNSYLVANIA WOMEN

Ceremony at Casting, Wednesday, March 31

MENEELY BELL FOUNDRY 22-26 River Street, TROY

Chairman, MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING President Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association Speaker, MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

PRESENT THIS CARD FOR ADMISSION

Admission Ticket for Casting of Liberty Bell

The Bell subsequently made a journey of 3,935 miles, crisscrossing all 67 counties of the State. It stopped along the way to allow suffragists to step down from the truck, give speeches, pass around literature, and sell pieces of memorabilia, including suffrage watch fobs and buttons. An especial effort was made to drive through the rural areas of Pennsylvania, bringing the suffrage message to women who previously had been ignored. Some of these stops were recorded by local photographers. Their resultant images were often made into small quantities of "Real Photo" cards that subsequently were either sold or passed around to friends. These cards, examples of which are printed at the end of this article, give us a glimpse into small segments of suffrage history that might otherwise have gone unrecorded.

When the Federal Amendment that allowed women the right to vote was finally passed in 1920, a special ceremony was held in Philadelphia and the Bell was finally allowed to ring. The event was significant enough to attract a commercial publisher, Ernest Orr, who published two scenes of the event, sold for a nickel, using a silkscreen process instead of the "Real Photo" method.

It is difficult to estimate how many "Real Photo" cards were made of the Liberty Bell's travels or how many towns were ultimately represented. Because these cards generally were made in small quantities, it is quite possible that some images are no longer extant. Still, enough do survive to give us a sense of how popular the campaign was to photographers and post card enthusiasts.



Stop at Milton, Pennsylvania



Curious Onlookers at Ruga, PA

Page # 10 The Clarion Winter 2021



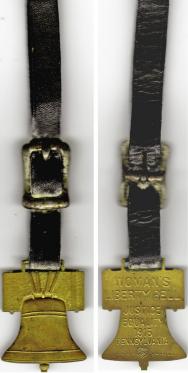
In Front of Butch Beauregard's Butcher Store, Sligo, PA



Truck at Unidentified Stop



Suffragist Speaking from Truck at Unidentified Town



Front and Back of Fob



Bell's Arrival at Moshannon, PA. Image from Collection of Rose Gschwendtner



Later Scene from Erie



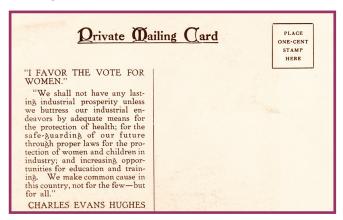
Printed Photo Cards From Ernest Orr

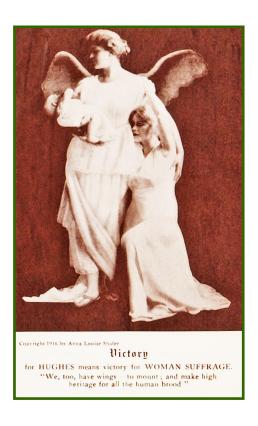


Page # 11 The Clarion Winter 2021

Charles Evans Hughes For President Suffrage Postcard

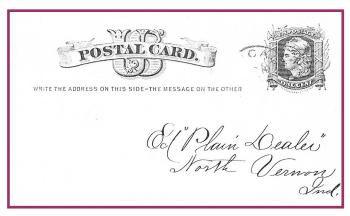
Several postcards from the suffrage era contain quotations from former Presidents such as Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt supporting suffrage; however, virtually no presidential campaign card that I am aware of focuses on Votes for Women as a positive campaign issue. The postcard on the right for Charles Evans Hughes in his 1916 contest against Woodrow Wilson is an exception. The front of it boldly declares, "Victory for Hughes means victory for WOMAN SUFFRAGE." The reverse lists Hughes' position on the issue, beginning with his statement: "I favor the vote for women." The card is very rare, suggesting that its circulation may have been restricted to a small, targeted audience.

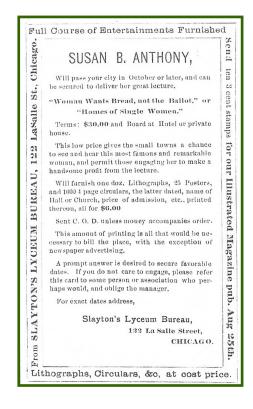




Susan B. Anthony and the Booking Agencies

It is not easy to place the name of Susan B. Anthony in the same sentence as the words "booking agency." Anthony, however, did use the services of both Redpath's Lyceum Bureau of Boston and Slayton's Lyceum Bureau of Chicago to book at least some of her lectures. As seen on the postcard to the right, the image of which was provided by Bruce Nelson, her going fee for Slayton's was \$30.00 for one of her classic stump speeches, "Woman Wants Bread, not the Ballot" or "Homes of Single Women." Anyone wishing to engage her also had to provide bed and board or put her up at a private house. What a wonderful opportunity for someone at the time to have her as a houseguest!





Page # 12 The Clarion Winter 2021

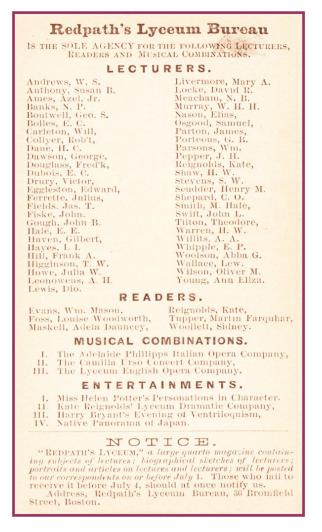
... Susan B. Booking Agencies, cont'd

Slayton's Lyceum made its appeal commercial, not ideological: "This low price gives the small towns the chance to see and hear this most famous and remarkable woman, and permit those engaging her to *make a handsome profit* [italics mine] from the lecture."

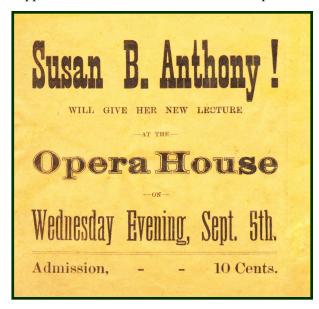
Redpath's of Boston [the card from my collection on the right] advertised Anthony along with a number of other famous people that the firm represented, among whom were Frederick Douglass, the suffragists Mary Livermore and Julia Ward Howe, Edward Everett Hale, writer and journalist, John Fisk, writer and philosopher, and Theodore Tilton, who obtained notoriety from his lawsuit against Henry Ward Beecher for seducing his wife.

Since Anthony traveled extensively throughout the country to promote women's rights, she may have been represented by other firms as well. Redpath's listing indicates that it was common practice for famous people at the time to use a booking agent to set up their appearances. Slayton's also furnished for a fee lithographs and posters to promote the events of lecturers under contract.

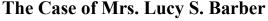




Despite the many speeches that Anthony gave during her long career and despite the attendant publicity, very few broadsides survive advertising her appearances. This one handbill is an exception.

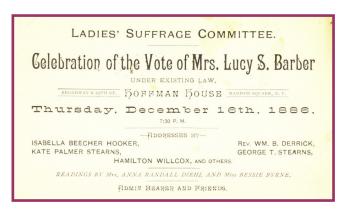


Page # 13 The Clarion Winter 2021





Postmarked in 1886 and one of the first postcards ever issued on the suffrage theme, this card below celebrates Mrs. Lucy S. Barber and her challenging of the policy that prohibited women from voting in New York State.



At the urging of J. K. Hamilton Willcox, who provided counsel, Barber of Alfred Center New York, along with nine other women, attempted to vote at the polls in that town in November of 1886. She took the prescribed oath for voters at the election, which did not ostensibly require that the voter should swear to being a male, and then cast her ballot.

She was arrested for her efforts and brought before United States Commissioner Wilkes Angel, who, on February 2, 1887, set her free on the grounds that state courts, not federal, had jurisdiction in this matter.

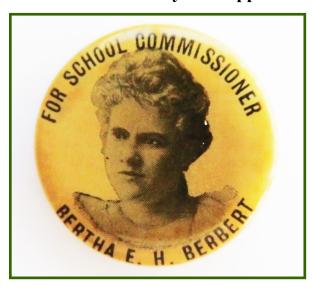
Barber previously had been supported by the Ladies' Suffrage Committee of New York at a celebration at the Hoffman House in Madison Square New York on December 16, 1886. In attendance were Kate Palmer Stearns, who presided, J. K. Hamilton Willcox, her advisor, and Isabella Beecher Hooker, founder of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association and sister to the abolitionist writer Harriet Beecher Stowe. The Committee passed a resolution denouncing the attempt to punish Barber for voting, declaring it to be "illegal and outrageous," and pledged its utmost support in efforts to defend her.

But Barber's opponents did not let up after Federal charges against her had been dismissed. A request was presented to the Allegheny County District Attorney to have her indicted by a state Grand Jury. Once again both the Suffrage Committee and Willcox lent their support. Willcox persuaded President Allen and all the faculty and trustees of Alfred University, along with other distinguished notables, to write a letter defending her cause. As a result, the Grand Jury refused to indict, having agreed that no law was violated. One Illinois paper declared that Barber "is free and triumphant, ready to vote again at the first chance, and to lead other women to the polls."

An account of some or these events can be found in the Jan. 13, 1887 issue of *Frank Leslie's Weekly*. I am grateful to several of Barber's descendants who contacted me and provided me with some transcripts of the legal proceedings. According to them, she was known for her eccentricities. Nevertheless, Susan B. Anthony was not the only early suffragist to face punitive consequences for daring to vote.

Page # 14 The Clarion Winter 2021

She Wouldn't Marry Her Opponent



Several states, while preventing women from voting in national and statewide elections prior to 1920, did allow them to cast ballots and even run for office in certain municipal contests. Bertha E. H. Berbert, whose button is pictured above, took early advantage of that small male concession; accordingly, she was nominated by the Republican Party of Hastings, New York at its convention on October 14, 1899 for School Commissioner, but not before she promised not to marry her Democratic opponent. Joseph See, one of the delegates at that convention, noted that the first woman in the county to run for office, F. M. Thompson, fell in love with her opponent and subsequently lost the election. Berbert could not have married her own opponent, John H. Lee of Sing Sing, since he "had

been married a good many years." Having, nevertheless, after her pledge that "she would not and could not marry her" Democratic counterpart, she went on to win the election, and held that post for six years. In 1905, however, the Republican Party, perhaps disenchanted with her independence, refused to nominate her again for that post, and selected Charles H. Cheney, a schoolteacher from Tarrytown, instead. Their official reason for being turned down was that there was a party rule against third terms. Berbert vowed to carry on and run as an independent, fighting both the Republican and Democratic machines. I am grateful to Chris Hearn for providing me with both her pin and the information about her candidacy.

Woman's Rights Cooking Stove

In the May 12, 1870 issue of *The Revolution*, there is a brief reference to a "Woman's Rights Cooking-Stove," manufactured by Burdett, Potter, Smith, and Company of Troy, New York. The journal gives no additional information as to price, sellers, etc. Obviously, the stove is one of the first pieces of 3-D suffrage memorabilia ever made. Unfortunately, no extant copies have shown up, although, given the size and weight of Victorian stoves, it might be difficult for collectors today to store one. *The Revolution*

was a short-lived weekly paper that was edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Paula Wright Davis, with Susan B. Anthony serving as "proprietor." From the start, it had financial problems, particularly when one of its benefactors, George Francis Train, was imprisoned in Ireland and did not come through with promised funding. On May 26, 1870 Anthony sold the paper for \$1.00 and worked tirelessly to pay off the journal's debts.



Woman's Rights Cooking-Stove.—The latest improvement, at least latest named cooking-stove, is the Woman's Rights, by Burdett, Potter, Smith & Co., of Troy, New York.

Page # 15 The Clarion Winter 2021

Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Women's Political Union









One of the suffrage organizations that was often critical of the "National American Woman's Suffrage Association" (NAWSA) for its conservatism was the "Women's Political Union" (WPU) founded by Harriot Stanton Blatch. The buttons of the WPU, with their bright, vibrant colors, extended graphics, and larger size, are reflective of the tactical differences between the two groups, with Blatch's known for its non-violent militarism and its aggressiveness.

In 1882 Harriot Stanton (1856-1940), the daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, married William H. Blatch, an English brewery manager and businessman. The pair soon moved to England where they resided for the next twenty years. While there, Harriot became interested English Reform Politics, joining both the Socialist leaning Fabian Society and the "Women's Franchise League." On her return home, she continued her activism by joining the "Women's Trade Union League" and NAWSA, which she soon lost interest in, finding it to be "apathetic."



In 1907 she formed the "Equality League of Self-Supporting Women," aiming to recruit to the movement working class women, whom she felt had been neglected by traditional suffrage organizations. In 1910, she changed the name of the "League" to the "Women's Political Union" (WPU), modifying the title of Emmeline Pankhurst's English organization, the "Women's Social and Political Union" (WSPU). The WPU pushed the boundaries of what had generally been considered to be appropriate behavior for women reformists and engaged in highly visible activities, including a major suffrage parade on May 21, 1910 down Fifth Avenue in New York. Finding similarity in their goals, the WPU merged with Alice Paul's "Congressional Union for Women Suffrage" in 1916 to form the "National Women's Party."



Blatch had left England in 1902, a year prior to Emmeline Pankhurst's formation of the militant WSPU, but its assertive tactics and iconography still heavily influenced her, albeit now from across the ocean. Not only did she borrow a modi-



fied version of the WSPU's name for her own organization, she adopted its official colors of purple, green, and white. She also inscribed Pankhurst's famous slogan, "Deeds Not Words" onto one of the WPU's first buttons.

The main symbol of the WPU, which appeared on its badges, sheet music, and post cards was that of the Clarion figure, adapted from the famous English "Bugler Girl" illustration, designed by Caroline Watts. Watts' creation was first published by the "Artist's Suffrage League" to advertise a procession of the "National Union of Women Suffrage Societies" on June 13, 1908. The more conservative NUWSS had earlier distanced itself from the militant WSPU and promoted itself as "non-violent" and "law abiding." Watts' design, however, was generally quite popular with most of the NUWSS membership, although some of its more conservative members found it too militaristic for their purposes.

Page # 16 The Clarion Winter 2021

... WPU cont'd.



In producing buttons that employed the "Bugler Girl' figure, the WPU substituted the red and white from Watts' original illustration to the WSPU's color scheme of purple, white, and green. Its first badge, which pictured five stars on the standard of the bugler, was issued in 1910, after Washington had become the fifth state to give women the vote. In the following year, when California became the next full suffrage state, a sixth star was added. As more states continued to be added to the suffrage fold, later versions were issued with ten, eleven, and twelve stars. To promote the suffrage referendum that was held in New York on Nov. 2, 1915, the WPU also produced a 1 1/4" memorial celluloid picturing a line drawing of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Such a button must have been especially meaningful for Harriot, her daughter.

To sell its memorabilia, the WPU opened up a storefront in the City, and later converted a bus into a unit from which lectures could be given and buttons, postcards, playing cards and other such objects distributed. Today, collec-



tors find WPU buttons to be especially attractive, ranking above those produced by most other suffrage organizations.

But even the public at the time was fascinated by the graphics, size, and color of these badges. The New York Times in May of 1915 related the story of a stockbroker, Fritz W. Hoeninghaus, who had "cornered the market" on them. He had just purchased several from the WPU roving shop for a penny each. He took his acquisitions to "Curb Street," where he sold one for a dollar to Henry Barklay, resulting in a demand from other brokers for a copy. He went back to the WPU van, bought out their remaining supply, and within "ten minutes every man was wearing a suffrage button." Hoeninghaus did do the honorable thing and gave the profits from these sales back to the WPU. *The Times* speculated that had this been an ordinary button that was only the size of a nickel [perhaps a simple black on yellow pin that was produced by the rival Woman Suffrage Party] "no man would wear it."





