NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

CREATIVITY AND PERSISTENCE

Art that Fueled the Fight for Women's Suffrage

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In 2020, to celebrate the centennial of the passing of the 19th amendment, the National Endowment for the Arts made grants to organizations producing arts projects related to the fight for women's suffrage. But the agency has been supporting women artists since its establishment in 1965. One of the first grants the agency awarded was in 1966 to the Martha Graham Dance Company to support its first national tour in 15 years. The Arts Endowment has continued to support projects by women-run and women-oriented organizations and many projects we support are designed to help women enter a career in the arts.

First Ladies of the United States Quotes:

Page 3: Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams (https://www.bustle.com/articles/102487-8-feminist-quotes-from-first-ladies-show-how-the-movement-continues-to-evolve)

Page 5: Caroline Harrison, wife of Benjamin Harrison (https://www.bustle.com/articles/102487-8-feminist-quotes-from-first-ladies-show-how-the-movement-continues-to-evolve)

Page 29: Florence Harding, wife of Warren Harding (http://www.firstladies.org/biographies/firstladies.aspx?biography=30)

Page 71: Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of Franklin D. Roosevelt (http://www.quotabelle.com/author/eleanor-roosevelt)

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Back: *The Spirit of '76 On to the Senate* by Nina Allender, 1915.

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FOREWORD

The arts have a unique ability to serve as a rallying cry for change, with the profound power to disseminate complex messages across large audiences in a common, easy-to-understand manner that inspires people in a way few other things can.

There is perhaps no better example of the arts being used to help transform public opinion in a social or political manner than during the women's suffrage movement.

Throughout the long and arduous path to victory, the depiction of women and the different perspectives of their roles in society and politics were displayed through literature, poetry, fashion, sculpture, and illustrations, as well as sharply acidic and intentionally divisive cartoons.

The National Endowment for the Arts recognizes and applauds how the arts were used to change the narrative about the importance of women's full participation in society and politics. The arts were critical to the ultimate success of the women's suffrage movement.

Although the language of the 19th Amendment included all eligible women voters, not all women were, in fact, able to immediately exercise their right to vote, particularly women of color. Still, the amendment's ratification was the most significant step forward in empowering women, giving them the autonomy to play a role in civil rights movements that followed.

This book, aptly titled *Creativity and Persistence: Art that Fueled the Fight for Women's Suffrage*, is designed to commemorate the centennial of the ratification of the 19th amendment and to remind us all how the arts were used to sway public opinion and help secure the right to vote for women across America.

Mary Anne Carter
Chairman
National Endowment for the Arts

Figure 1. Eugène Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People*, 1830, painting, Louvre Museum, Paris

INTRODUCTION

In a letter to her husband President John Adams: "Remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could."

ABIGAIL ADAMS

Art has always reflected the world in which it was created, from the ancient Greeks, whose surviving poetry and sculpture attest to their humanism, to mid-20th-century American art, which broke with tradition by engaging with popular and consumer culture. Art has also always had the power to do more than simply reflect—it can make social commentary to effect change.[1] Much of the art made across history involved such critiques, but the Enlightenment is especially associated with doing so. Artists like Eugène Delacroix (fig. 1) and Jacques-Louis David famously depicted the tragedies of war in their art, raising awareness of important social issues.[2] Similarly, satire was used by writers like Jonathan Swift and artists like Honoré Daumier, both of whom made scathing commentary in their work. Their goal, of course, was to call attention to the ills of society with the hope of correcting them.

With the birth of the women's suffrage movement, American artists made the same kind of social commentary by working with the activists who were fighting for women's rights at the ground level. Without a doubt, the women's suffrage movement would not have had the success it did had the arts not brought the valiant efforts of the suffragists into the spotlight.

In the earliest days of the movement, the spoken, sung, and written word played a leading role: suffragists understood the persuasive power of language, which could not only be shared at gatherings but also published and widely disseminated. The early focus on language aligned with the ethos of American culture in the second

1 Consider the art of ancient Rome, for example, which was filled with propagandistic imagery. A great source for information on Augustan propaganda is Paul Zanker's *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010).

2 For more on the emergence of more socially engaged art in modern Europe, see Matthew Craske, "Beyond the Useful and Agreeable Man," in *Art in Europe, 1700–1830: A History of the Visual Arts in an Era of Unprecedented Urban Economic Growth*" (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 23–87.

Figure 2. W. E. Hill, *His daughter! And he thought she was "just a little girl," Puck*, February 1915, New York, illustration, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

Figure 3. Egbert C. Jacobson, *Votes for Women, Equality Is the Sacred Law of Humanity*, ca. 1903–15, lithograph, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University

half of the 19th century when American literature was coming into its own.[3] As America was finding its voice, the suffrage movement participated, with the powerful voices of women like Sojourner Truth leading the way.

In the first decade of the 20th century, the suffrage movement in the U.S. began to work more actively with the visual arts to spread its message, creating striking cartoons (fig. 2), paintings, posters (fig. 3), postcards, films, and even sculpture. These images permeated American culture, changing the perception of what it meant to be a woman and to be a suffragist.

Without these compelling words and images, the work of the suffragists might have gone largely unnoticed. After all, only the very staunchest devotees of the movement followed the details of legislative successes and failures. It was the arts that rendered the unseen work of the suffragists visible and important to the average American. Art put a human face on a political issue, it empowered American women, and, in the end, it helped to reshape the face of American democracy for the better.

3 For more on the importance of literature in 19th-century American culture, especially the profusion of newspapers, magazines, and journals, see the introduction to *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, vol. C, 1865–1914, ed. Jeanne Campbell Reesman, Nina Baym, and Arnold Krupat, 7th ed. (New York: Norton, 2007), 4–5.

PART 1: THE MAKING OF A NEW WOMAN

"This Society, to live and grow and become what we would desire it to be, must be composed of ... women. ... [M]uch of [society's] success was due to the character of the women of that era. ... I feel sure their daughters can perpetuate a society worthy of the cause and worthy of themselves."

CAROLINE HARRISON

SUFFRAGE ART BEFORE SENECA FALLS

Nineteenth-century American art occupied a unique role on the world's stage. Lacking an established art tradition of its own, it borrowed from its diverse heritage while simultaneously inventing a new, distinctly American visual language that was evident in both the world of the so-called "high arts"—painting, sculpture, and architecture—and in the "commercial and applied arts"—mass-market prints and illustrations, fashion, and everyday objects, as well as in literature. The commercial arts are especially helpful in understanding the cultural perceptions and representations of women, who were often excluded from the high arts.

Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book, an influential and broadly distributed magazine for women in the 19th century, is an invaluable resource filled with the kinds of minor arts that were being created by, for, and about women. In 1837, writer Sarah Josepha Hale (fig. 4) took the helm as editor of this publication that persuasively empowered women. It was noted for publishing songs and poetry, as well as color-tint fashion plates that were featured at the front of each edition. A reflection of mainstream, Anglo-Saxon culture, *Godey's* authoritative voice reached a broad audience, estimated at 150,000 readers by 1860.[4]

Song lyrics and poems published in *Godey's Magazine* in the 1840s reveal a desire to define women as intrinsically domestic and as arbiters of goodness. One example is the song, "Come, Come Away: A Social Glee or Chorus," whose lyrics celebrate the peace of the sequestered realm of the home.[5] Verse Two reads, "From toil and

4 Kathleen L. Endres, *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 1995), 115.

5 "Come, Come Away: A Social Glee or Chorus," words adapted by W. E. Hickson, Godey's Magazine 32 (1846): 92–93, available at Hathi Trust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015025890040&view=1up&seq=65.

Figure 4. W. B. Chambers, *Portrait of Sarah Josepha (Buell) Hale, Godey's Magazine 41*, 1850, frontispiece, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

Figure 5. John Chester Buttre, *Portrait of Frances Wright*, 1881, engraving, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

cares, on which the day is closing, / The hour of eve brings sweet reprieve, / Oh come, come away: / Oh come, where love will smile on thee, / And round its hearth will gladness be, / And time fly merrily—Oh come, come away." It is understood that women, of course, are the stewards of this welcoming world. One assumes that women readers would recognize their homes in these words and might aspire to achieve the kind of "peaceful home" as the song extolls.

The messages throughout *Godey's Magazine* (and common to most women's publications in the 19th century) were largely the same: women were celebrated for their beauty and gentleness, and they were associated with domesticity. Nonetheless, it would be overly simplistic to suggest that all American women filled traditional roles. Many American women distinguished themselves in their work outside of the home as scholars, activists, doctors, and in other professions. Even well before the 19th century, many women had already begun to question traditional gender roles in their published writings. In 1792, British author Mary Wollstonecraft wrote *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, a seminal treatise of early feminist philosophy.[6] Suffrage leader Susan B. Anthony, who called herself "a great admirer of this earliest work for woman's right to Equality of rights," owned a copy of this book.[7]

Another early feminist, Frances Wright (fig. 5), rose to fame in the 1820s when she began lecturing internationally about both abolitionism and women's rights. Although the public debates about suffrage were several decades away, Wright was threatening enough that she became the subject of a satirical cartoon that anticipates the sort of anti-suffrage cartoons that were common later in the century.

6 Taylor, Barbara. *Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 25.

7 This quotation is from Anthony's inscription at the front of her personal copy, which she donated to the Library of Congress in 1904. See "British Inspiration for American Women Seeking Equal Rights," Library of Congress (website), https://www.loc.gov/exhibitions/women-fight-for-the-vote/about-this-exhibition/seneca-falls-and-building-a-movement-1776-1890/early-feminist-inspirations/british-inspiration-for-american-women-seeking-equal-rights/.

The cartoon, *A Downright Gabbler, or a Goose That Deserves to Be Hissed* (fig. 6), was most likely published in response to a speaking tour Wright made in 1829.[8] The artist depicts Wright with the head of a goose, gesturing and reading aloud from a book, while being watched by a man holding her bonnet. Rather than rendering Wright as composed and dignified, the artist caricatures and demeans her. Although this type of critique of prominent women was common, the suffragists would soon harness this medium for their own means, undercutting the power of their detractors.

Figure 6. James Akins, *A Downright Gabbler, or a Goose that Deserves to Be Hissed*, 1829, illustration, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

8 Bernard F. Reilly, American political prints, 1766–1876 (G.K. Hall, 1991), entry 1829–2.

EARLY POETRY AND SPEECHES AT SENECA FALLS

Figure 7. *Portrait of Elizabeth Cady Stanton*, 1854, photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

Figure 8. *Portrait of Lucretia Coffin Mott*, 1860–80, photograph. Courtesy of the Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

The fight for women's suffrage in America began to take shape in upstate New York in the summer of 1848 when a group of friends, including such lions of the movement as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Coffin Mott (figs. 7 and 8), organized the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls. An ad was hastily placed in the *Seneca County Courier* just days before the convention. Still, there was a surprisingly large turnout and the meeting received a great deal of attention in newspapers and other publications in the days after it was held.

Conventions were of course dependent on the spoken word, and so some of the most important early examples of suffrage art are literary.[9] After convention speeches were delivered, they were disseminated via magazines and newspapers. Even beyond the context of conventions, suffrage and women's rights were frequent subjects in the work of prominent writers. As women began to speak out more publicly during the last half of the 19th century, it was their words more than anything else that created the sense of camaraderie propelling the movement and that gave other women courage to participate in it.

One powerful example is the satirical poem, "The Times That Try Men's Souls," by prominent suffragist Maria W. Chapman and read by Mary Ann McClintock just two weeks after the Seneca Falls convention at a gathering in Rochester, New York.[10] The poem was written in response to a letter written by a Massachusetts clergy group criticizing the first Woman's Rights Convention. It reads:

9 Rhoda J. Palmer, Personal Memories of the Woman's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, May 1908, Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897–1911, Scrapbook 6 (1907–1908), Library of Congress https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbcmil.scrp4006802/?sp=3.

10 Sandra Weber, *Women's Rights National Historic Park, Seneca Falls, New York* ([Washington, DC]: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985), 145.

Confusion has seized us, and all things go wrong;
The women have leaped from "their spheres,"
And, instead of fixed stars, shoot as comets along,
And are setting the world by the ears!
In courses erratic they're wheeling through space,
In brainless confusion and meaningless chase.

In vain do our knowing ones try to compute
Their return to the orbit designed;
They're glanced at a moment, then, onward they shoot
And neither "to hold nor to bind;"
So freely they move in their chosen ellipse,
The "Lords of Creation" do fear an eclipse.

They've taken a notion to speak for themselves,
And are wielding the tongue and the pen;
They've mounted the rostrum, the termagant elves,
And, O horrid, are talking to *men!*
With faces unblanched in our presence they come
To harangue us, they say, in behalf of the dumb.

They insist on their *right* to petition and pray;
That St. Paul, in Corinthians, has given them rules
For appearing in public; despite what those say
Whom we've trained to instruct them in orthodox schools.
But vain such instruction, if women may scan
And quote texts of Scripture to favor their plan.

Our grandmothers' learning consisted of yore,
In spreading their generous boards;
In twisting the distaff or mopping the floor,
And *obeying the will of their lords*.
Now, *misses* may reason, and think, and debate,
Till unquestioned submission is quite out of date.

Our clergy have preached on the sin and the shame
Of woman when out of "her sphere"
And labored, *divinely,* to ruin her fame,
And shorten this horrid career;
But for spiritual guidance, no longer they look
To Folsom, or Winslow, or learned Parsons Cooke.

Our wise men have tried to exorcise in vain
The turbulent spirits abroad;
As well might we deal with the fetterless main,
Or conquer ethereal essence with sword;
Like the devils of Milton they rise from each blow,
Wish spirit unbroken insulting the foe.

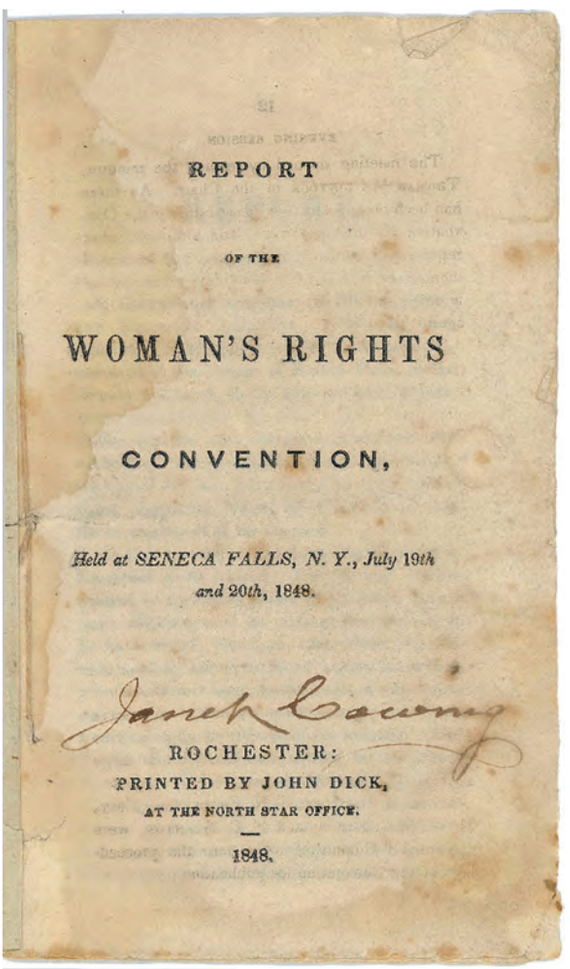
Our patriot fathers, of eloquent fame,
Waged war against tangible forms;
Ay, *their* foes were men—and if ours were the same

We might speedily quiet their storms;
But, ah! their descendants enjoy not such bliss—
The assumptions of Britain were nothing to this.

Could *we* but array all our force in the field,
We'd teach these usurpers of power
That their bodily safety demands they should yield,
And in presence of manhood should cower;
But, alas! for our tethered and impotent state,
Chained by notions of knighthood—we can but debate

Oh! shade of the prophet Mahomet, arise!
Place woman again in "her sphere,"
And teach that her soul was not born for the skies,
But to flutter a brief moment here.
This doctrine of Jesus, as preached up by Paul,
If embraced in its spirit, will ruin us all.

Lords of Creation[11]


REPORT

OF THE

WOMAN'S RIGHTS

CONVENTION,

Held at SENECA FALLS, N. Y., July 19th and 20th, 1848.

ROCHESTER:
PRINTED BY JOHN DICK,
AT THE NORTH STAR OFFICE.
—
1848.

Figure 9. Front page of the report of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Seneca Falls, New York, July 19th and 20th, 1848. Courtesy of Seneca Falls Historical Society

Chapman's poem is an example of the satirical writing that would later become a hallmark of the suffrage movement. By drawing attention to the absurdity of those who disapproved of women's rights conventions, Chapman undermines the idea that a woman's place is in the home.

In the years following the Seneca Falls Convention, women's rights conventions were held all around the country, providing ample opportunity for more suffrage oratory. In 1851, for example, the formerly enslaved prominent women's rights advocate Sojourner Truth (fig. 10) gave a stirring speech at a women's rights convention held in Akron, Ohio. The journalist Marius Robinson published what is considered the closest account of that

11 Maria W. Chapman, "The Times That Try Men's Souls," *The Living Age*, August 26, 1848, 424, available at Hathi Trust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.55226143&view=1up&seq=434.

speech a few weeks after it was delivered. Although it is generally referred to as a speech, Truth's lyrical skill and talent elevate her prose to the realm of poetry. Tellingly, when her speech was published in the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, the newspaper reported that it was "impossible to transfer to paper, or convey any adequate idea of the effect it produced upon the audience."[12] Truth's words are as follows:

Figure 10. *Portrait of Sojourner Truth*, undated, photomechanical reproduction, Library of Congress, Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897-1911, Rare Book And Special Collections Division, Washington, DC

May I say a few words? I want to say a few words about this matter.

I am a woman's rights. I have as much muscle as any man, and can do as much work as any man. I have plowed and reaped and husked and chopped and mowed, and can any man do more than that?

I have heard much about the sexes being equal; I can carry as much as any man, and can eat as much too, if I can get it. I am as strong as any man that is now.

As for intellect, all I can say is, if women have a pint and a man a quart—why can't she have her little pint full? You need not be afraid to give us our rights for fear we will take too much, for we can't take more than our pint'll hold.

The poor men seem to be all in confusion, and don't know what to do. Why children, if you have woman's rights, give it to her and you will feel better. You will have your own rights, and they won't be so much trouble.

I can't read, but I can hear. I have heard the bible and have learned that Eve caused man to sin. Well if woman upset the world, do give her a chance to set it right side up again.

The Lady has spoken about Jesus, how he never spurned woman from him, and she was right. When Lazarus died, Mary and Martha came to him with faith and love and besought him to raise their brother. And Jesus wept—and Lazarus came forth.

12 "Women's Rights Convention: Sojourner Truth," *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, June 21, 1851, 160, available online at Library of Congress (website), https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83035487/1851-06-21/ed-1/seq-4/.

> And how came Jesus into the world? Through God who created him and woman who bore him. Man, where is your part?
>
> But the women are coming up blessed be God and a few of the men are coming up with them.
>
> But man is in a tight place, the poor slave is on him, woman is coming on him, and he is surely between a hawk and a buzzard.[13]

Truth addresses her status as not just an American woman but as a Black American woman, alluding to the multiple social inequities inherent in American culture in the years before the Civil War. Both during and after the Civil War, the women's suffrage and the abolitionist and Black suffrage movements were intertwined, linked by a unified cause. The unity of Black suffrage and women's suffrage would later break down, especially with the passage of the 15th amendment, which granted suffrage to Black men but excluded women.

Truth's speech was filled with power and conviction, and it is easy to imagine how it must have affected listeners at the Akron convention. That her rhetoric was subsequently published attests to its potency, and testifies to its capacity to move women, and men, who did not attend women's rights conventions.

Figure 11. *Portrait of Frances Dana Gage*, 1865, photographic print, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

Another version of this poem-speech was published by suffragist Frances Gage (fig. 11) in 1863, 12 years after Truth first delivered it. It has come to be called "Ain't I a Woman?," and though it is less faithful to Truth's words, it circulated widely on behalf of the women's rights movement and is arguably the better known version of the speech.[14] In Gage's version of Truth's observations about her experience of being a Black woman in America, she punctuates those observations with the refrain, "And ain't I a woman?"[15]

Another poet-orator whose words had a powerful impact in the early years of the movement was Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (fig. 12). A prominent abolitionist and writer, her work addresses slavery, being Black in America, and suffrage. She delivered a moving, eloquent, and stinging speech at the 11th National Women's Rights Convention in 1866.

13 "Woman's Rights Convention: Sojourner Truth."

14 See "Sojourner Truth: Ain't I a Woman," Woman's Rights National Historic Park (website), https://www.nps.gov/articles/sojourner-truth.htm.

15 See "Sojourner's Words and Music," Sojourner Truth Memorial Committee (website), accessed March 31, 2020, https://sojournertruthmemorial.org/sojourner-truth/her-words/; and "Compare the Two Speeches," The Sojourner Truth Project (website), https://www.thesojournertruthproject.com/compare-the-speeches/.

After first addressing her struggles as a Black American woman, she appealed to her audience, saying, "We are all bound up together in one great bundle of humanity, and society cannot trample on the weakest and feeblest of its members without receiving the curse in its own soul."[16]

Figure 12. *Frances E. W. Harper*, 1872, engraving, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

In her published poetry too, Harper gives a sense of the unique role of Black women in post-Civil War America and the ways White and Black suffragists were often at odds with each other. Her poem "Aunt Chloe's Politics" (1872) is a good example:

> Of course, I don't know
> very much
> About these politics,
> But I think that some who run 'em
> Do mighty ugly tricks.
>
> I've seen 'em honey-fugle round,
> And talk so awful sweet,
> That you'd think them full of kindness,
> As an egg is full of meat.
>
> Now I don't believe in looking
> Honest people in the face,
> And saying when you're doing wrong,
> That "I haven't sold my race."
>
> When we want to school our children,
> If the money isn't there,
> Whether black or white have took it,
> The loss we all must share.
>
> And this buying up each other
> Is something worse than mean,
> Though I thinks a heap of voting,
> I go for voting clean.[17]

16 "(1866) Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, 'We Are All Bound Up Together,'" BlackPast (website), November 7, 2011, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/speeches-african-american-history/1866-frances-ellen-watkins-harper-we-are-all-bound-together/.

17 Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, "Aunt Chloe's Politics" (1827), Academy of American Poets (website), https://poets.org/poem/aunt-chloes-politics.

Although much of Harper's poetry doesn't directly address suffrage, women's issues are a constant theme in her work. Her poetry reached many distant corners of American society and filled a distinct space in the young American literary world, paving the way for some of the bolder feminist writers of the 20th century.

Another influential poet whose words affected the suffrage movement was suffragist Julia Ward Howe (fig. 13), whose most famous poem is the American classic "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," still a battle cry for activists today. Howe was inspired to write the poem, which was adapted and sung to the melody of the popular war tune "John Brown's Body," after she visited a Civil War encampment and was moved by what she saw there.[18]

The poem combines religious and militaristic imagery that captured something of the spirit of 19th-century American culture. The poem, especially its famous opening lines, had broad general appeal:

> Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:
> He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;
> He hath loosed the faithful lightnings of His terrible swift sword:
> His truth is marching on.
>
> Glory, glory, hallelujah!
> Glory, glory, hallelujah!
> Glory, glory, hallelujah,
> His truth is marching on."[19]

Since the poem contains no language that specifically ties it to the Civil War, it was adopted by many different causes, including women's suffrage. It was part of the opening pages of a leaflet of rally songs sold in the 1890s,[20] and was even adapted into a suffragist anthem of its own, "The Battle Hymn of the Suffragists," by Catharine Weed Campbell in 1890.[21]

(Opposite page) Figure 13. John Elliott and William Henry Cotton, *Portrait of Julia Ward Howe*, 1910–1925, painting, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

18 Dominic Tierney, "'The Battle Hymn of the Republic': America's Song of Itself," *The Atlantic*, November 4, 2010, https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2010/11/the-battle-hymn-of-the-republic-americas-song-of-itself/66070/.

19 An image of the poem as it was published in the *Atlantic Monthly* is available online at Dominic Tierney, "'The Battle Hymn of the Republic': America's Song of Itself," *The Atlantic*, November 4, 2010, https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2010/11/the-battle-hymn-of-the-republic-americas-song-of-itself/66070/.

20 Kenneth Florey, *Women's Suffrage Memorabilia: An Illustrated Historical Study* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2013), 166.

21 Annie J. Randall, *Music, Power, and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 22n39; See: Francie Wolff, Give the Ballot to the Mothers: Songs of the Suffragists: A History in Song (Denlinger's Publishers, 1998).

MUSIC OF THE MOVEMENT

As Howe's poem shows, the reach of poetry in the suffrage movement extended well beyond convention halls and the printed page. Music was a favorite form of entertainment both in and outside of the home. Sheet music could be enjoyed in private settings, and standalone lyrics, such as Howe's "Battle Hymn," could be passed around at rallies and sung to the tune of well-known melodies.[22] Both kinds of music had the potential to persuade listeners.

Songs like the 1853 "Woman's Rights" were inspired by the conventions being held all around the country, and worked to further the cause. The second verse of "Woman's Rights" laments:

> 'Tis woman's right to counsel man in sorrow's crushing hour,
> Her right to raise his sinking heart by love's transcendant [sic] power,
> Her right upon life's troubled sea the darkest storm to brave,
> But not her right to guide our ships upon the ocean wave."[23]

As the 25th anniversary of the Seneca Falls convention approached, there was a renewed interest in music relating to women's rights conventions. "Daughters of Freedom the Ballot Be Yours," with lyrics by accomplished poet George Cooper, is a famous example.[24] The lyrics read in part:

> Daughters of freedom, the Ballot be yours
> Wield it with wisdom, your hopes it secures.
> 'Rights that are equal' this ye claim,
> Bright by your guerdon, fair your fame!"[25]

As in the earlier song, the lyrics are unequivocally supportive and show how the issue of suffrage had fully entered the sphere of music.

Other examples, such as "March of the Suffragettes" (fig. 14) and "She's Good Enough to Be Your Baby's Mother and She's Good Enough to Vote with You" (fig. 15), make use of powerful imagery on the sheet music to call attention to their message. As such, music brought the women's suffrage debate into people's homes as well as being used at rallies in service of advancing the argument for women's suffrage.

(Opposite page) Figure 14. Edmund Braham, "March of the Suffragettes," official suffrage sheet music, 1912, cover, Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington, DC

22 Kenneth Florey, *Women's Suffrage Memorabilia: An Illustrated Historical Study* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2013), 163–65.

23 Fanny Fern, "Woman's Rights," song lyrics (New York: William Hall and Son, 1853).

24 Mary E. Tyson, "George Cooper," *The Magazine of Poetry: A Quarterly Review 3*, (January–October 1891), 11.

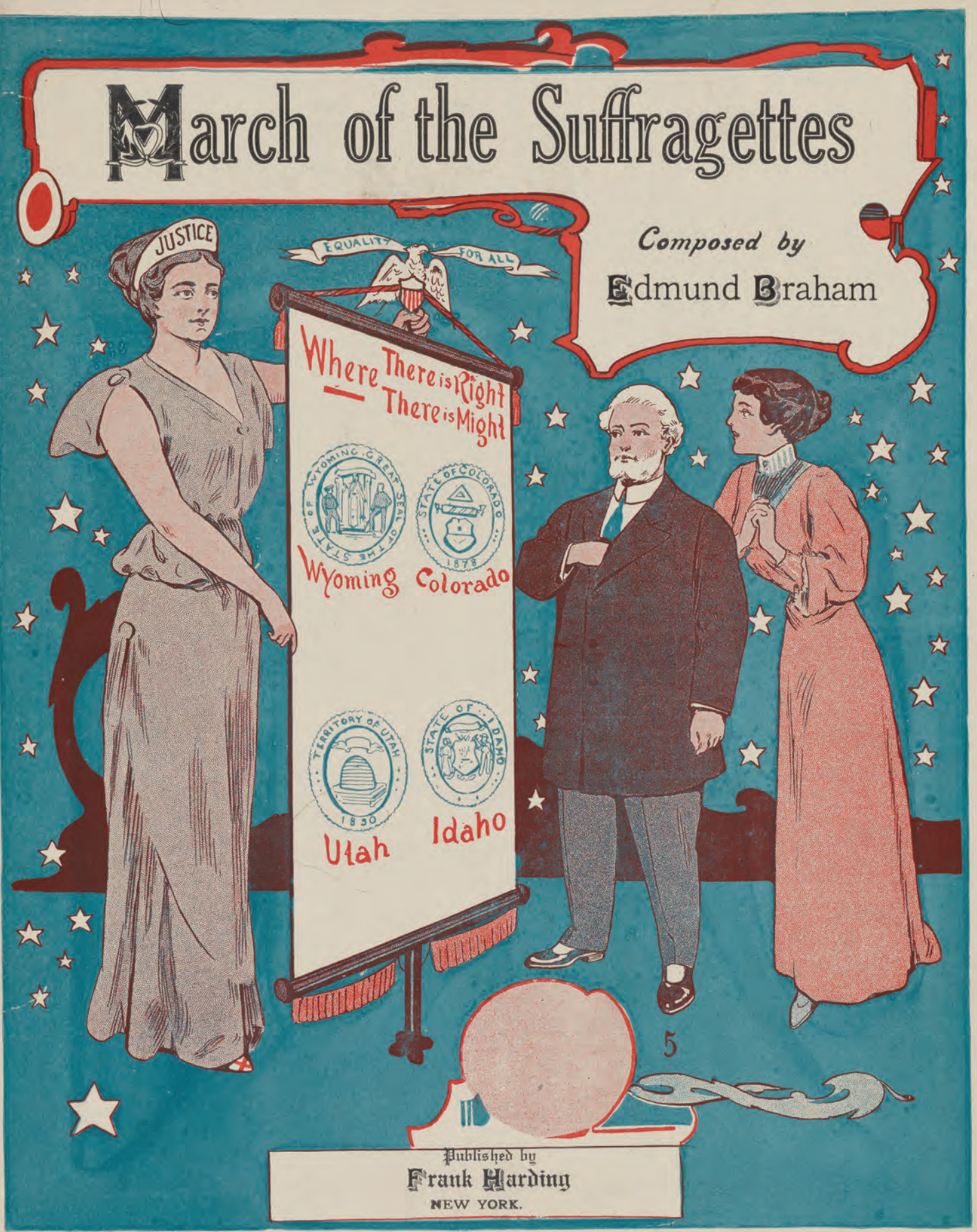
25 George Cooper, "Daughters of Freedom!", sheet music lyrics (Boston: Ditson & Co., Oliver, 1871).

Rej

March of the Suffragettes

Composed by

Edmund Braham



Published by
Frank Harding
NEW YORK.

POPULAR EDITION

SHE'S GOOD ENOUGH TO BE YOUR BABY'S MOTHER

AND SHE'S GOOD ENOUGH TO VOTE WITH YOU

SONG

LYRIC BY
ALFRED BRYAN

MUSIC BY
HERMAN PALEY

5

STARMER

JEROME H. REMICK & CO. NEW YORK DETROIT

FASHION

(Opposite page) Figure 15. Herman Paley, Alfred Bryan, "She's Good Enough to Be Your Baby's Mother and She's Good Enough to Vote with You," 1916, sheet music cover, Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington, DC

Fashion also reveals a great deal about the women's suffrage movement, since it gives clues as to how people functioned in society. Most women's dresses from the 19th century sought to exaggerate the natural female form, with narrow waists over wide skirts and tight sleeves that sometimes flared out below the elbow. The use of bulky fabrics and a tight waist severely restricted a woman's freedom of movement; cumbersome clothing made it impossible for women to participate in the same kinds of physical activities as men. Fashion had a tangible effect on women's experiences of the world, which therefore carried real political implications and the opportunity to broadcast a statement.

Figure 16. *Portrait of Amelia Jenks Bloomer*, 1850s, daguerreotype. Property of the Seneca Falls Historical Society

It's not surprising, then, that a new style was introduced shortly after the start of the suffrage movement: loose trousers worn under a knee-length skirt.[26] By 1851 this new attire was popularized in magazines and newspapers, most notably in *The Lily*, a newspaper published by Seneca Falls resident Amelia Bloomer (fig. 16) who also adopted the fashion. Her role in popularizing these new trousers gave them their name: "bloomers."[27]

Bloomers were both a fashion trend and a practical solution to women's complaints with mainstream fashion, but they were also a feminist statement. Women liked them because they allowed for greater freedom of movement, a goal that in itself suggests a feminist perspective. Unsurprisingly, the fashion was adopted by the leading figures of the early women's rights movement, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Susan B. Anthony.[28] Bloomers became a sensation and were the subject of illustrations published in magazines and on the covers of sheet music.

26 Smith and Greig, *Women in Pants*, 28.

27 Lorraine Boissoneault, "Amelia Bloomer Didn't Mean to Start a Fashion Revolution, But Her Name Became Synonymous with Trousers," *Smithsonian Magazine*, May 24, 2018, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/amelia-bloomer-didnt-mean-start-fashion-revolution-her-name-became-synonymous-trousers-180969164/

28 See Gayle V. Fischer, *Pantaloons and Power: Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001), 79–80.

One excellent example is *The Bloomer Costume* (fig. 17) published by Currier & Ives Lithography in 1851, which shows a young woman in an elegant lace- and embroidery-trimmed outfit, with prominent bloomers poking out beneath a short skirt.

Although the popularity of bloomers certainly changed thinking about women's dress, criticism prevented them from becoming normalized or even from changing fashion of the time. Women eventually stopped wearing bloomers because they were perceived as a distraction from the issues that really mattered.[29] Nonetheless, a seed had been planted, and an interest in dress reform continued to simmer in American culture.

It wasn't until the end of the 19th century that a revitalized interest in dress reform appeared. The revival was largely borne out of an interest in a new generation of young women who were forthright in their declaration of independence. The "New Woman," as she came to be called, was educated, sought fulfillment for herself outside of the home, and was often physically active in ways previous generations never would have imagined—she rode a bicycle and played sports. She was also politically engaged and pursued a career. All of these things required a novel style of dress to fit the new realities of life for the turn-of-the-century American woman.[30]

Figure 17. N. Currier, *The Bloomer Costume*, 1851, New York, lithograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

(Opposite page) Figure 18. Charles Dana Gibson, *Scribner's for June*, 1895, illustration, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

29 Kate Clarke Lemay, *Votes for Women!: A Portrait of Persistence* (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2019), 105.

30 See: Gail Finney, *Women in Modern Drama: Freud, Feminism, and European Theater at the Turn of the Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 196–96; Ruth Birgitta Anderson Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution of a New Woman* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 2.

SCRIBNERS FOR JUNE

The safety bicycle, developed at the end of the 1880s, played an important role in the evolution of the new woman. The popularity of bicycling necessitated a change in women's dress, since riding a bicycle in the restrictive clothing of the previous era was not only impractical but even dangerous. New fashions with looser skirts that had back pleats to accommodate a bicycle seat emerged as a solution.[31] Unlike the bloomers of the 1850s, the new style endured, changing the direction of fashion. Charles Dana Gibson captured the modern spirit associated with women riding bicycles in his illustration (fig. 18) for *Scribner's* magazine in 1895.[32]

At the same time that the image of the New Woman became normalized, the suffragists were also learning to use fashion as a tool to advance their cause. Some of the movement's early leaders had been anti-fashion, associating such vanity with the perception of women as weak and inferior.[33] Most, however, embraced traditional standards of feminine beauty as a way of countering the attacks of their detractors who tried to discredit them with images that depicted them as unfashionable, ugly, and old.[34] Rodney Thompson's *Militants* (fig. 19) is a classic example of this trope.

As will be discussed in Part Three, fashion was increasingly exploited by suffragists, mainly in the context of the parades and marches that became common features of the movement in the first decades of the 20th century. They wore white because of its association with purity,[35] as well as the other official colors of the suffrage movement—purple and yellow/gold.[36] Suffragists also dressed in vaguely medieval and militaristic costumes, alluding to Joan of Arc, the medieval martyr who was adopted as a symbol for a number of women's causes at the turn of the century.[37]

In the context of both pageantry and everyday life, women's fashion then changed with the rapidly modernizing lives of American women who sought out new fashions to achieve greater freedom. Thus, fashion both reflected change and helped to bring it about in the suffragist fight for independence. By the turn of the 20th century, there was no returning to the hoop skirt and the restrictive world it represented.

31 See: Patricia Campbell Warner, *When the Girls Came Out to Play: The Birth of American Sportswear* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 123–25.

32 "The Gibson Girl as the 'New Woman'," The Gibson Girl's America: Drawings by Charles Dana Gibson (website), Library of Congress Exhibitions, https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/gibson-girls-america/the-gibson-girl-as-the-new-woman.html.

33 Jenny Cobb, "The Fashion of Suffrage," the Bullock Museum (website), https://www.thestoryoftexas.com/discover/artifacts/suffrage-dress-shoes.

34 Cally Blackman, "How the Suffragists Used Fashion to Further the Cause," *The Guardian*, October 8, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/fashion/2015/oct/08/suffragette-style-movement-embraced-fashion-branding.

35 Alden O'Brien, "Part 1: Great Strides for the 'New Woman,' Suffrage, and Fashion," *O Say Can You See?* (blog), National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, March 7, 2013, https://americanhistory.si.edu/blog/2013/03/guest-post-great-strides-for-the-new-woman-suffrage-and-fashion.html.

36 See Kenneth Florey, *Women's Suffrage Memorabilia: An Illustrated History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2013), 104; and O'Brien, "Great Strides for the 'New Woman'."

37 See Elsie Y. Heung, "Women's Suffrage in American Art: Recovering Forgotten Contexts, 1900–1920," (PhD diss, City University of New York, 2018), 74–79.

(Opposite page) Figure 19. Rodney Thomson, *Militants*, *Life* magazine, 1913, New York, cartoon

Rodney Thomson. *Militants.* Cartoon. *Life Magazine*, volume 61, no. 1587, March 27, 1913.

EMERGING GRAPHIC ART

Until the first decade of the 20th century, the women's suffrage movement did not make use of the graphic arts as a platform, with the exception of the odd magazine illustration or newspaper cartoon, where the question of women's suffrage, like virtually all contemporary debates, found its way into these publications. Those critical of women's suffrage were especially vocal at the start.

A cartoon (fig. 20) from 1859 showing a woman giving a speech as a group of men seem to jeer and protest is a good early example. The cartoon's title reads, "Ye May session of ye woman's rights convention—ye orator of ye day denouncing ye lords of creation."[38] "Lords of Creation" is a clear reference to the imagined speaker of the poem "The Times That Try Men's Souls," which was read at the women's rights convention in Rochester, New York, in 1848. The women in the illustration are portrayed with sneering, haughty expressions, and their femininity is overemphasized, through fashion, as if to make them seem out of place.

Figure 20. "Ye May session of ye woman's rights convention—ye orator of ye day denouncing ye lords of creation," *Harper's Weekly*, 1859, illustration. Courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

38 *Harper's Weekly* 3, June 11, 1859, 372.

Another type of anti-suffrage cartoon popular around midcentury depicted a husband who has been neglected by his selfish and uncaring suffragist wife. Currier and Ives published a lithograph of this type, *The Age of Iron* (fig. 21), in 1869. The image is quite direct: it shows a hapless man sewing and sitting next to a baby in a cradle while a male servant does the family's laundry nearby. Meanwhile, the man's wife turns away from them as she enters a waiting coach.

Figure 21. Currier and Ives, *The Age of Iron*, 1869, New York, lithograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, DC

Anti-suffrage illustrations continued in this vein for decades, growing more vocal and critical as the movement grew. An example from 1880 (fig. 22) includes eight different images, each of which uses a slightly different approach to criticize the suffragists. In each of the images, women act and dress like men, resulting in such adverse outcomes as men being left alone to tend to children and housework, women voting for politicians based on how handsome they are, and women behaving in generally unbecoming and unladylike ways.

Figure 22. Joseph Ferdinand Keppler, *A Female Suffrage Fancy*, *Puck*, 1880, cartoon, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, DC

In spite of the fact that anti-suffrage cartoons and illustrations were common during the 19th century, pro-suffrage imagery also contributed to the visual discourse. Two noteworthy examples from the 1880s celebrate the early rights of women to vote in the U.S. In New Jersey, voting had initially been legal for women before that right was revoked. Artist Howard Pyle commemorated this in his *Women at the Polls in the Good Old Times* (fig 23). Similarly, supporters of the movement called attention to the fact that women in the western U.S. were given the vote ahead of the rest of the country. *Woman Suffrage in Wyoming Territory* (fig. 24) celebrates the fact that women in Wyoming territory had suffrage since 1869.

These early examples foreshadow the art that would be produced for—as well as against—the women's suffrage movement in the coming decades. By the beginning of the 20th century, the women's suffrage movement had built a sturdy foundation, supported in no small part by the poetry, music, fashion, and art that made the movement meaningful to many different kinds of people. As the movement entered the new century, it built upon those foundations to make something that was both powerful and beautiful—visual art and poetry that would captivate and change minds the world over.

Figure 23. Howard Pyle, *Women at the Polls in the Good Old Times, Harper's Weekly*, 1880, hand-colored engraving, from the Suffrage Collection of Ann Lewis & Mike Sponder

(Following page) Figure 24. *Woman Suffrage in Wyoming Territory, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 1888, wood engraving, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, DC

FRANK LESLIE'S
ILLUSTRATED
NEWSPAPER

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1888, by MRS. FRANK LESLIE, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.—Entered at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., as Second-class Matter.

No. 1,732.—VOL. LXVII.] NEW YORK—FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 24, 1888. [PRICE, 10 CENTS. $4.00 YEARLY. 12 WEEKS, $1.00.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN WYOMING TERRITORY.—SCENE AT THE POLLS IN CHEYENNE.
FROM A PHOTO. BY KIRKLAND.—SEE PAGE 233.

PART 2: THE SUFFRAGE ART EXPLOSION

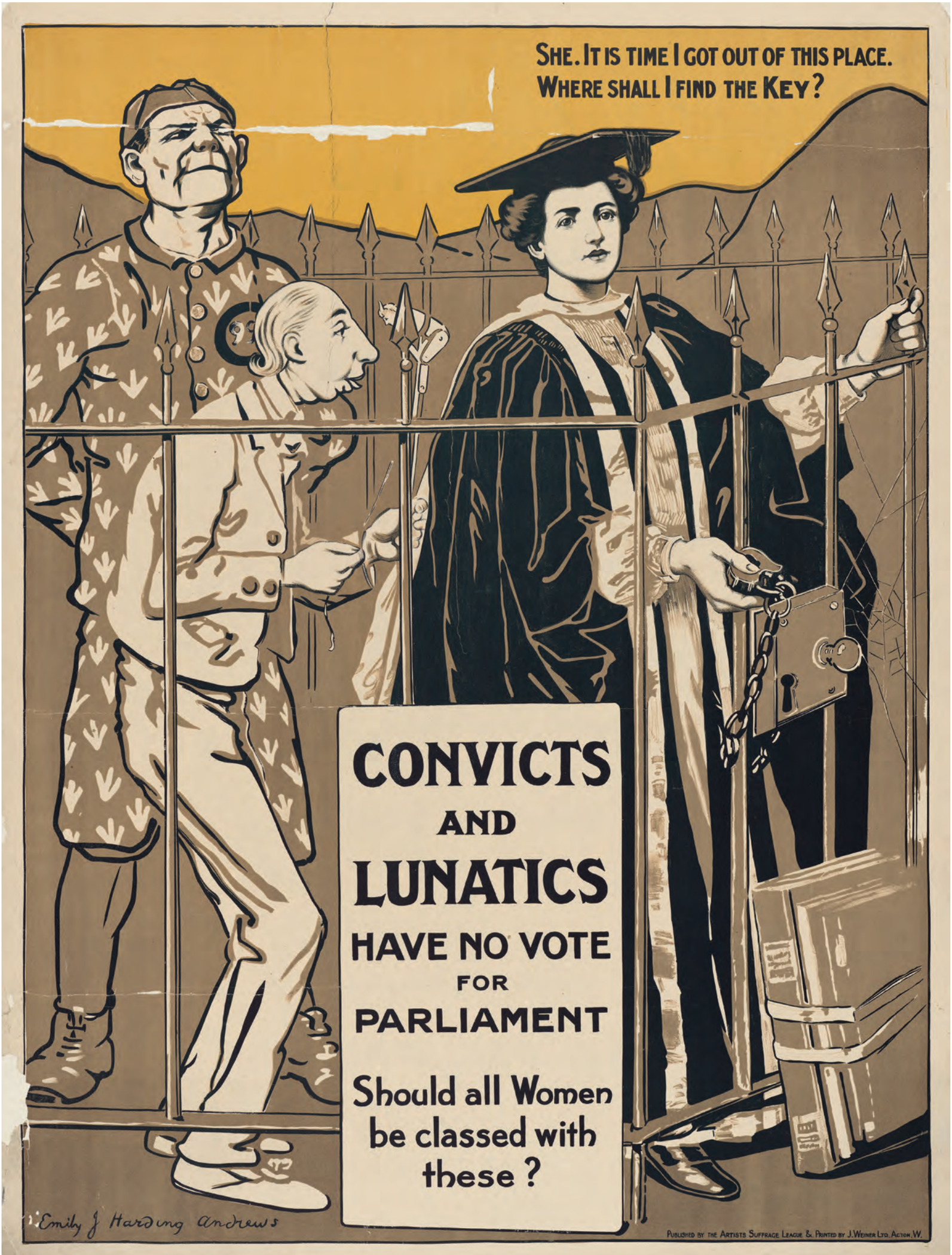
"The time has passed for discussion about the desirability of having the women actively participate in politics. They are in politics, and it is their duty to make their participation effective.... This necessarily means that much and aggressive effort is needed to maintain their interest, and to inform them concerning issues and public problems."

FLORENCE HARDING

UNITED BY A COMMON LANGUAGE: THE VISUAL INFLUENCE OF THE U.K. SUFFRAGETTES

In contrast to what was going on in the U.S., the suffrage movement in the United Kingdom distinguished itself early on by using the visual arts in a deliberate and organized way. Its use of visual art affected the tone and reach of the movement both within and well beyond the U.K.'s borders, particularly in the United States. One of the main forces driving the creation of visual art in the U.K. was the Artists' Suffrage League (ASL), an informal organization of professional women artists who worked to further the cause of women's suffrage. Their work sent powerful messages with bold statements in an easily legible visual language.[39] Images such as Emily J. Harding's *Convicts, Lunatics, and Women* (fig. 25), which shows a woman in a cap and gown caged along with both a socially outcast convict and "lunatic," draws a clear distinction between the woman's virtue and dignity and the "subhuman" status of her companions. A placard in the foreground reads, "Convicts and lunatics have no vote for Parliament. Should all women be classed with these?" Near the woman's head is text indicating the woman's inner monologue: "It is time I got out of this place. Where shall I find the key?" The dehumanizing of criminals and lunatics is off-putting by modern standards but would have been quite affecting and effective visual shorthand when the image was made in 1908.

39 Kenneth Florey, *Women's Suffrage Memorabilia: An Illustrated Historical Study* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2013), 75, 141–42.


SHE. IT IS TIME I GOT OUT OF THIS PLACE.
WHERE SHALL I FIND THE KEY?
CONVICTS
AND
LUNATICS
HAVE NO VOTE
FOR
PARLIAMENT
Should all Women
be classed with
these ?
Emily J Harding Andrews
PUBLISHED BY THE ARTISTS SUFFRAGE LEAGUE & PRINTED BY J.WEINER LTD. ACTON.W.

Other images produced by the ASL, most notably those by founder Mary Lowndes, used personifications of Justice to make a similar point. In her *Justice at the Door* (fig. 26), suffragists themselves are equated with the figure of Justice, who is denied equal rights. The image uses text to strengthen the message. Blind Justice herself stands at the door of the House of Commons, with the words "Justice—at the door: I, surely am not excluded" written under her feet. The imagery in all of these ASL posters is easily understood and had a powerful effect. Many of the ASL's illustrations were published in the British newspaper *Votes for Women*, which had a wide reach and thus tremendous potential to affect opinion. At its peak the newspaper had a circulation of more than 30,000, including readers in the U.S.

(Opposite page) Figure 25. Emily J. Harding, *Convicts, Lunatics, and Women!*, 1908, poster, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University

Figure 26. Mary Lowndes, *Justice at the Door*, Artists' Suffrage League, 1912, poster

Another suffrage arts organization, the Suffrage Atelier, was formed just two years after the Artists' Suffrage League in 1909. It employed both professional and amateur artists; paying them a percentage of the sales profits for their work allowed many women to gain a foothold in the professional arts world. Most of the atelier's work found its way onto postcards that circulated widely in the U.K. to support the movement.[40] The atelier also produced posters, such as the 1913 *What a Woman May Be* (fig. 27). The poster consists of two rows of five images. The top row, labeled "What a Woman may be and yet not have the Vote," shows a distinguished row of women representing the following positions: mayor, nurse, mother, doctor or teacher, and factory hand. The lower row, headed with the words "What a Man may have been & yet not lose the Vote," depicts five men of lesser positions: convict, lunatic, proprietor of white slaves, unfit for service, and drunkard. The message is straightforward and effective.

Figure 27. Suffrage Atelier, *What a Woman May Be, and yet Not Have the Vote*, 1913, poster, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University

40 Florey, 143.

Suffrage groups frequently held poster competitions, the winners of which were widely circulated. The subjects of these contests usually referenced current political debates in England. For example, Dora Meeson Coates won a poster contest in 1907 for her work *Political Help*. The image shows the wife of John Bull (the British equivalent of America's "Uncle Sam") refusing to feed her "children," who bear labels such as "Trade Unions," until she herself has been fed. The familiar domestic scene made into a scathing political metaphor was easily understood and sent a message with a powerful emotional impact.

Coates' image was one of seven British posters purchased by the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1911 for inclusion in its *Woman's Journal*, where they were reprinted and advertised for sale. Clearly the suffrage movement in America was aware of the powerful visual imagery being generated across the Atlantic and sought to channel the power of these images into their own campaigns at home. The six other posters included in the *Woman's Journal* were just as potent as Coates', although they touched on different political messages and each used different visual language.[41] Those six posters were *Factory Acts* by Emily Ford, *What's Sauce for the Gander Is Sauce for the Goose* by Mary Sargent Florence, *Votes for Workers* by W. F. Winter, *Handicapped* by Duncan Grant, *Coming In With the Tide/Mrs. Paddington*, by Emily J. Harding Andrews, and *Won't You Let Me Help You, John?* by John Harvey Drew.[42]

Most of these images emphasize the absurdity and injustice of gender inequality—although they come at that message from distinct perspectives. Mary Sargent Florence's *What's Sauce for the Gander* (fig. 28) makes use of the popular expression about parity to make a point about women's rights. She depicts two geese in her illustration; one eats from a bowl marked "votes" as it spurns the other goose from the bowl. Bringing a widely used expression into the context of women's suffrage and visually connecting it to the issue of votes helped to make it seem absurd that women were not permitted to vote.

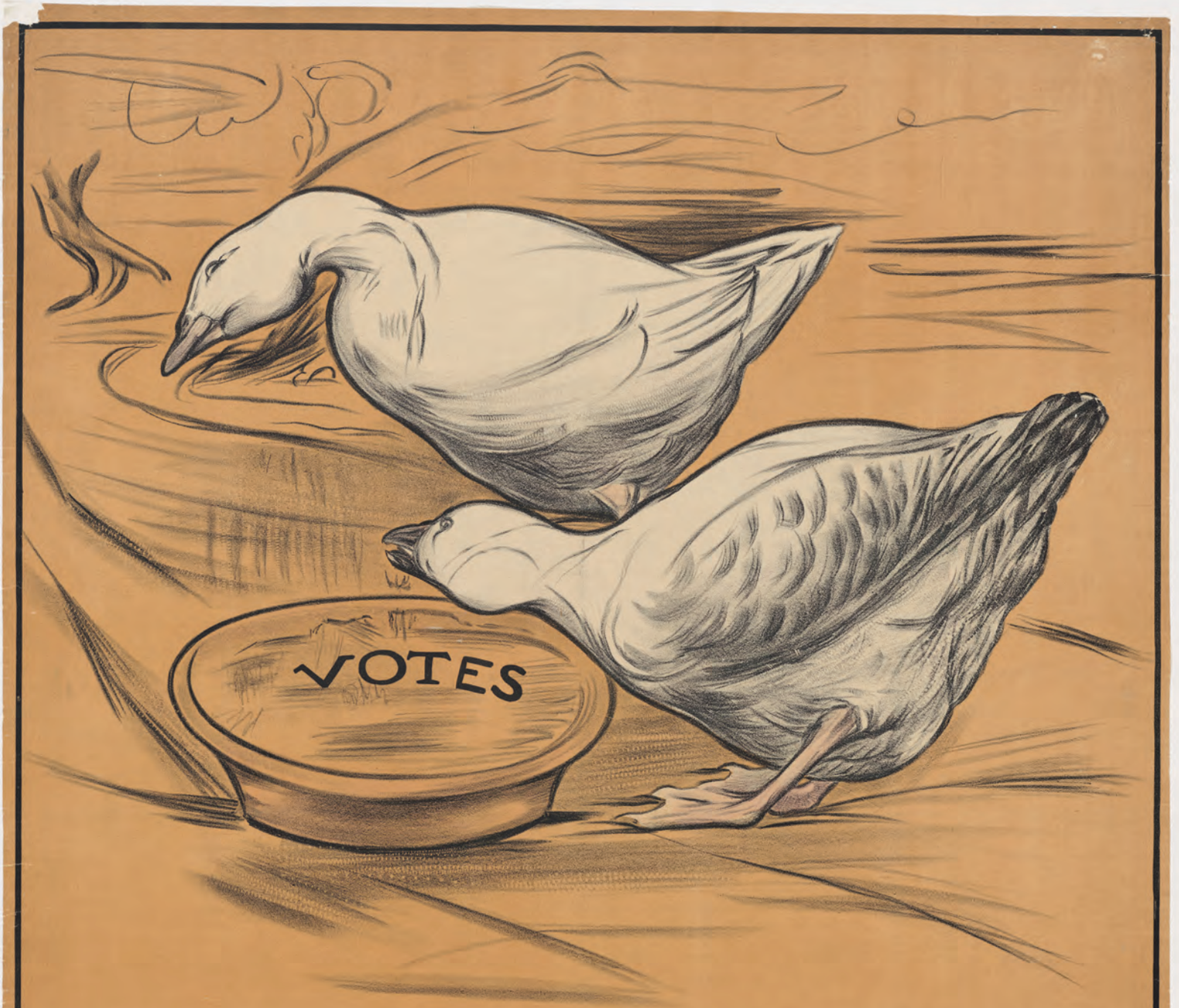
Duncan Grant's *Handicapped* (fig. 29) takes another approach, calling attention to the tremendous injustice of inequality. He shows a woman doing the hard work of rowing a boat (in the direction of the Houses of Parliament) as a massive wave threatens to overtake her boat. Riding atop that same wave is a sailboat with a sail labelled "votes." Unlike the struggling woman, the man in the sailboat leans back nearly nonchalantly, trailing his hand in the water and letting the wind move his vote-advantaged boat toward the same destination. Grant graphically and dramatically renders the disparity in their positions. This poster was an enormously effective image in broadcasting a larger message about voting rights and inequality.

(Following pages) Figure 28 (on left). Mary Sargent Florence, *What's Sauce for the Gander Is Sauce for the Goose*, 1907–18, poster, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.

Figure 29 (on right). Duncan Grant, *Handicapped*, 1907–18, poster, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University

41 Florey, 153.

42 See Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907–14* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 250.



WHAT'S SAUCE FOR the GANDER IS SAUCE FOR the GOOSE

PRINTED BY WEINERS, ACTON, W. & PUBLISHED BY THE ARTISTS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

HANDICAPPED!

CARL HENTSCHEL Ltd 182, 183 & 184 FLEET St E.C.

PUBLISHED BY THE ARTISTS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

Another affecting poster was Emily J. Harding Andrews' *Coming in With the Tide* (fig. 30), which rather than focusing on inequality calls attention to the futility of fighting women's suffrage. Her image seems to say the battle is all but won for the suffragettes: an older, anti-suffrage woman stands at her front stoop, pointlessly sweeping the incoming tide away as it washes up against and floods her house. The "tide" here, of course, is women's suffrage, and the words "womens suffrage" [sic], "votes," and "votes for women" are stylistically used to create the wave patterns of the tide encroaching on the house. To drive the message home, a boat marked "womens suffrage" [sic] carrying a group of young women, sails toward the older woman's house along with the rising tide. In contrast to the women on the sailboat, the older woman looks tired and desperate, the words "Coming in with the tide indeed! I'LL SOON STOP THEIR TIDE!!" pasted on the wall behind her. Andrews is yet another ASL artist who used art to suggest the absurdity of not allowing women to vote. Her image deftly communicated a powerful message in a visual format that took but an instant to "read" and understand.

We know there was strong demand for these posters in the U.S. because after their initial publication in the *Woman's Journal*, NAWSA sold even more ASL posters in their national catalogue that was published just a few years later. There is also evidence that these posters influenced public opinion. In the U.K., restrictions were put into effect regulating which ASL images could be shown where, since they depicted a distinctly unflattering view of British government.[43]

There were other examples of art created in Britain beyond the seven initially sold by NAWSA that also had a lasting effect on the suffrage arts of the U.S. For example, Caroline Watts created her iconic image *The Bugler Girl* (fig. 31) for the ASL in 1908 to promote a suffrage rally. Her "bugler" became something of an emblem for women's suffrage, especially in the U.S. where artists borrowed from it. The moving image combines motifs from militaristic and classical art, creating an allegorical figure of Liberty in the service of justice.

Between the arrival of the seven ASL posters on American soil and the general profusion of suffrage imagery coming out of the U.K. in the first decade of the twentieth century, the tenor of the women's suffrage movement in the U.S. also began to change. As women continued to fight for suffrage, American artists built on their awareness of this new visual language and began to make more of their own striking images to use in the fight for the rights of American women. Soon, suffrage art was being created on a massive scale that amounted to an organized campaign of visual propaganda. Art was changing the way people viewed the issue of suffrage. And how could it not? Suffrage art so saturated American culture that it became almost unavoidable. As we'll see in the next section, the women's suffrage movement began to use the visual arts in almost every conceivable way, taking the debate out of the convention halls and protest rallies and bringing it into American women's private lives, even those less politically engaged. The spark of the movement was turning into a blaze.

(Opposite page) Figure 30. Emily J. Harding Andrews, *Coming In with the Tide*, 1907–18, poster, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University

43 Florey, 153.

COMING IN WITH THE TIDE

CARL HENTSCHEL Ltd 182, 183 & 184 FLEET St E.C.

PUBLISHED BY THE ARTISTS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

MARCH and MASS-MEETING

SATURDAY
JUNE 13th

EMBANKMENT 3 o'clock
ALBERT HALL 4·30

Route: Northumberland Avenue, Cockspur Street, Waterloo Place, Piccadilly, Knightsbridge, Albert Hall.

Tickets for the Albert Hall Meeting, from 6d. to 5s. to be obtained National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster.

PRINTED BY WEINER, ACTON. PUBLISHED BY THE ARTIST'S SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

VISUAL ART PROPELS THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT

(Opposite page) Figure 31. Caroline Watts, *The Bugler Girl*, 1908, poster, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University

In the first decade of the 20th century, invigorated by the vitality of the U.K. suffrage movement, the U.S. women's right to vote campaign assumed an even more visible presence in American culture. Via mass-market prints, such as cartoons and illustrations, as well as the high arts formats of painting and sculpture, suffragists used art to persuasively make the case for the equality of women. Many artists, of course, also used these outlets to argue against women's suffrage.

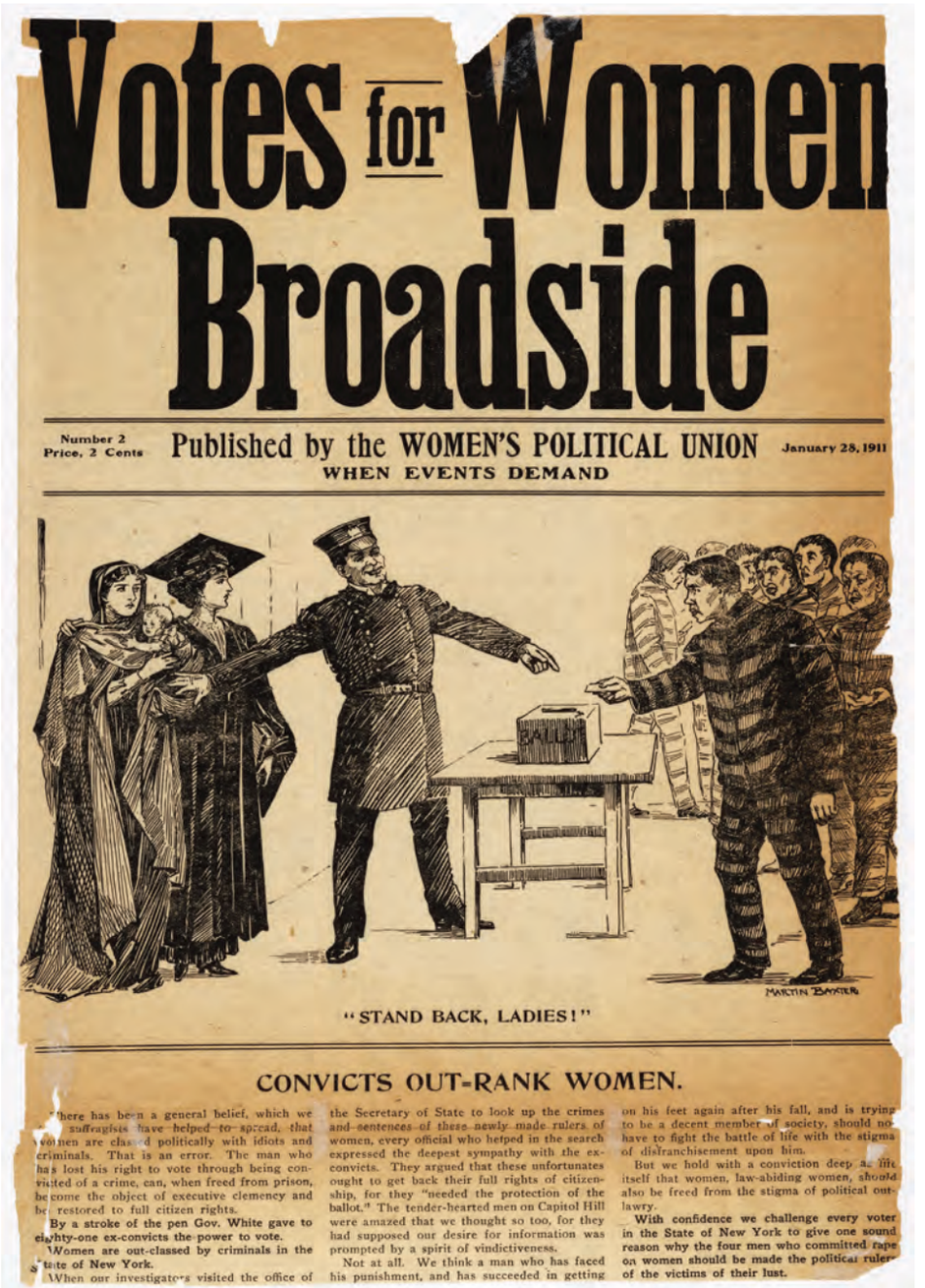
Magazine and newspaper illustrations, some of the first avenues for suffrage-related visual art, were now widespread at the start of the 20th century. Whereas previously an image may have only been published in a magazine or newspaper, now it might appear in different forms, including posters or the novel medium of postcards. Images were also now being simultaneously printed in multiple formats.

Figure 32. Woman Suffrage Party of New York City, *Paupers, Lunatics, Criminals, and Idiots*, ca. 1910, postcard. From the Suffrage Collection of Dr. Kenneth Florey

Many of the illustrations made in the first decades of the 20th century were clearly influenced by suffrage arts in the U.K. Specifically, several surviving examples show that American artists borrowed the theme of contrasting "lesser" kinds of people who are denied the vote with its dignified heroines. The postcard *Paupers, Lunatics, Criminals, and Idiots* (fig. 32) made for the Woman Suffrage Party of New York is very similar to Emily J. Harding's *Convicts, Lunatics, and Women*, made just a few years earlier for the ASL in the U.K. Instead of a cage, however, here a woman stands close to the disenfranchised, looking toward a building resembling the U.S. Capitol. The words "We pray you to remove your women constituents from the disenfranchised class of paupers, lunatics, criminals and idiots . . ." emphasize the postcard's message. *Linked Together by the Law* (fig. 33) by May Wilson Preston, shows a dignified young woman and a small child chained to two men, presumably a convict and a "lunatic."

Figure 33. May Wilson Preston, *Linked Together by the Law*, 1911, postcard. Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal

The dignity of the woman and child are, of course, contrasted with the indignity of their companions. A broadside (fig. 34) published by the Women's Political Union took the same approach in its attempt to call attention to the injustice of New York voting laws. The text beneath the image addresses the injustice of allowing former convicts to vote while denying that right to women. The image shows two different types of women: an educated woman in a cap and gown and an idealized mother with a baby. Both women are being physically held back from voting by a police officer proclaiming, "Stand back, Ladies!" in order to allow a line of men wearing striped prison uniforms to drop their votes in the ballot box.



Votes for Women Broadside

Number 2
Price, 2 Cents

Published by the WOMEN'S POLITICAL UNION
WHEN EVENTS DEMAND

January 28, 1911

"STAND BACK, LADIES!"

CONVICTS OUT-RANK WOMEN.

There has been a general belief, which we suffragists have helped to spread, that women are classed politically with idiots and criminals. That is an error. The man who has lost his right to vote through being convicted of a crime, can, when freed from prison, become the object of executive clemency and be restored to full citizen rights.

By a stroke of the pen Gov. White gave to eighty-one ex-convicts the power to vote.

Women are out-classed by criminals in the State of New York.

When our investigators visited the office of the Secretary of State to look up the crimes and sentences of these newly made rulers of women, every official who helped in the search expressed the deepest sympathy with the ex-convicts. They argued that these unfortunates ought to get back their full rights of citizenship, for they "needed the protection of the ballot." The tender-hearted men on Capitol Hill were amazed that we thought so too, for they had supposed our desire for information was prompted by a spirit of vindictiveness.

Not at all. We think a man who has faced his punishment, and has succeeded in getting on his feet again after his fall, and is trying to be a decent member of society, should not have to fight the battle of life with the stigma of disfranchisement upon him.

But we hold with a conviction deep as life itself that women, law-abiding women, should also be freed from the stigma of political outlawry.

With confidence we challenge every voter in the State of New York to give one sound reason why the four men who committed rape on women should be made the political rulers of the victims of their lust.

Figure 34. Women's Political Union, *Votes for Women*, 1911, broadside, Library of Congress, Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897-1911, Rare Book And Special Collections Division, Washington, DC

Another broadside, *The Trumpeter Awaking New York* (fig. 35), produced by the Women's Political Union for New York City, borrows directly from Caroline Watts' *Bugler Girl* (see fig. 31) and depicts a female bugler in a distinctly American context. Bearing a flag with five stars, representing the five states where women enjoyed suffrage at the time, she is trumpeting the battle call to New York women. The caption under the image reads, "The trumpeter realizing all the achievements of the women of the past, bearing a banner which in the number of the stars emblazoned on it suggests the five States in which women have won political freedom, calls in bugle notes upon the women of New York to march on May sixth in solemn protest against their continued disfranchisement." This was but one of many instances of Watts' *Bugler Girl* being adopted and serving as shorthand for women's suffrage.

BROADSIDE

Price 2 Cents
Number 6

Published by the WOMEN'S POLITICAL UNION

APRIL, 1911

WHEN EVENTS DEMAND

THE TRUMPETER AWAKING NEW YORK

The trumpeter realizing all the achievements of the women of the past, bearing a banner which in the number of the stars emblazoned on it suggests the five States in which women have won political freedom, calls in bugle notes upon the women of New York to march on May Sixth in solemn protest against their continued disfranchisement.

MARCHING ON!

THROUGH THE AGES, when stirred by vital issues MEN HAVE MARCHED FORTH to beat of drum, marched with banners flying, marched forth TO CARRY THEIR MESSAGE TO THE DISBELIEVING, to the doubting. The Church has had its processions to preach its evangel in the city's streets. Patriots and reformers have marched forth to demonstrate in the eyes of all men their faith, their strength. SHALL THE BELIEVERS IN THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN HIDE THEMSELVES, OR SHALL THEY MARCH FORTH TO PROTEST AGAINST THEIR POLITICAL ENSLAVEMENT?

No woman who appreciates her debt to the women of e past will hesitate to join the procession of women May sixth. All that we enjoy of rights to our earnings, of rights to our property, of rights to our children, of rights to our very selves, the women of yesterday gained for us. Our pioneers marched on, faces ever forward. They braved all things, and we harvest the fruit of their pain.

No woman who feels the duty to pass on to our daughters the rich heritage of political freedom, no woman who feels the pressing need of women to bear their share in making the laws under which they live, under which they labor, under which they die, will fail to march in honor to the women of the past, in dedication to the women of the future, in loyalty to the women of the present. No woman who feels the insult of the continued neglect of our cause by the legislature will fail to enter the procession of protest.

Let no sympathizer hesitate. THOSE WHO ARE NOT WITH US, WILL BE COUNTED AGAINST US. Every unit will tell; yes each woman in the march will count as ten, for her self-reliance and determination will convince the disbelievers in her earnestness as naught else can.

"And Reason, that old man, said to her, 'Silence! What do you hear?'

And she listened intently and she said, 'I hear a sound of feet, a thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands, and they beat this way!'

He said, 'They are the feet of those who shall follow you. Lead on!'"

MARCH ON, OH WOMEN OF TO-DAY, AND WIN THE RIGHT TO SERVE THE HOME AND THE STATE TO THE FULLEST. Shoulder to shoulder let us march, the women of the trades, the women of the professions, the women of business, the women of the home. MARCH ON, AND KNOW THE NEW SELF-SACRIFICE, THE NEW SOLIDARITY! MARCH ON!

(Opposite page) Figure 35. Women's Political Union, *Trumpeter Awakening New York*, 1911, broadside, Library of Congress, Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897-1911, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Washington, DC

Figure 36. Clifford K. Berryman, illustration, 1900, postcard. From the Suffrage Collection of Dr. Kenneth Florey

While these new cartoons borrowed messaging from their U.K. sisters, the earlier tradition of the newspaper-style political cartoon also persisted—and flourished. Such images were less focused on big ideas and were more concerned with making acute political critiques. One striking example, an illustration (fig. 36) by Pulitzer Prize-winning cartoonist Clifford K. Berryman, critiques the common political usage of the term "the people." The image shows President Roosevelt declaring, "Let the people rule!" A group of men carry a sign reading, "We're the people," while the sign hoisted by a group of animals reads, "We're the animals." A group of women excluded from either category carry a sign reading, "We're what?"

Figure 37. Illustrations, Library of Congress, Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks, 1897-1911, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Washington, DC

A pair of similar cartoons (fig. 37) survives from a NAWSA scrapbook collection. In *Woman's Sphere*, a woman peers over a fence in a walled-in space marked "Woman's sphere," neglecting her toys—a doll labelled "fashion" and a top labelled "gossip." The cartoon's caption reads, "Woman Devotes Her Time to Gossip and Clothes Because She Has Nothing Else to Talk About. Give Her Broader Interests and She Will Cease to Be Vain and Frivolous." Although the image supports the broadening of the concept of the "woman's sphere," it is damning in its perception of contemporary woman. The other image is less pointed; it shows a fashionable young woman pushing a baby carriage as she casts her vote.

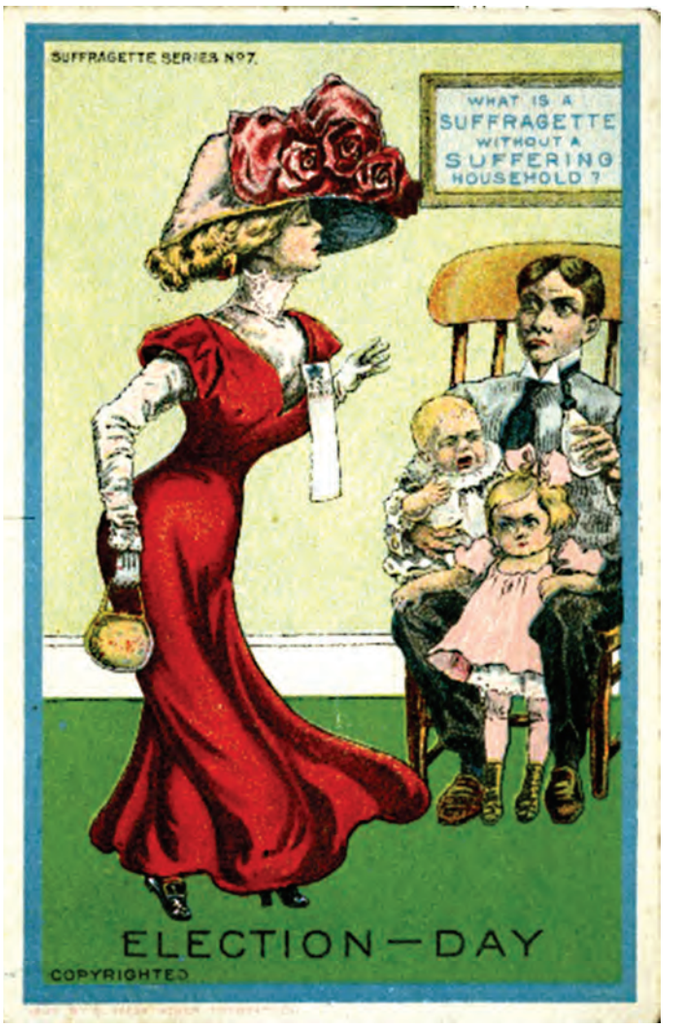
Still another set of surviving clippings (fig. 38) from the NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks shows the more journalistic side of newspaper cartoons: prominent suffrage leaders are depicted alongside laudatory text about the suffrage movement, and another clipping shows a woman's suffrage meeting in New York City.

Naturally, there continued to be naysayers and they contributed to the flourishing visual discourse with their own illustrations. Such anti-suffrage imagery was especially widespread in the form of postcards. By the turn of the century, postcards were quite a popular new print medium; people collected them and displayed them in their homes.[44] Illustrations and cartoons initially published elsewhere often subsequently appeared on these fashionable new cards, but many images were also specifically produced with this format in mind.

Figure 38. "Give Us the Ballot", *New York Press*, 1909, clipping illustrations. Courtesy of the Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

44 Florey, 115.


SUFFRAGETTE SERIES Nº 11.
EVERYBODY WORKS BUT MOTHER SHE'S A SUFFRAGETT
I WANT TO VOTE, BUT
MY·WIFE·WONT·LET·ME
COPYRIGHTED. 1909 BY DUNSTON-WEILER LITHOGRAPH CO.


SUFFRAGETTE SERIES Nº 7.
WHAT IS A SUFFRAGETTE WITHOUT A SUFFERING HOUSEHOLD ?
ELECTION—DAY
COPYRIGHTED


SUFFRAGETTE SERIES Nº 6.
UNCLE SAM, SUFFRAGEE.
COPYRIGHTED.


SUFFRAGETTE SERIES Nº 1.
·SUFFRAGETTE MADONNA·
COPYRIGHT 1909 BY DUNSTON-WEILER LITHOGRAPH CO.
COPYRIGHTED

Commercial companies often created postcards in series, and one of the most popular sets of anti-suffrage postcards was produced by Dunston-Weiler Lithograph Company in 1909. The "Suffragette Series," as it was called, consisted of 12 postcards, all relying on the subversion of gender roles, a trope wielded by anti-suffragettes since the movement's early days. Some of the most notable examples are *I Want to Vote but My Wife Won't Let Me* (fig. 39), *Election Day* (fig. 40), *Uncle Sam, Suffragee* (fig. 41), *Suffragette Madonna* (fig. 42), and *Suffragette Vote-Getting* (fig. 43). Cards like these, issued in sets, were the most popular, and as they were publicly circulated, clearly played a prominent role in the women's suffrage debate.[45] Indeed, as one scholar points out, the popularity of postcards in the early 20th century "rivals the power of the internet in contemporary times."[46]

(Opposite page, clockwise from top left) Figure 39. Suffragette Series No 11: *I Want to Vote, but My Wife Won't Let Me.*

Figure 40. Suffragette Series No 7: *Election Day.*

Figure 41. Suffragette Series No 6: *Uncle Sam, Suffragee.*

Figure 42. Suffragette Series No 1: *Suffragette Madonna.*

All by the Dunston-Weiler Lithograph Company, New York, 1909, postcard, Catherine H. Palczewski Suffrage Postcard Archive, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, Iowa

Although the anti-suffragists were prolific producers of postcards, so were those in favor of suffrage. Women's suffrage groups first began using postcards as an easy way to spread textual information, especially regarding organization meetings. These cards, however, were purely text-based and did not include graphic art. Another type of pro-suffrage postcard—quite popular, especially for its use of new, exciting technology—was the photo card.

Photo cards were often event-specific, created to commemorate an event such as a meeting or march.[47] Suffragists also created "message cards" postcards with visual images and propagandistic messaging. Suffrage historian Kenneth Florey calls these "an extremely effective form of advertising and persuasion to the general public." Florey also points out that these pro-suffrage cards were widely available: advertised in publications, sold in-person and via mail order, and distributed at rallies.[48]

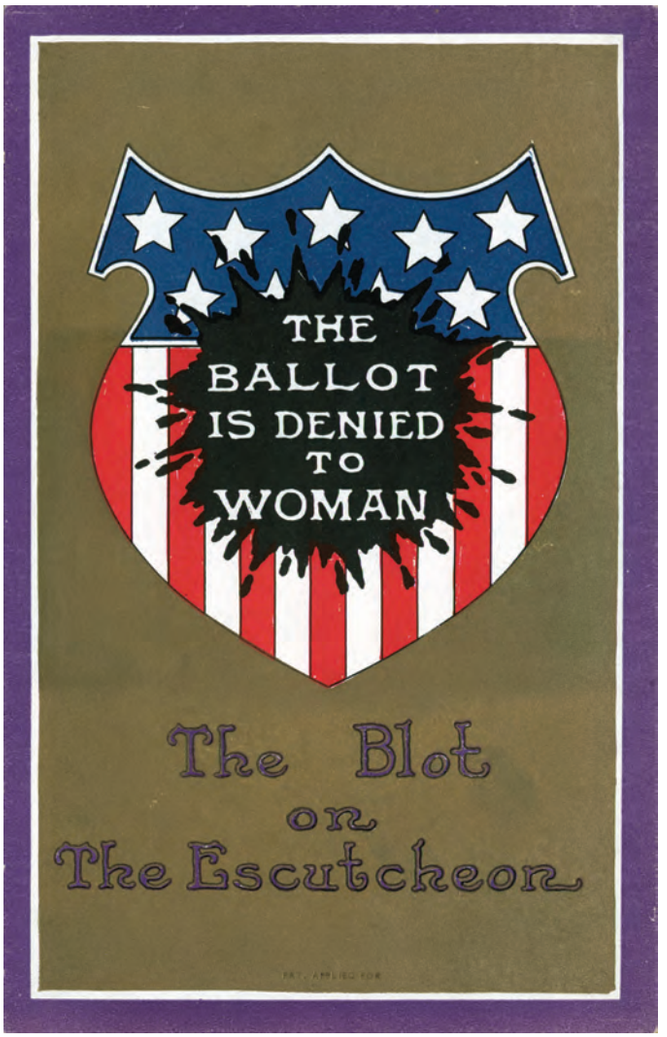
Figure 43. Suffragette Series No 4: *Suffragette Vote-Getting*. Dunston-Weiler Lithograph Company, New York, 1909, postcard, Catherine H. Palczewski Suffrage Postcard Archive, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, Iowa

45 Florey, 131.

46 "Postcard History," Palczewski Suffrage Postcard Archive (website), https://sites.uni.edu/palczews/postcard_archive.html#fn4.

47 See Florey, 115–24; and "Postcard History."

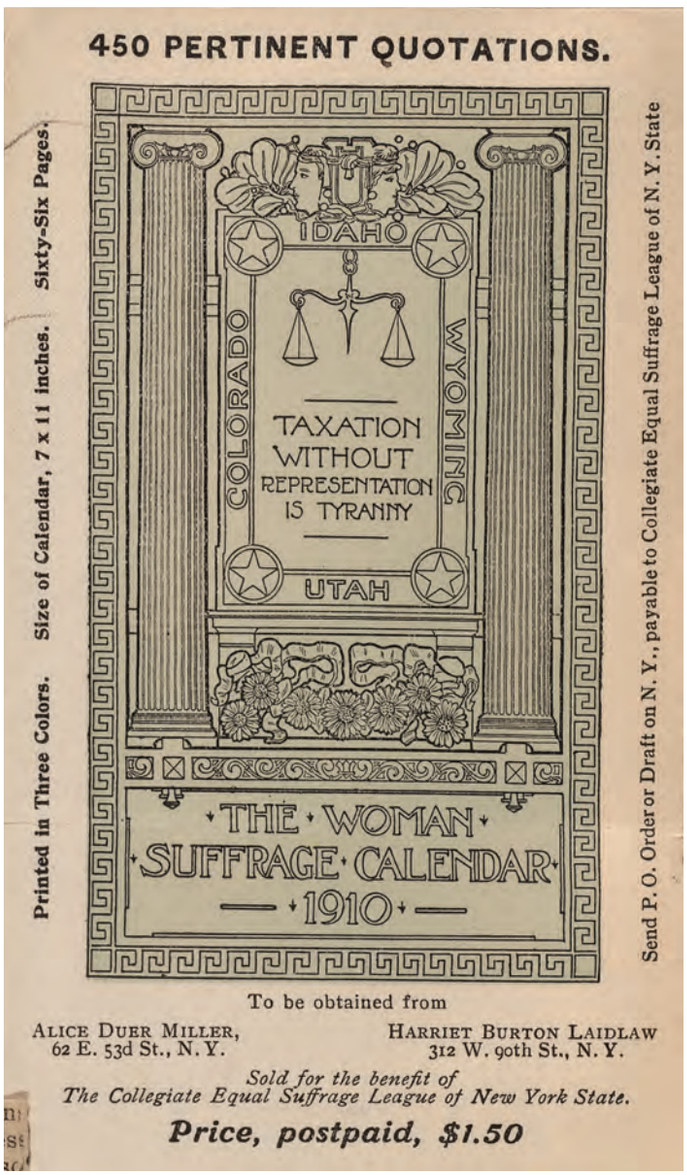
48 Florey 117–18.


THE
BALLOT
IS DENIED
TO
WOMAN
The Blot
on
The Escutcheon


VOTES FOR WOMEN
For the work of a day,
For the taxes we pay,
For the Laws we obey,
We want something to say.
6342


GIVE MOTHER THE VOTE
WE NEED IT
VOTES FOR OUR MOTHERS
OUR FOOD OUR HEALTH OUR PLAY
OUR HOMES OUR SCHOOLS OUR WORK
ARE RULED BY MEN'S VOTES
Isn't it a funny thing
That Father cannot see
Why Mother ought to have a vote
On how these things should be?
THINK IT OVER

NAWSA was one of the leading producers of message cards, and their messaging was concise and effective, as *The Blot on the Escutcheon* (fig. 44) shows. In this postcard there is quite literally a "blot" on the American federal shield, that blot being the fact that "the ballot is denied to woman." Suffrage debates acted out by cute boys and girls was another popular postcard theme. *Votes for Women* (fig. 45) is an excellent example of this type, which was especially favored because it made the suffrage debates seem harmless.[49] Many postcards also used babies to request the vote for their mothers, appealing to the idea that a mother should undeniably have legal input into how her child is fed, schooled, and raised. A perfect example of this category is *Give Mother the Vote* (fig. 46), which shows a group of babies marching with a flag reading, "Votes For Our Mothers." They further explain their request in the text below them: "Our food, our health, our play, our homes, our school, our work are ruled by men's votes. Isn't it a funny thing that father cannot see why mother ought to have a vote on how these things should be? Think it over."



(Opposite page, clockwise from top left) Figure 44. National American Woman Suffrage Association, *The Blot on the Escutcheon*, 1910, postcard, Catherine H. Palczewski Suffrage Postcard Archive, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, Iowa.

Figure 45. *Votes for Women*, 1913, postcard, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

Figure 46. National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, *Give Mother the Vote, We Need It*, New York, undated, poster, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University

Figure 47. Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of New York, "Woman Suffrage Calendar, 1910," advertisement card. Courtesy of the Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Postcards were one of the most prominent and beloved modes of pro-suffrage messaging, but these sorts of images were also featured in other kinds of mass-market products, from buttons and badges to paper napkins. The calendar was one of the first such kinds of suffrage ephemera. The Collegiate Equal Suffrage

49 Florey, 115–16.

League of New York State sold one, containing "450 pertinent quotations," in 1910 (fig. 47). It uses the simple visual devices of scales and classical architectural columns to allude to the American legal system as well as to the abstract concept of justice, supplemented by the text, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Set within this imagery the names of the states Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado surround the central image, a reminder of the fact that women could vote in those four states, and an appeal to bring such justice to the rest of the country.

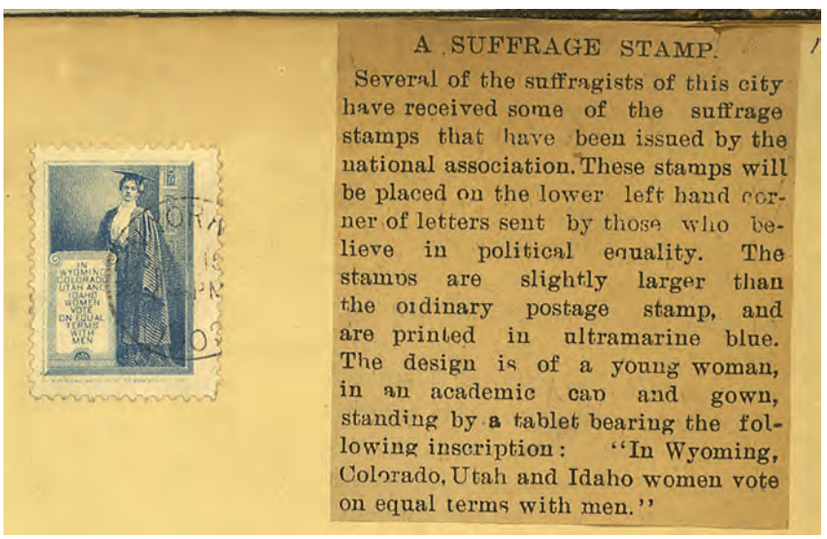


Figure 48. "Suffrage Stamp," 1902, clipping and stamp. Courtesy of the Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Suffrage imagery also began to appear on the suffrage stamp, which borrowed from the 19th-century tradition of using political stamps in support of a political candidate.[50] An early example (fig. 48) archived in the Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks at the Library of Congress shows a woman wearing a cap and gown standing next to a placard that reads, "In Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho women vote on equal terms with men." The clipping accompanying this stamp in the Library of Congress provides an explanation for how it could be used: "These stamps will be placed on the lower left-hand corner of letters sent by those who believe in political equality."

To elevate the cause of women's suffrage, more and more trained artists were producing works that could be used as part of the mass-market print culture of posters, postcards, and pamphlets as well as artworks on their own.

(Opposite page) Figure 49. Evelyn Rumsey Cary, *Woman's Suffrage*, 1905, oil painting, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University

50 Florey, 175.


WOMAN
SUFFRAGE
GIVE HER OF THE FRUIT OF HER HANDS, AND LET HER OWN WORKS PRAISE HER IN THE GATES.
COPYRIGHTED BY EVELYN RUMSEY CARY.
E.R.C.
THE MUNRO & HARFORD CO.

One early example is the 1905 oil painting *Woman's Suffrage* by Evelyn Rumsey Cary (fig. 49). Cary was a native of Buffalo, New York. Although little is known of her early artistic career, she established a modest name for herself as a painter. She rose to fame overnight in 1901 when she painted *The Spirit of Niagara*, depicting Niagara Falls in the form of a woman. Cary's painting became the official emblem of the Pan-American Exposition in 1901, and more than 100,000 copies of her image were printed and distributed around the country in anticipation of this spectacular World's Fair.[51] Having used the female form as allegory to masterful effect in that painting, Cary later used this skill in *Woman's Suffrage*, featuring a female figure whose flowing dress and laurel crown reference classical antiquity. Morphing into a tree, she sprouts branches from her fingertips and roots at her feet. Cary thus lends the figure authority by associating her with classical values and virtues while also making her into an iconic Mother Nature figure. Placing her in front of a classical building suggested the importance of women's involvement in the country's most important institutions. Cary also references the story of Daphne and Apollo from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, an archetypal subject in art history. The story of the Greek goddess being turned into a tree as a means of evading the unwanted romantic pursuit of the god Apollo has obvious feminist undertones. That Cary references this story in the context of a painting about women's suffrage seems significant. Further strengthening the message of this already powerful image is the Biblical quotation from Proverbs 31:31: "Give her of the fruit of her hands, and let her own works praise her in the gates." Cary's painting was reproduced in posters, pamphlets, magazine covers, and other formats. For example, a copy of the painting graced the back cover of the *Woman Citizen* in 1918. Cary's tremendously popular image became an important icon for the American suffrage movement.[52]

Bertha Margaret Boyé of Oakland, California, created another iconic work of art with her *Votes for Women* poster (fig. 50) in 1911. Her image was selected as the winner for a 1911 poster contest hosted by the San Francisco College Equal Suffrage League in support of suffrage rights in California.[53] Boyé's image is at once bold and subtle. She depicts a woman standing in front of San Francisco's bay and hills. The sun creates a halo around her head, and gently sloping hills rise up on either side of her shoulders, creating the appearance of a religious icon. Boyé's treatment of the woman's body is such that most of it appears flattened and transparent, blending in with the water in the foreground of this scenic, striking landscape. At her head and shoulders, however, she takes on greater three-dimensionality, seeming to meld into the robust California hillside. The neckline of her dress perfectly matches up with the shoreline at the base of the hills on either side of her, creating the illusion of a bridge between them. As with Cary's image, this figure is physically rooted to the land in which she is depicted. The image was displayed in storefronts all over San Francisco in the week leading up to the vote, which was ultimately successful, giving California women suffrage in 1911. The

51 "Evelyn Rumsey Cary, 1855–1924," The History of Buffalo, New York (website), https://buffaloah.com/h/carye/carye.html.

52 "Evelyn Rumsey Cary 'Woman Suffrage' Poster, ca. 1905," appraisal transcript, Antiques Roadshow: Discovering America's Hidden Treasures (website), PBS, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/roadshow/season/13/hartford-ct/appraisals/woman-suffrage-poster-ca-1905-200806A31/.

53 Kate Clarke Lemay, *Votes for Women!: A Portrait of Persistence* (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2019), 186.

(Opposite page) Figure 50. Bertha Margaret Boyé, *Votes for Women*, Sierra Art Engraving Co. Press and Hansen Company, 1911, poster, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University

1911


VOTES for WOMEN
B.M.Boye'
ENGRAVINGS
SIERRA ART & ENGRAVING CO.
PRESS
THE HANSEN COMPANY
SAN FRANCISCO

image was reproduced and used by suffrage campaigns across the country until federal suffrage was won nine years later.[54]

The artist Cornelia Cassady-Davis produced an extremely popular poster (fig. 51) for the Ohio "Votes for Women" campaign in 1912 using imagery and techniques similar to those used by Boyé in her successful California poster.[55] Cassady-Davis' woman stands in front of a group of hills, her shoulders and head blending into the landscape. Like Boyé's woman, this woman's head is also framed by the sun, creating a halo effect. At either side of her are sheaves of wheat, symbolic of the earth's abundance. Like most successful posters, this image was printed on many different kinds of suffrage items, including postcards.

Figure 51. Cornelia Cassady-Davis, *Let Ohio Women Vote*, 1912, postcard. From the Suffrage Collection of Dr. Kenneth Florey

The use of a woman within an allegorical context became a recurring theme in much of the pro-suffrage imagery of the early 20th century. Indeed, it became something of a shorthand for the twin ideals of justice and virtue as associated with the suffrage cause. This kind of imagery appeared throughout the movement from the work of woman cartoonists to posters to campaign fliers and pamphlets.

(Opposite page) Figure 52. Broad Street Theatre Philadelphia, "suffrage plays matinee," 1911, poster, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University

54 Robert P. J. Cooney Jr., "California Women Suffrage Centennial: A Brief Summary of the 1911 Campaign," Alex Padilla, California Secretary of State (website), https://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/celebrating-womens-suffrage/california-women-suffrage-centennial/.

55 "Let Ohio Women Vote Postcard," Ohio History Connection Selections (website), https://ohiomemory.org/digital/collection/p267401coll32/id/16226/.

SUFFRAGE PLAYS

UNDER THE AUSPICES
OF THE

Pennsylvania Limited
Suffrage League
Equal Franchise League
and the College Equal
Suffrage League

MATINEE

FEBRUARY 16, 1911, AT 2.30 P.M.
BROAD STREET THEATRE

TICKETS FOR SALE AT THE
PLASTIC CLUB
TEN A. M. TO ONE P. M.

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
MRS. OTIS SKINNER and
MISS BEATRICE FORBES ROBERTSON

Figure 53. Ella Buchanan, *The Suffragist Arousing Her Sisters*, statuette, The Elman Art Company, 1911, postcard, Catherine H. Palczewski Suffrage Postcard Archive, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, Iowa

Theatrical work and its advertising were also conduits for the cause. Actors not only performed in feminist-minded plays but also wrote and performed in suffrage shows written and inspired by movement members and supporters.[56] A poster advertising a matinee performance of "suffrage plays" at the Broad Street Theater in Philadelphia (fig. 52) is also a beautiful work of art in the tradition of artists like Cary, Boyé, and Cassady-Davis, featuring a woman in classical garb standing atop the earth in front of Philadelphia's famed Liberty Bell—a clear reference to the liberty sought by suffragists. As the graphic arts had begun to blossom in the early 20th century, even advertisements like this were carefully crafted and borrowed themes from the history of art to inspire its audience.

56 Introduction to *On to Victory: Propaganda Plays of the Woman Suffrage Movement*, ed. Bettina Friedl (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987), 7–9.

Even the field of sculpture entered into the conversation about women's suffrage. The sculptor Ella Buchanan's contribution had a wide reach in the movement. She sculpted *The Suffragist Arousing Her Sisters* (fig. 53) in 1911. As with so much of the art being produced for the suffrage movement in this era, her work borrows from allegorical tropes used over centuries of art history to connect the cause of women's suffrage to some of the great and just causes of human history. The woman in the center of the group is the suffragist, blowing her metaphoric horn to awaken her sisters. The downtrodden figures around her represent the concepts of Degradation, Vanity, Conventionality, and the Wage Earner, all of whom rely on the suffragist to lift them up.[57] Buchanan's sculpture also references Caroline Watts' famous *Bugler Girl*, which originated in the U.K. and became something of a suffrage icon in the U.S. Buchanan's work actively circulated in the form of suffrage merchandise, from photographs that were printed on postcards to cast statuette replicas.[58]

Figure 54. Lou Rogers, *Tearing off the Bonds*, *Judge* magazine, 1912, cartoon

The first decades of the 20th century were also notable for the rise of the woman cartoonist. A number of trained women artists—who were also suffragists—were recognized for their talents and published in newspapers and magazines around the country. Most importantly, these cartoons were not one-offs; many artists were valued enough that they were retained as regular contributors, enabling them the latitude to develop a distinct creative style and messaging aesthetic. Lou Rogers was one of the most notable of these early woman cartoonists, and one of the very first American women to make a career as a cartoonist. She was also a suffragist who was actively involved in the National Woman Suffrage Association.[59] She regularly contributed to the *Woman's Journal* among other publications and was eventually

57 Florey, 181.

58 Florey.

59 Maren Williams, "She Changed Comics: Lou Rogers, Advocate for Women's Rights," Comic Book League Defense Fund (website), March 17, 2017, http://cbldf.org/2017/03/she-changed-comics-lou-rogers-advocate-for-womens-rights/.

Figure 55. Lou Rogers, *Welding the Missing Link*, *Judge* magazine, 1912, cartoon

Figure 56. Lou Rogers, *Transferring the Mother Habit to Politics*, *Judge* magazine, 1914, cartoon

hired as the main cartoonist for *Judge* magazine's "Modern Woman" section.[60]

It is easy to see why Rogers enjoyed such a successful career. Her images are not only appealing but they also are suffused with a sense of empowerment. The women in her cartoons in *Judge* magazine all take decisive action to correct whatever wrong they are being faced with, literally breaking free from shackles, disciplining bad politicians, vacuuming away old-fashioned ideas, and engaging in other empowering activities (see figs. 54–57). Rogers also created satirical images, like her *Dispossessed* (fig. 58) in which a hen appears at a "government demonstration" on "how to run a nest without waste" and finds a rooster there. In an article in *Cartoons* magazine in 1913 that featured this young cartoonist who was "destined to win battles for the Woman's Movement," Rogers quite tellingly said, "Better than almost any other medium, the picture can make a woman see the truth about the conditions into which her daughter and her neighbor's daughter go, and into which, through changes of circumstances, she herself may be forced to go."[61]

60 Williams.

61 "A Woman Destined to Do Big Things: Her Unique Point of View in an Entirely New Field," *Cartoons* 3, no. 2 (February 1913): 76–77.

Figure 57. Lou Rogers, *Rushing the Growlers*, *Judge* magazine, 1913, cartoon

Rogers was but one of many cartoonists who rose to fame in the 20th century. Blanche Ames Ames, like Rogers, was a trained artist and passionate suffragist whose cartoons were published in suffrage magazines. Ames would become an art editor for the *Woman's Journal* in 1915. Unsurprisingly, her cartoons are incisive and often stinging, as in *Meanwhile They Drown* (fig. 59). Cartoons like *Double the Power of the Home* (fig. 60), however, show Ames' range; when necessary, she could make her point in sentimental images that were less pointed. A number of women joined the ranks of professional cartoonists in the 1910s, and their work contributed to changing perceptions of women and women's suffrage, helping change public opinion in myriad far-reaching and subtle ways.

Figure 58. Lou Rogers, *Dispossessed*, 1911, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, lithograph

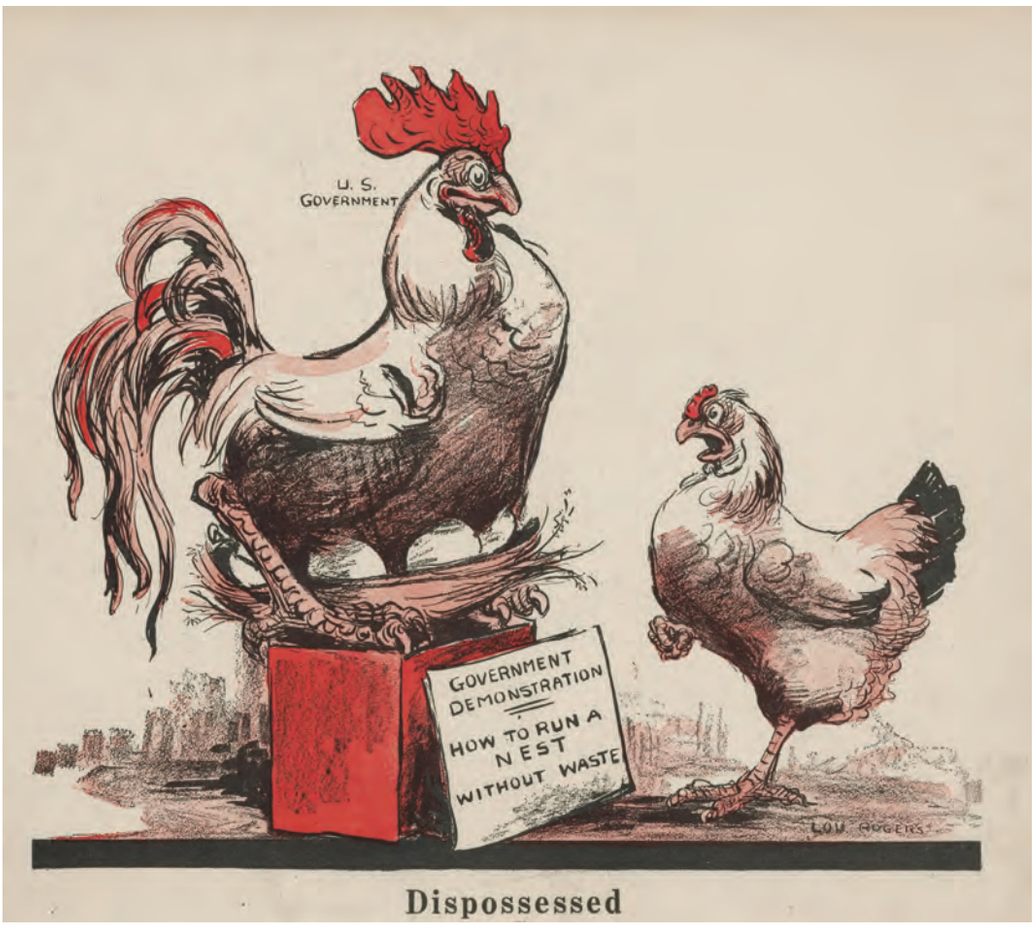


Figure 59. Blanche Ames Ames, *Meanwhile They Drown*, 1915, cartoon. Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal

(Opposite page) Figure 60. Blanche Ames Ames, *Double the Power of the Home*, 1915, cartoon. Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal

DOUBLE THE POWER OF THE HOME—TWO GOOD VOTES ARE BETTER THAN ONE

20TH-CENTURY SUFFRAGE POETRY

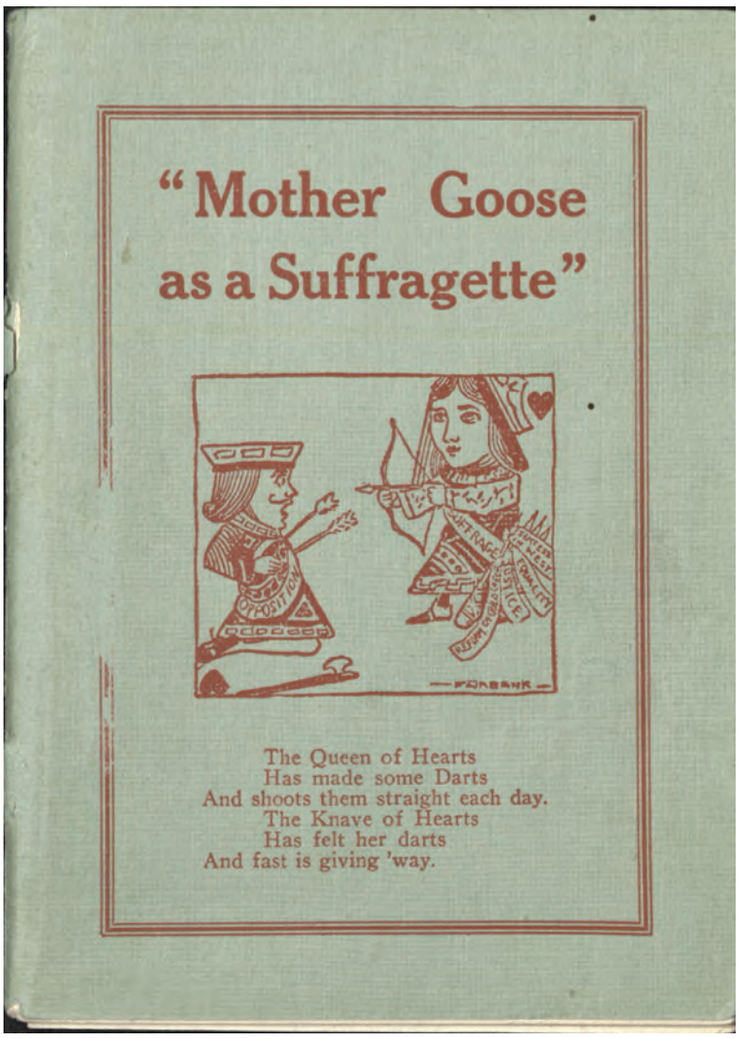


Figure 61. Woman Suffrage Party of New York City, Cover of *Mother Goose as a Suffragette*, 1912, booklet of suffrage-themed poems, Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America

Wielding the spoken and written word since the earliest days of the movement, American suffragists continued to innovate how and where they could spread their message. Art increasingly became a component in that effort. Turn-of-the-century illustrators now frequently collaborated with their writer colleagues, combining their subversive commentary with a newfound visual confidence. One apt example of this is the book *Mother Goose as a Suffragette*, published by the New York State Woman Suffrage Party in 1912 (fig. 61). While it is, as the *New York Times* described it, "a pretty book for children," it is demonstrably more than that. A retelling of the Mother Goose stories through a pro-suffrage lens, the book pairs each poem with a whimsical drawing. The famous Hickory Dickory Dock nursery rhyme, for example, is changed as follows:

> Dickory, dickory, dub,
> The mouse ran under the tub.
> He stays there yet,
> For a suffragette
> Is after him with a club.

The pairing of engaging visual images with poetry also became a feature of many suffrage postcards, such as these two cards produced by the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia in 1912 (figs. 62 and 63).The first postcard featured the anonymous poem "The Awakening."[62]

Figure 62. Equal Suffrage League of Virginia, "The Awakening," 1912, postcard. Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal

62 "The Awakening," suffrage postcard, published by the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries, Social Welfare History Project (website), https://images.socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/items/show/66.

The second postcard featured the writing of Charlotte Perkins Gilman (with artwork by Corneille Clarke). The poem, "Woman's Hour," is short but powerful, and touches on some of the issues dearest to Gilman's heart:

> Not for herself! Though sweet the air of freedom,
> Not for herself! Though dear the newborn power,
> But for the child who needs a nobler mother,
> For the whole people needing one another,
> Comes woman to her hour."[63]

Through this widespread distribution Gilman's captivating words were given the chance to spread, and her words captivated people, since her bold voice matched the turbulence of the historical moment.

Gilman was one of the most prominent suffrage literary voices emerging at the turn of the 20th century. A New England native, Gilman was a passionate advocate for women's rights, even arguing for women's financial independence and the shared responsibility for childrearing and housework, unlike many suffragists.[64] She was a prolific writer, publishing short stories, novels, essays, nonfiction books about gender and society, and poetry. Her most famous work, the short story *The Yellow Wallpaper* (1892), examines the mental strain of motherhood and the confines of the traditional domestic world, and is one of the most important early American literary works to present these issues.

Figure 63. Equal Suffrage League of Virginia, "Woman's Hour," 1912, postcard. Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal

63 Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Woman's Hour," suffrage postcard, published by the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries, Social Welfare History Project (website), https://images.socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/items/show/65.

64 Kate Bolick, introduction to *The Yellow Wall-Paper, Herland, and Selected Writings* by Charlotte Perkins Gilman (New York: Penguin 2019), vii–xi.

By the last decade of the 19th century, Gilman shifted her focus entirely to women's issues, publishing a number of books on gender issues, including *Concerning Children* in 1900 and *The Home: Its Work and Influence* in 1903.[65] Where her passion for women's equality had its greatest effect, however, was with her 1911 *Suffrage Songs and Verses*, a collection of poems advocating for the rights of women. The poems, with titles like "The Anti-Suffragists," "Boys Will Be Boys," "Locked Inside," and "To the Indifferent Women," tackle suffrage and feminism head-on. Many of the poems in the collection also include critiques of those opposed to the cause. In the last stanza of "The Anti-Suffragists," for example, she describes such women as:

> A strange, down-sucking whirlpool of disgrace,
> Women uniting against womanhood,
> And using that great name to hide their sin!
> Vain are their words as that old king's command
> Who set his will against the rising tide.
> But who shall measure the historic shame
> Of these poor traitors—traitors are they all—
> To great Democracy and Womanhood![66]

Another moving poem from the collection, "Song for Equal Suffrage," takes its inspiration from Julia Ward Howe's famous Civil War-era poem, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," adapting the inspirational anthem for a suffrage context. The first stanza reads:

> Day of hope and day of glory! After slavery and woe,
> Comes the dawn of woman's freedom, and the light shall grow and grow
> Until every man and woman equal liberty shall know,
> In Freedom Marching on!"[67]

"Song for Equal Suffrage" appropriates the fervor of Howe's poem, applying it directly to the cause of the suffrage movement.

Another poet whose work aligned with the interests of the movement was a contemporary of Gilman's, Alice Duer Miller (fig. 64). One of her most powerful books was the scathing *Are Women People?: A Book of Rhymes for Suffrage Times* (1915), a collection of satirical poetry from Miller's weekly column in the *New York Tribune* that bore the same name.[68] The title of the column and her book was derived from Woodrow Wilson's claim in a campaign speech that he would return "government to the people." Wilson opposed women's suffrage, however, and Miller honed in on the fact that he clearly meant *men* when he said *people*, criticism that had been leveled by suffragists before. Miller's biting and humorous poems were

65 Kate Bolick, "The Equivocal Legacy of Charlotte Perkins Gilman," *New York Review of Books*, April 1, 2019, https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2019/04/01/the-equivocal-legacy-of-charlotte-perkins-gilman/.

66 Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Suffrage Songs and Verses* (New York: Charlton, 1911), 17–19, digitized at UPenn Digital Library, https://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/gilman/suffrage/suffrage.html.

67 Gilman, *Suffrage Songs and Verses*, 22.

68 Mary Chapman, "Are Women People? Alice Duer Miller's Message Still Rings True 100 Years On," in The Conversation (website), December 30, 2015, http://theconversation.com/are-women-people-alice-duer-millers-message-still-rings-true-100-years-on-52280.

so popular among readers that her column in the *New York Tribune* was eventually moved from the Woman's Page to the general section for editorials.[69]

Miller's poetry breaks from tradition in its use of informal language. Further, her use of rhyme and meter seems tongue-in-cheek—used to highlight the absurdity of anti-suffragists—as in "Our Idea of Nothing at All," which was written as a rebuttal to a Mr. Webb who stated, "I am opposed to woman suffrage, but I am not opposed to woman."[70]

> O women, have you heard the news
> of charity and grace?
> Look, look how joy and gratitude
> Are beaming in my face!
> For Mr. Webb is not opposed
> To woman in her place!
>
> O Mr. Webb, how kind you are
> To let us live at all,
> To let us light the kitchen range
> And tidy up the hall;
> To tolerate the female sex
> In spite of Adam's fall.
>
> O girls, suppose that Mr. Webb
> Should alter his decree!
> Suppose he were opposed to us—
> Opposed to you and me.
> What would be left for us to do—
> Except to cease to be?[71]

In another section of the book titled "Campaign Material," she explains why men should be denied the vote and also why women should be denied pockets. The latter poem, "Why We Oppose Pockets for Women," reads as follows:

1. Because pockets are not a natural right.
2. Because the great majority of women do not want pockets. If they did they would have them.
3. Because whenever women have had pockets they have not used them.
4. Because women are required to carry enough things as it is, without the additional burden of pockets.
5. Because it would make dissension between husband and wife as to whose pockets were to be filled.
6. Because it would destroy man's chivalry toward woman, if he did not have to carry all her things in his pockets.
7. Because men are men, and women are women. We must not fly in the face of nature.
8. Because pockets have been used by men to carry tobacco, pipes,

69 Chapman, "Are Women People?"

70 Alice Duer Miller, "Our Idea of Nothing at All," *Are Women People?: A Book of Rhymes for Suffrage Times*, Project Gutenberg eBook, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/11689/11689-h/11689-h.htm.

71 Miller, "Our Idea of Nothing at All."

whiskey flasks, chewing gum and compromising letters. We see no reason to suppose that women would use them more wisely.[72]

Two years later Miller published a follow-up collection of poems titled *Women Are People*, as if in answer to her earlier collection's question. Like the earlier collection, this later work uses humor to tremendous effect in a collection of poems that makes the case for women's equality and that is also entertaining to read.

Figure 64. Paynter Bros., *Alice Duer Miller and her son Denning Duer Miller*, 1900, photograph. From the Collection of Macculloch Hall Historical Museum, Morristown, New Jersey

Miller also wrote more traditional poetry. One of her most celebrated poems, which will be discussed in Part Three, follows the traditional mode of 19th-century poetry and was paired with an inspiring visual image, resulting in what is arguably one of the most affecting pieces of suffragist propaganda ever created.

Another important writer working on behalf of the suffrage movement was Katharine Rolston Fisher, a passionate and deeply involved suffragist, whose poetry and essays were published in the *Suffragist*, for whom she also worked as an editor.[73] Her involvement in the suffrage movement was fearless, and she was even arrested for picketing for voting rights, serving 30 days at the infamous Occoquan Workhouse.[74] She wrote several poems while at Occoquan that serve as reflections on the injustice of her imprisonment, most famously "The Empty Cup," whose lines "Through the dark, above the rain, rings out a cry. / We listen at the windows. (Oh, those cries from punishment cells!)" throb with the misery of the workhouse.[75] Other poems were written as tributes to some of the leaders of the movement, most

72 Alice Duer Miller, "Why We Oppose Pockets for Women," *Are Women People?: A Book of Rhymes for Suffrage Times*, Project Gutenberg eBook, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/11689/11689-h/11689-h.htm.

73 "Poetry and the Women's Suffrage Movement," Academy of American Poets (website), March 31, 2020, https://poets.org/text/poetry-and-womens-suffrage-movement; and "Katharine Rolston Fisher," Academy of American Poets (website), https://poets.org/poet/katharine-rolston-fisher.

74 "Katharine Rolston Fisher," The Turning Point Suffragist Memorial Association (website), https://suffragistmemorial.org/about-turning-point-suffragist-memorial/.

75 Katharine Rolston Fisher, "The Empty Cup," Academy of American Poets (website), https://poets.org/poem/empty-cup.

notably "Susan B. Anthony" and "Alice Paul" (fig. 65). The latter poem, which was published in the *Suffragist* in 1917, reads:

> I watched a river of women,
> Rippling purple, white and golden,
> Stream toward the National Capitol.
>
> Along its border,
> Like a purple flower floating,
> Moved a young woman, worn, wraithlike.
> All eyes alight, keenly observing the marchers.
> Out there on the curb, she looked so little, so lonely,
> Few appeared even to see her;
> No one saluted her.
>
> Yet commander was she of the column, its leader;
> She was the spring whence arose that irresistible river of women
> Streaming steadily towards the National Capitol.[76]

Figure 65. *Portrait of Suffragist Alice Paul*, 1913, photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

Her poem evokes the excitement and sense of purpose of the women's marches that became such a powerful force in the women's suffrage movement at the start of the 20th century. Fisher's imagery of a river "rippling purple, white and golden," alludes to the hordes of women who would participate in these marches, dressed in the official colors of the suffrage movement: purple symbolizing loyalty, white symbolizing purity, and gold symbolizing light and life.[77] Fisher's poetry celebrated the victories and mourned the struggles of the suffrage movement, and hers was one of the most inspiring voices helping to connect American readers to the activity of the movement itself.

76 Katharine Rolston Fisher, "Alice Paul," Academy of American Poets (website), https://poets.org/poem/alice-paul.

77 "Symbols of the Women's Suffrage Movement," National Park Service (website), https://www.nps.gov/articles/symbols-of-the-women-s-suffrage-movement.htm.

Margaret Widdemer, a Pulitzer Prize-winning author, wrote novels, nonfiction, and children's literature, but was most celebrated for her poetry, which addressed pressing social concerns, particularly child labor, which was the primary subject of her lauded 1915 book *The Factories*.[78] Included in that collection was "The Woman's Litany," which begins:

> Let us in through the guarded gate,
> Let us in for our pain's sake!
> Lips set smiling and face made fair
> Still for you through the pain we bare,
> We have hid till our hearts were sore
> Blacker things than you ever bore:
> *Let us in through the guarded gate, Let us in for our pain's sake!*"[79]

The refrain *Let us in through the guarded gate* is repeated throughout the poem, creating what was in effect a stirring rallying cry. She also famously wrote "The Old Suffragist," which addresses the sacrifices made by the women of the movement. The poem concludes with the lines:

> She strove for an unvisioned, far-off good,
> For one far hope she knew she could not see:
> These—not her daughters—crowned with motherhood
> And love and beauty—free."[80]

Widdemer's words, like those of her peers, praised the movement and cheered for the movement.

The words of all of these outspoken women served as powerful weapons wielded by the suffragist soldiers of the early 20th century. As the final years of the movement came into view, the work of these women continued to resound, bolstering the many other works of art that continued to be made in the ongoing fight for the vote.

78 "Margaret Widdemer," Poetry Foundation (website), https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/margaret-widdemer.

79 Margaret Widdemer, "The Woman's Litany," Academy of American Poets (website), https://poets.org/poem/womens-litany.

80 Margaret Widdemer, "The Old Suffragist," Academy of American Poets (website), https://poets.org/poem/old-suffragist.

Figure 66. Benjamin M. Dale, *Official Program—Woman Suffrage Procession*, Washington, DC, March 3, 1913, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

PART 3: THE AWAKENING

"We make our own history. The course of history is directed by the choices we make..."

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

ART AND THE 1913 SUFFRAGE PARADE

A new era in the women's suffrage campaign dawned in 1913, in no small part thanks to suffragist Alice Paul and the impressive spectacle she engineered at the "Woman Suffrage Procession" in Washington, DC. Paul was a devoted suffragist who had spent time in England during the early days of the 20th century, where she witnessed the more aggressive militant approach of U.K. suffragists.[81] Paul witnessed firsthand the attention and excitement the U.K. suffragists were able to achieve using these methods and sought to infuse the U.S. suffrage movement with that same energy—and invigorate its public image through action as well as art. The first step was a massive parade in Washington, DC, scheduled for the day before Woodrow Wilson's presidential inauguration. Between 5,000 and 8,000 participants attended, making it the largest procession the city had seen to date.[82]

The parade was a powerful stirring display of women's power and the support for the movement; it cleverly incorporated new symbols and imagery to create a celebratory pageant-style performance. That it was scheduled for the day before Wilson's inauguration, of course, was no accident either, since Wilson's support for women's suffrage was lackluster at best.[83] The procession, which followed the same route that the inaugural parade would follow the next day, gave the suffragettes the opportunity to steal the spotlight from Wilson in order to further their cause. The cover of the procession program (fig. 66), painted by Benjamin Moran Dale, conveyed the epic significance of the event with its beautiful and majestic imagery.

81 "Start of the Suffragette Movement," in *Women and the Vote*, parliament.uk (website), https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/electionsvoting/womenvote/overview/startsuffragette-/.

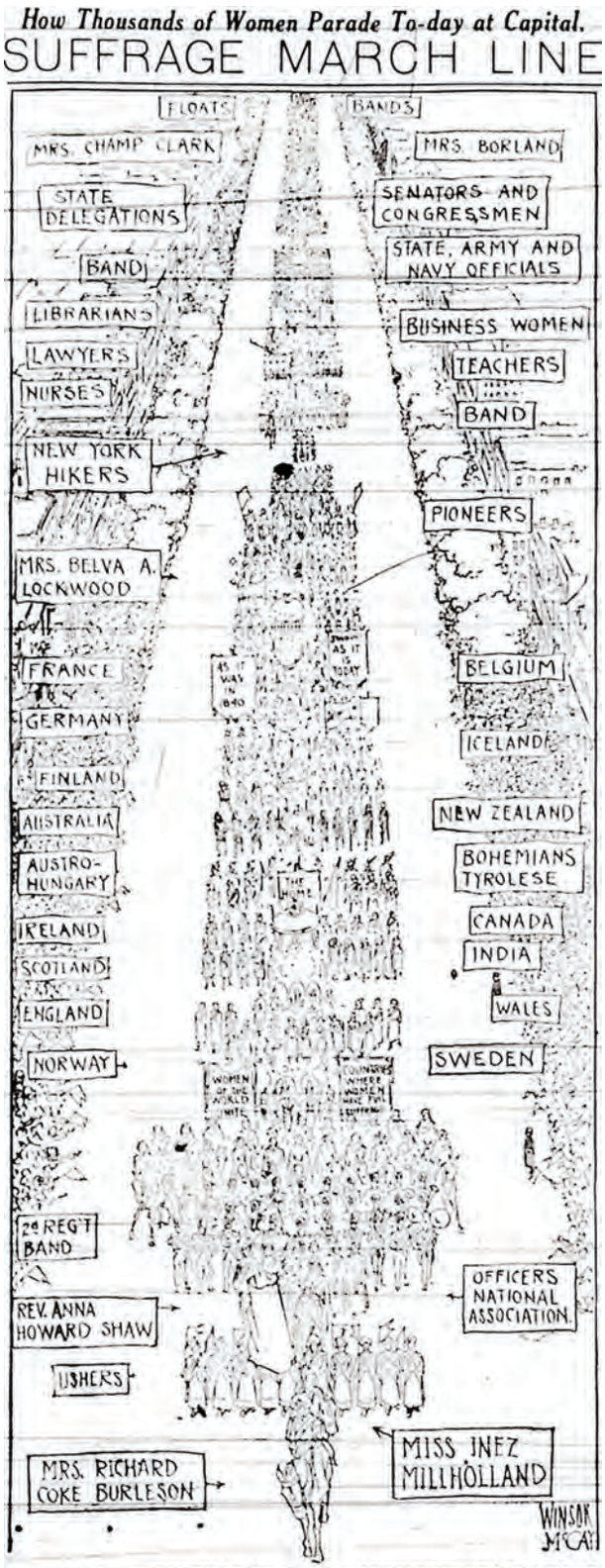
82 Kate Clarke Lemay, *Votes for Women!: A Portrait of Persistence* (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2019), 169.

83 Lemay, 177.

Figure 67. Winsor McCay, *Suffrage March Line*, 1913, illustration, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

The procession was in itself a tremendous organizational feat (fig. 67). The route followed Pennsylvania Avenue and ended at the U.S. Treasury Building, where a tableau was staged. The marchers themselves were led by prominent figures from various suffrage factions and divided into different groups. It included several floats on which women acted out important stories of women from history and showed women as professionals in daily life (fig. 68).[84]

Women dressed for the occasion, wearing the suffrage colors purple, white, and gold. The ribbons and sashes they wore indicated their allegiances and they carried gold banners with uplifting words in purple text. Some even dressed like Joan of Arc, who had become a heroine of the suffrage movement. The 15th-century girl warrior was a fascination in turn-of-the-century America, and the suffragists found that she was an excellent metaphor for their own women warriors.[85] Not only did Benjamin Moran Dale's program image depict a Joan of Arc figure (clad in suffrage purple and gold) on horseback, trumpeting a call to her fellow "warriors," but one of the most prominent figures leading the procession was dressed as Joan of Arc as well. Inez Milholland



84 Lemay, 170.

85 Elsie Y. Heung, "Women's Suffrage in American Art: Recovering Forgotten Contexts, 1900–1920," (PhD diss., The Graduate Center, City University of New York), 77–78.

Boissevain, a devoted suffragist and prominent lawyer and public figure, rode astride a white horse (fig. 69). Dressed all in white, with a cape and a helmet adorned with a "star of hope," not only did her clothing allude to Joan of Arc but Milholland Boissevain herself served as a symbol of the promising new future awaiting women.[86]

The tableau (figs. 70 and 71) at the Treasury Building served as a dramatic cap to the pageantry of the procession. The figure of Columbia, a female personification of America played by Broadway actor Hedwig Reicher, greeted other allegorical figures: Justice, Charity, Liberty, Peace, Plenty, and Hope.

The procession was a turning point in the movement, for it revealed the support and involvement of so many women, their ability to organize on a grand scale, and their ability to create effective and inspirational messaging in myriad forms. It was a sign that the suffragists' efforts were working—that the tide was turning. The procession was indeed so successful that there would be others like it in the coming years. Along with that success, however, came resistance. The parade was not entirely peaceful, and in spite of Alice Paul's earlier entreaties to the police

Figure 68. The Suffrage Procession on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1913, photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

86 "1913 Woman Suffrage Procession," National Park Service (website), https://www.nps.gov/articles/woman-suffrage-procession1913.htm.

to keep the participants safe, the parade was essentially unpoliced. Hundreds of thousands of spectators, a large proportion of them hostile men, thronged the streets. The parade route became blocked by the crowd and groups of angry men began to harass and assault the marchers (fig. 72).[87] A hundred marchers had to be hospitalized as a result of this aggression.[88] Ambulances called to the scene struggled to move through the uncontrolled crowd (fig. 73).

Unfortunate though this turn of events was, it increased newspaper coverage of the event. Indeed, the abuse of the marchers and the indifference of the police became a leading news story, garnering sympathy for the suffragists.[89] The day after the procession, the *Washington Post* gave equal front-page space to the procession and the inauguration planned for that day, crowing "Woman's Beauty, Grace, and Art Bewilder the Capital."[90]

Figure 69. Inez Milholland Boissevain preparing to lead the suffrage parade in Washington, DC, 1913, photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

87 "1913 Woman Suffrage Procession," National Park Service.

88 Alan Taylor, "The 1913 Women's Suffrage Parade," *The Atlantic*, March 1, 2013, https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2013/03/100-years-ago-the-1913-womens-suffrage-parade/100465/#img01; and Lemay, 180.

89 Taylor, "1913 Women's Suffrage Parade."

90 *Washington Post*, March 4, 1913.

Figure 70. German actress Hedwig Reicher wearing costume of "Columbia" in front of the Treasury Building, 1913, photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

Figure 71. Tableau presented by the Women's Suffrage Association on the Treasury steps, 1913, photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

Figure 72. Crowd converging on marchers and blocking parade route during the inaugural suffrage procession, 1913, photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

Other features from the procession had a lasting effect on the movement as well. Inez Milholland Boissevain, for example, became an icon for the movement. Indeed, much like Joan of Arc, whom she referenced in the costume she wore for the procession, she became a martyr for suffrage. She tirelessly advocated for women's rights and suffrage, even in the face of personal health struggles, eventually collapsing while giving a speech in California. She died shortly thereafter when she was only 30 years old.[91] Thereafter, Milholland Boissevain was a celebrated symbol of the suffrage movement, as exemplified by a striking poster (fig. 74) created by the National Woman's Party. The poster shows her as she looked on the day of the parade, dressed in the same white costume with a star on her helmet astride her white horse. The text at the top and bottom reads, "Inez Milholland Boissevain… who died for the freedom of women." She gazes into the distance, carrying a banner reading "Forward into Light." The creation of the image of a woman in white on a white horse, accented with gold and set against a purple background, demonstrated a use of suffrage colors and iconic imagery that memorialized its heroine into the visual language of suffrage propaganda.

Figure 73. The crowd surrounds and slows a Red Cross ambulance during the Women's Suffrage Procession, 1913, photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

91 "Inez Milholland," National Park Service (website), https://www.nps.gov/people/inez-milholland.htm.

INEZ MILHOLLAND BOISSEVAIN

WHO DIED FOR THE FREEDOM OF WOMEN.

Cartoonists were inspired by the procession as well. Three cartoons (fig. 75) show a particular interest in the 17-day march by a group of suffragists from New York to Washington to participate in the procession. *Spirit of '13* shows the tireless suffragists marching to Washington, a reference to the famous image *Spirit of '76,* a patriotic painting of marching soldiers. Another cartoon, *The Spirit of 1913*, shows a group of weary women marching through a blizzard while they envision themselves voting for the first time. A third cartoon, *Gen. Jones Crossing the Delaware*, refers to one of the women who participated in the march, "General" Rosalie Jones, and shows her in the role of George Washington after the famous painting of George Washington crossing the Delaware in his Revolutionary War campaign.[92]

The procession in Washington itself and the coverage it received after the fact helped spur the movement tremendously. The suffragists were clearly a powerful, organized force to be taken seriously. The procession also helped to bolster the imagery of the campaign. There was a new, bolder tone to the movement and its art. Women were no longer just playing suffrage music for friends in their parlors; they were now marching the streets, dressed as warriors. As art continued to be created for the movement in the coming years, it too became bolder, working on behalf of a new generation of suffragists who knew what they wanted and would stop at almost nothing to get it. They were emboldened and were no longer willing to hold back.

(Opposite page) Figure 74. Suffrage poster depicting Inez Milholland Boissevain dressed in white, riding a white horse, as she did for the March 3, 1913 suffrage parade in Washington, DC, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University

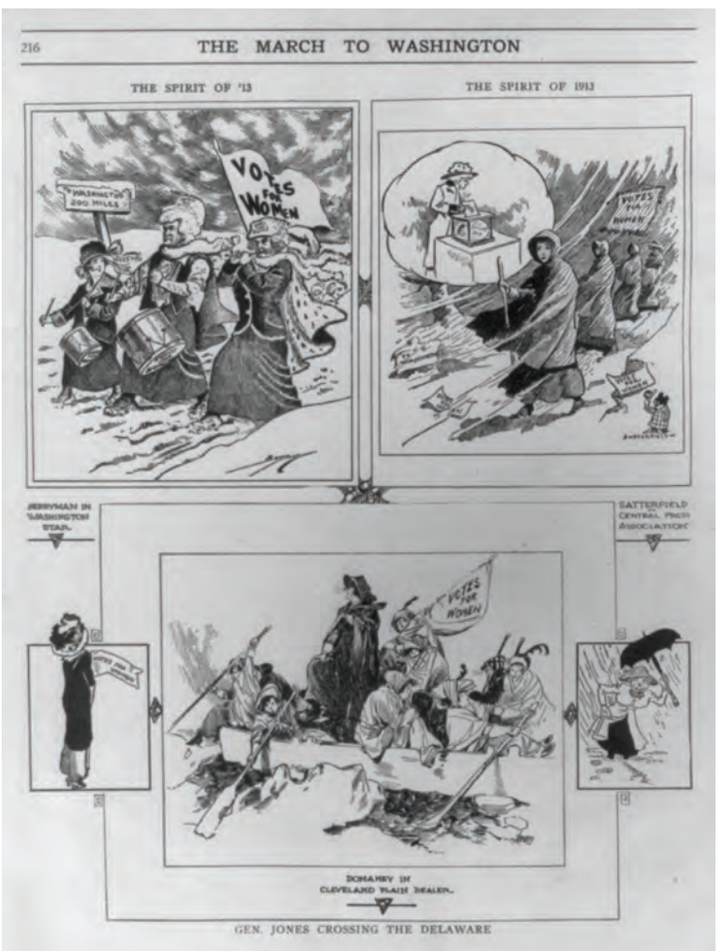


Figure 75. Clifford Berryman, Robert W. Satterfield, and J. H. Donahey, *The March to Washington, Washington Star*, 1913, cartoons, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

92 Lemay, 183.

THE MASS MOVEMENT

In the wake of the 1913 Woman Suffrage Procession in Washington, there was an emboldened spirit in the suffrage movement and the art that it inspired. There was a sense that the energy and urgency present at the procession was gaining momentum. New suffrage publications created fresh outlets for suffrage artists, which increased their output. In addition, as the argument for women's suffrage was no longer new, women having made the case for suffrage during the preceding decades, the movement now entered a new phase in which it assumed a broader awareness of the issues. The combination of these factors resulted in a greater complexity in suffrage art made after 1913, reflecting a palpable new passion and determination in the movement and a sense that victory was inevitable. Increasingly, by contrast, the opposition was seen as old-fashioned, clinging desperately to outdated views.

A profusion of suffrage art was created in the years after the Suffrage Procession, much of it faithful to the tradition of earlier suffrage artists. A familiar kind of image is typified by the postcard image by Emily Hall Chamberlain (fig. 76), which shows Columbia and Uncle Sam as children. Uncle Sam declares, "She's good enough for me!" This card was part of a collection that set the suffrage debate among children to diffuse the issue's tensions, while also making the argument that women's suffrage was not a threat to men.[93]

Figure 76. Emily Hall Chamberlain, *She's Good Enough for Me*, 1915, postcard. From the Suffrage Collection of Dr. Kenneth Florey

As these familiar tropes continued, the emergence of new outlets for suffrage art resulted in tremendous artistic innovation. Publications like the National Woman's Party's newspaper the *Suffragist*, created by Alice Paul in 1913, published cartoons and illustrations in addition to essays and news stories. It also notably served as a platform for the artist Nina Allender, one of the most important suffrage

(Opposite page) Figure 77. Nina Allender, *The Inspiration of the Suffrage Workers*, 1914, cartoon, Nina Allender Collection, National Woman's Party at Belmont Paul Women's Equality National Monument

93 Kenneth Florey, "Suffrage Postcards," Women's Suffrage Memorabilia (website), http://womansuffragememorabilia.com/woman-suffrage-memorabilia/suffrage-postcards/.


ROOMS
BEDS
SERVANTS
N. E. Allender
Votes for Women! 2/

cartoonists of the early 20th century. Allender produced more than 200 cartoons for the *Suffragist*, introducing a new manner of visual representation for propaganda serving the women's suffrage movement.[94]

There was an immediacy and realism to Allender's images that, combined with the charisma of her protagonists, made them not just appealing but also quite persuasive. In *The Inspiration of the Suffrage Workers* from 1914 (fig. 77) Allender shows a young mother standing on a dirty street in front of an overflowing garbage can, holding her young child as her other child plays with a cat. In spite of the squalid conditions of the woman's surroundings, she is not depicted as a pathetic figure. She looks frankly at the viewer, resolute rather than resigned. In another artist's hands, this subject might have been portrayed with pathos veering into sentimentality. Allender, while sympathetic, does not attempt to wring pity from the image; instead she empowers the mother, who appears resilient and ready to fight for her children. Paired with the caption "Votes for Women!", the image suggests a simple solution to her problem: with the power of the vote, she could improve her family's condition.

Figure 78. Nina Allender, *Child Saving Is Woman's Work*, 1914, cartoon, Nina Allender Collection, National Woman's Party at Belmont Paul Women's Equality National Monument

94 "Propagandist," in *Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party* (website), Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/collections/women-of-protest/articles-and-essays/selected-leaders-of-the-national-womans-party/propagandist/.

Allender's 1914 illustration *Child Saving Is Woman's Work* (fig. 78) strikes a similar tone. The illustration shows women leading a large group of children toward safety, away from a cluster of smoking factories in the background. These children are literally being rescued from lives of misery and exploitation. Allender extended the factories beyond the page's edge and the line of children seems also to infinitely continue, referencing the enormity of the problem of child exploitation, a very real problem as millions of children were being exploited in grueling jobs across the country by 1910. Allender employs the trope of woman as inherently maternal to show that allowing women to vote would help children survive, and thrive. Allender posits an easily won argument in this image, once again representing women as more than just sentimental ideals; her subjects are instead actual women getting things done.

Allender also created allegorical illustrations, as in her 1914 *Call to the Women Voters* (fig. 79), which borrows from the bugler tradition imported from the U.K. It depicts an allegorical female figure in classical robes, trumpeting a clarion call to women to join the cause. In a later illustration, *The Spirit of '76 On to the Senate* (fig. 80), she borrows from that same allegorical tradition, but instead uses real women who seem to answer the earlier illustration's "call," by beating drums, playing a fife, and waving a flag emblazoned with "Constitutional Amendment." Allender's women represented "the young and zealous women of a new generation determined to wait no longer for a just right," as one of Allender's contemporaries explained. "It was Mrs. Allender's cartoons, more than any other one thing, that in the newspapers of this country began to change the cartoonist's idea of a suffragist."[95]

The Allender Woman was purposeful, she was moral, she was maternal, and she was accomplished and intelligent. Most importantly, she was willing to take charge and better her world, in spite of the obstacles in her path. By bringing women like this into the public eye, Allender played a crucial role in changing public opinion of women and womanhood at a crucial moment in the suffrage movement. She normalized the idea of a forceful young woman changing the world for the good of the people, marking yet another decisive step toward women's suffrage.

Nell Brinkley was another prominent woman cartoonist who made her mark on the graphic arts in the early 20th century while also affecting the public view of women. Her prolific output reached Americans all across the country. Brinkley's images featured free-spirited young women who were distinguished by their voluminous curly hair. Her *Three Graces* of 1916 (fig. 81), which is patriotic yet eschews sentimentality, is an icon of suffrage imagery.[96] The three graces are clearly identified: Suffrage looks into the distance and holds suffragist literature; Preparedness, front and center, stands ready to face whatever may come her way; and Americanism, bedecked in stars and stripes and holding sparklers is an embodiment of patriotic celebration. Perhaps the most delightful aspect of these allegorical figures is how they are made to look like real-life modern American women, unwavering and resolute. The self-possessed curly-haired woman of Brinkley's images who came to be known as the "Brinkley Girl" took American culture by storm. She was incorporated into theatrical performances, she became the subject of popular songs, and she inspired a fashion for curled hair.[97]

95 "'The Suffragist' as a Publicity Medium," 1918, quoted in Hilde Hein and Carolyn C. Korsmeyer eds., *Aesthetics in Feminist Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 83.

96 "The Three Graces," *El Paso Herald*, July 15, 1916, accessed on The Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth138378/m1/13/sizes/.

97 "Introduction," Nell Brinkley collection, the Billy Ireland Library and Museum, The Ohio State University Libraries (website), https://cartoons.osu.edu/digital_albums/nellbrinkley/index.php.

Figure 79. Nina Allender, *Call to the Women Voters*, 1914, cartoon, Nina Allender Collection, National Woman's Party at Belmont Paul Women's Equality National Monument

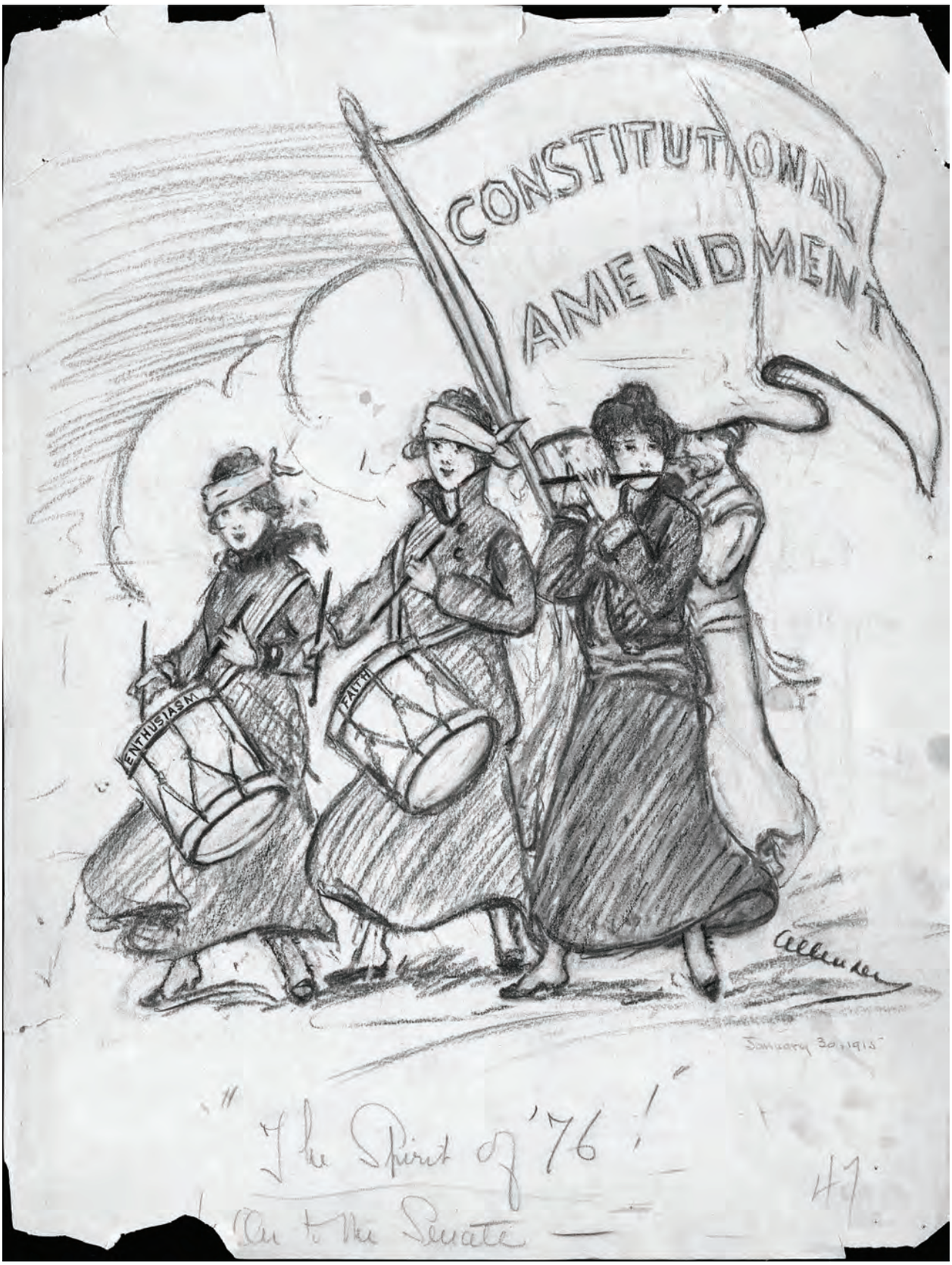
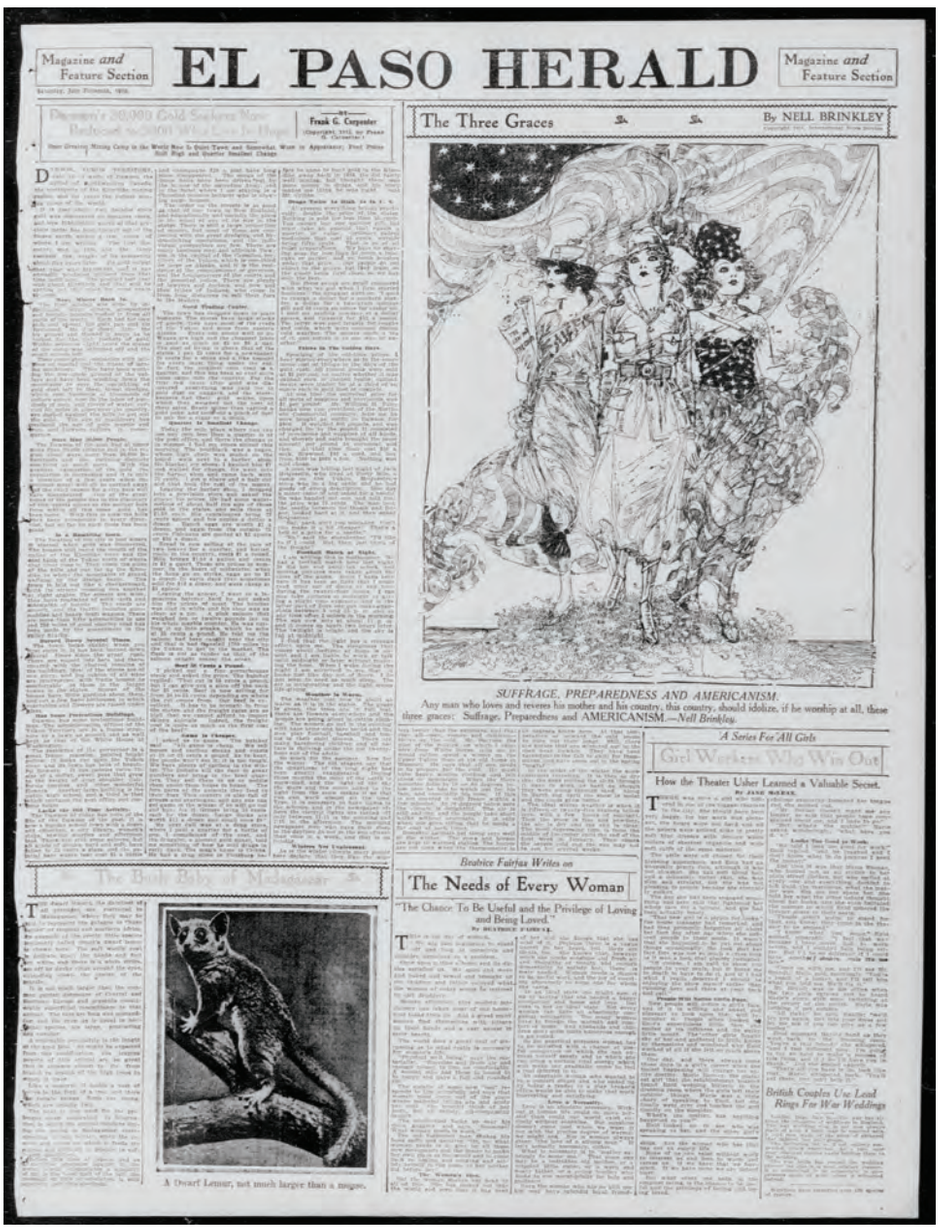


Figure 80. Nina Allender, *The Spirit '76 On to the Senate*, 1915, cartoon, Nina Allender Collection, National Woman's Party at Belmont Paul Women's Equality National Monument

Figure 81. Nell Brinkley, *The Three Graces, El Paso Herald*, 1916, cartoon


Magazine and Feature Section

EL PASO HERALD

Magazine and Feature Section

The Three Graces

By NELL BRINKLEY

SUFFRAGE, PREPAREDNESS AND AMERICANISM.

Any man who loves and reveres his mother and his country, this country, should idolize, if he worship at all, these three graces: Suffrage, Preparedness and AMERICANISM.—*Nell Brinkley.*

A Series For All Girls

Girl Workers Who Win Out

How the Theater Usher Learned a Valuable Secret.

Beatrice Fairfax Writes on

The Needs of Every Woman

"The Chance To Be Useful and the Privilege of Loving and Being Loved."

A Dwarf Lemur, not much larger than a mouse.

British Couples Use Lead Rings For War Weddings

Other women cartoonists who had already broken through the male-dominated industry continued to have an important role in the changing discourse about women's suffrage. Blanche Ames Ames' *Anti-Allies and the Dog* (fig. 82), for example, was published in the *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News* in 1915 and employed a strategy that was increasingly popular in the years after the Suffrage Procession: attacking the anti-suffragists to reveal their hypocrisy, selfishness, and viciousness. In this cartoon a suffragist undoubtedly modelled after Inez Milholland Boissevain is riding on a horse draped in a banner reading "Progress" and carrying a banner reading "Woman Suffrage." An "Anti" ties a rope around the hoof of the suffragist's horse, and she and a group of her supporters pull on the rope in the shadows around the corner of a nearby building. Their trickery is contrasted with the nobility of the suffragist.

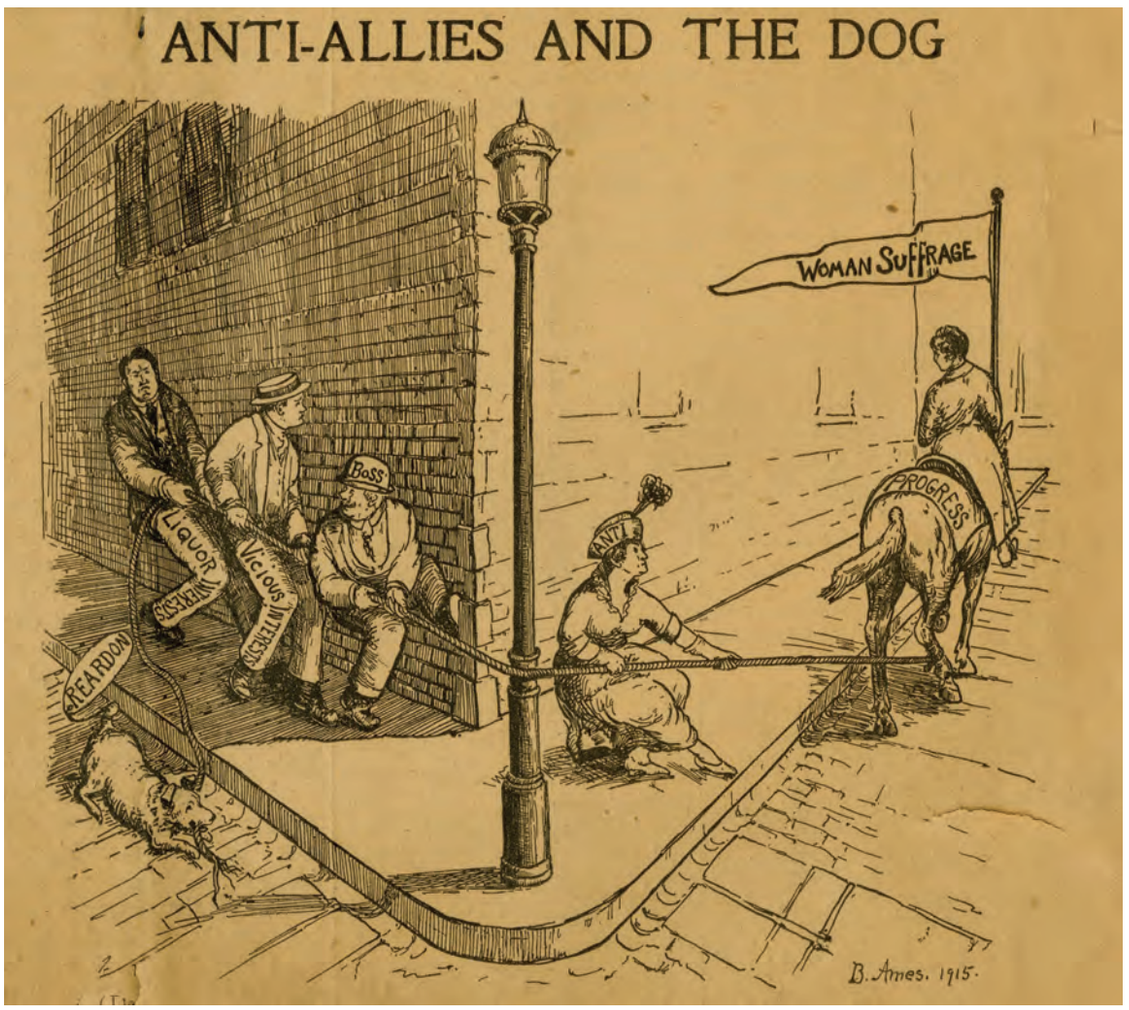


Figure 82. Blanche Ames Ames, *Anti-Allies and the Dog*, *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*, October 2, 1915, cartoon, Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal

Images like Ames', in which the anti-suffragists are treated with the same sort of scorn that had previously been leveled at the suffragists, became a favorite motif in the art of this period. By this point, the suffragists had already made—and in many minds won—their arguments; the next step was to examine those who remained stubbornly rooted against suffrage and to expose the flaws in their logic.

The cover of the *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News* featured such a cartoon (fig. 83) in 1915. Here a group of young girls representing the states already granted suffrage play outside as another young girl peers out of a door being blocked by a stern old woman labeled "anti-suffrage." From inside, the caption tells us, those states not yet granted suffrage call out "Why can't we play, too?" The *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News* published another scathing critique of anti-suffragists with its *At the Sepulchre* by Fredrikke S. Palmer (fig. 84), which shows Justice weeping at a sepulcher as a personification of greed leans a massive legislative bill that denied workers a lesser work load on the back of a small child.

Other images took a more lighthearted approach to the anti-suffragists. *Puck* magazine was a popular outlet for this kind of image. *An Anti-Suffrage Viewpoint* (fig. 85) calls out the hypocrisy of philandering men, while *Making the Polls Attractive*

Figure 83. William H. "Bill" Sykes cartoon in *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*, May 29, 1915, cartoon, Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal

to the Anti-Suffragists (fig. 86) shows a group of lazy, rich women drinking and playing cards, only casting their votes because the ballot box is brought to them. Another image (fig. 87) from *Puck* shows an opera singer labelled "Anti" performing in the spotlight as the "political boss" conducts her and a group of nefarious men cheer her on from behind.

The Masses magazine published a special suffrage issue in 1917, which includes images such as Stuart Davis' affecting *Types of Suffragists* (fig. 88), a two-page spread that showed entitled women, in some cases cluelessly addressing working women, saying things like, "We've got better things to do, haven't we?" Similarly, Elizabeth Grieg's cartoon from the same issue shows two entitled women on a park bench (fig. 89). One says to the other, "Look at that suffragette, Madge—right out in the street—wouldn't you think she'd die of shame?" All of these images successfully critizied anti-suffragists as out of step with the times, unconcerned with the problems of others, and selfish.

Another popular theme of this period was the concern about suffrage as an issue affecting the domestic realm and its children who were powerless to fight for themselves. This idea of suffrage as a mother's issue was not new, but it did increase in popularity and vigor in these final years of the movement. Indeed, it was the emotional force behind so many of Nina Allender's moving cartoons. An illustration (fig. 90) from *Puck* magazine's special suffrage issue in 1915—one year after the start of World War I—shows a mother and children walking through a bombed-out

landscape, clothed in rags. The caption makes a powerful statement: "Who says that war is man's business?" Two other images also address this issue. The cover of the *Woman Citizen* depicted a sword-wielding personification of suffrage protecting a group of small children from a faceless mob of "exploiters of children" (fig. 91), and a NAWSA poster from 1917, *What Breaks Up the Home*, shows the effects of unjust labor laws on the home, with children shown suffering in poor households and being forced to work (fig. 92). The NAWSA even published a pamphlet called "Better Babies" dedicated to explaining how women's suffrage would benefit babies and children. It shows statistics on infant

Figure 84. Frederikke S. Palmer, *At the Sepulchre, Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*, 1915, cartoon, Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal

Figure 85. William Ely Hill, *An Anti-Suffrage Viewpoint, Puck*, 1915, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

PAINTED BY RALPH BARTON

Making the Polls Attractive to the Anti-Suffragists

mortality rates around the world and argues that a lower mortality rate is linked to countries where women had suffrage. The cover (fig. 93), illustrated by Rose O'Neill—famous for her use of babies in suffrage imagery—shows a baby who has dropped a toy as an immense crowd of cartoon germs looks on, ready to engulf it.

(Opposite page) Figure 86. Ralph Barton, *Making the Polls Attractive to the Anti-Suffragists*, *Puck*, 1915, illustration. Courtesy of Hathi Trust

Many images in this period also borrowed from the energized spirit of the Suffrage Procession, suffusing their work with an inspirational quality rooted in allegory and patriotism. These images also often incorporated militaristic imagery, in the vein of Nina Allender's *The Spirit of '76 On to the Senate*. A striking example was made to accompany journalist George Creel's argument in favor of women's suffrage, which was published in a pamphlet by National Woman's Suffrage Publishing in 1915.[98] At the center of the text is a Joan of Arc-like figure (fig. 94), dressed in white; she has a sword at her side but is bound. She reaches her shackled arms out in a gesture that is at once plaintive and resistant. Text and image here are combined to marvelous effect. Another image that speaks to higher ideals while also borrowing patriotic imagery is *Taxation Without Representation* from the cover of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (fig. 95). Here a suffragist dressed as a Revolutionary minuteman holding a musket wears a "Votes for Women" sash and stands next to a sign reading "Taxation Without Representation."

Figure 87. *I Did Not Raise My Girl to be a Voter*, *Puck*, 1915, cartoon, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

In these final years after the Suffrage Procession in Washington, the art produced for the suffrage movement featured more coherent imagery and messaging than ever before, and it addressed sensitive issues that were most likely to affect the average American. In the final push to win the vote, suffrage artists would use the most powerful imagery in their arsenals while also referencing the contemporary events that were so crucial to their cause. But before that last push to victory, the suffragists turned their attention to one last untapped medium: moving pictures.

98 "George Creel, 'Chivalry Versus Justice,'" Women's Suffrage and the Media (website), http://suffrageandthemedia.org/source/george-creel-chivalry-v-justice-pictorial-review-march-1915/.

Figure 88. Stuart Davis, *Types of Anti-Suffragists, The Masses*, p.14, 1915, cartoon

Drawn by Elizabeth Grieg.

"LOOK AT THAT SUFFRAGETTE, MADGE—RIGHT OUT IN THE STREET—WOULDN'T YOU THINK SHE'D DIE OF SHAME?"
"YEH—YOU BET."

Figure 89. Elizabeth Grieg, *Types of Anti-Suffragists, The Masses*, 1915, cartoon

WHO SAYS THAT WAR IS MAN'S BUSINESS?

Figure 90. Nina Allender, *Who Says That War is Man's Business?*, *Puck*, 1915, cartoon. Courtesy of Hathi Trust

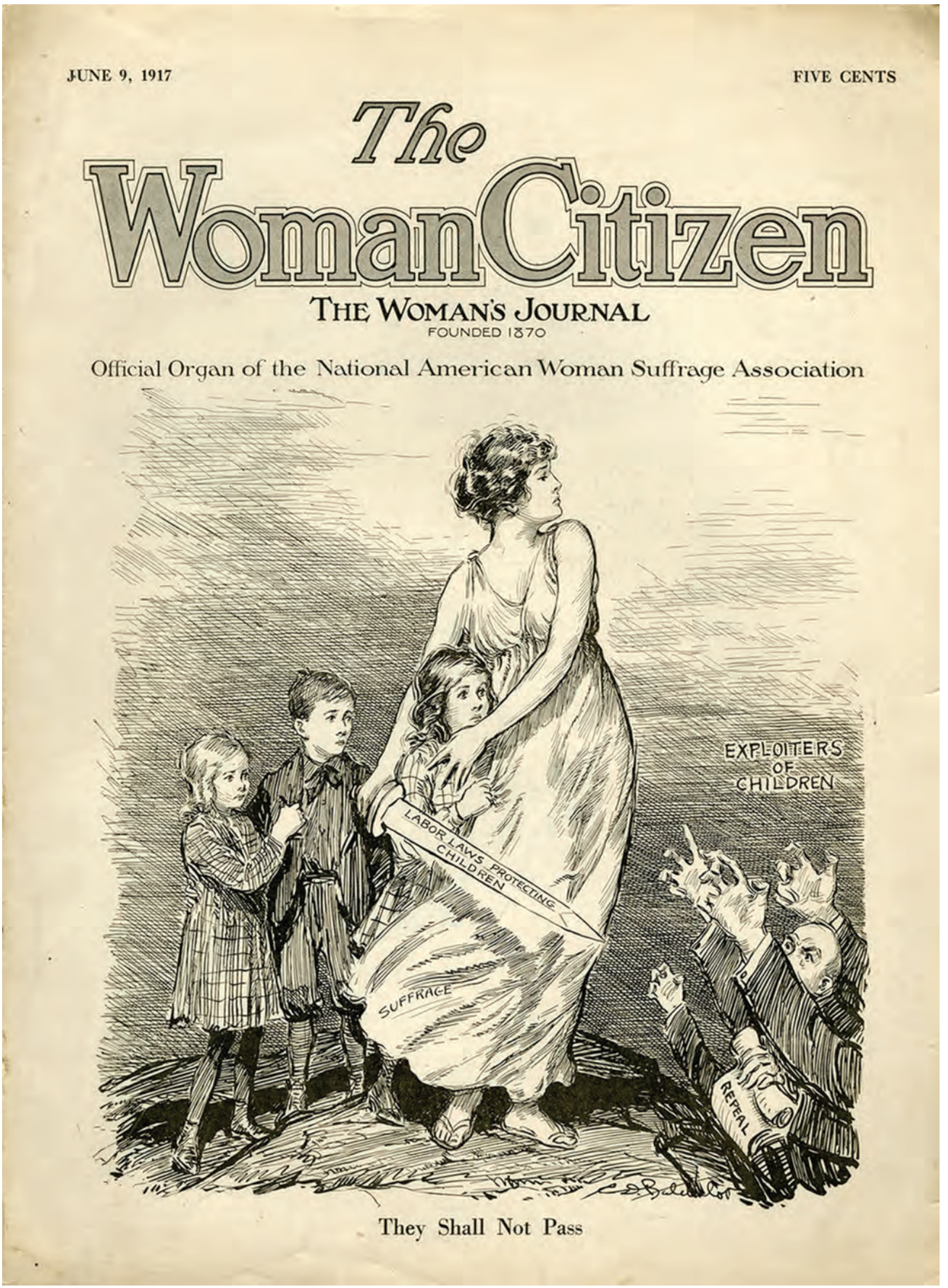


Figure 91. C. D. Batchelor, *They Shall Not Pass*, *The Woman Citizen*, 1917, cartoon, Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal

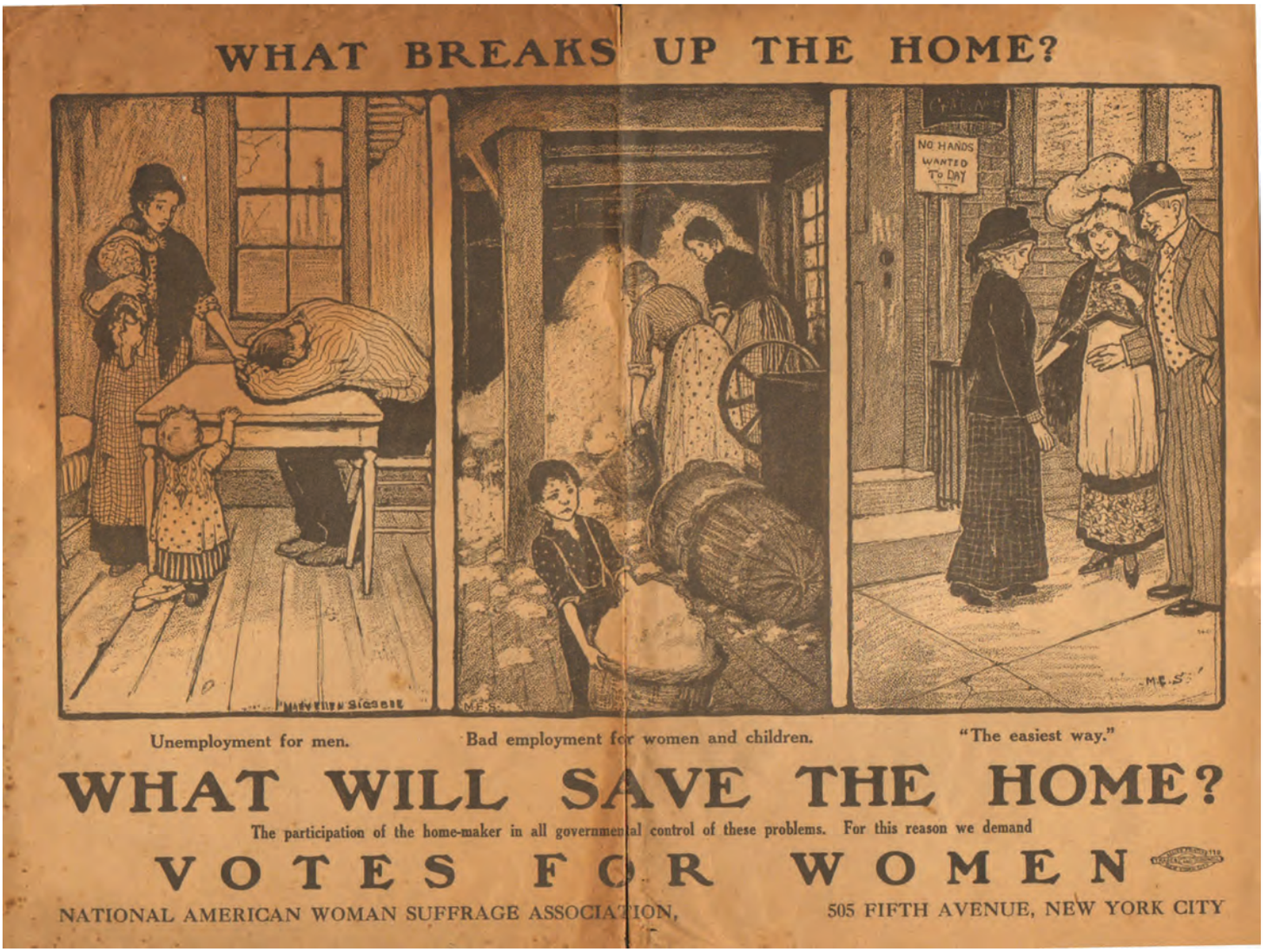


Figure 92. *What Breaks Up the Home*, 1917, cartoon

Figure 93. Rose O'Neill, *Better Babies*, NAWSA, 1916, pamphlet, Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal

CHIVALRY VERSUS JUSTICE

Why the Women of the Nation Demand the Right to Vote

By GEORGE CREEL

Decorations by Edward A. Wilson

THERE is no good quarrel with honest opposition to equal suffrage. Not only is the right to disagree guaranteed by the Constitution, but it is highly essential that every important political change should encounter antagonism in order to guard against hasty and ill-considered action.

The woman who has no need of the vote herself, and resists it as an added and unwelcome responsibility, may be selfish but she is frank. The man who holds that the opposite sex is not sufficiently intelligent to use the ballot wisely may be prejudiced but he is courageous. Men and women alike who feel that equal suffrage does not contain any effective remedy for admitted injustices and evils, may lack faith but they are sincere. Such as these are straightforward fighters who do not fear the open, and they are entitled to all the amenities of well-tempered debate.

There is neither frankness, courage nor sincerity, however, in those controversialists who deny that the American woman is touched at any point by wrong, oppression or wretchedness, and whose implacable enmity to her enfranchisement is masked by glowing hyperboles that paint her as a peach-cheeked, rose-lipped queen buried to the dimpled chin in love and homage.

In America to-day there are about nine million women who work, many of them engaged in the pleasant professions and wholesome industries, to be sure, but the large majority engulfed in dismal and degrading drudgeries. In the face of this economic revolution that has leveled so many protective walls, how is it possible to grant good faith to the continued insistence that "woman's place is the home?"

The platitude, in effect, contends that these weary millions are not working from any real necessity, but possess homes in which they could remain did they but have the proper spirit and desire. According to its reasoning, the sea of bended backs is caused by nothing more vital than discontents and unrests.

Look where one will, women may be seen creeping across the icy floors of office buildings, night in, night out, scrubbing up the dirt of a man's day; toiling in mills and factories ten and twelve hours a day; plying swift needles in fire-traps; breathing the stifling air in steam laundries; making gewgaws in darksome tenements at an average wage of two cents an hour, or tearing fingers in the damp shucking sheds of the Gulf Coast States.

Does any one honestly believe that these driven souls are doing these things because they like it? Or that their presence in such employments is adequately explained by the assumption of "marital unrest," or "dissatisfaction with the humdrum of domestic life," or the "desire to obtain pin-money for vanities?"

AN equal measure of just resentment is aroused by the twin declaration that suffrage will entail "the disintegration of the American home." Here again there is the bland theory of vine-clad cottages and dense walls of fragrant honeysuckle behind which every right-thinking woman sits in security surrounded by her babes.

What of the squalid holes in the thirteen thousand licensed tenements, of New York City alone, where whole families and boarders often sleep, eat and work in a single room, toiling long, weary hours for incredible pittances? What of the old doghouses, dilapidated carriage sheds and noisome barracks in which padrones herd the cannery workers of Delaware, Maryland, Louisiana and Mississippi? Or the ragged tents of miners on the bleak hillsides of the coal mining states? Or the sickening hovels of the coal and steel districts in Pennsylvania? Or the paper-walled shacks of the cotton mill towns where sleep waits on terrible exhaustion?

What greater "disintegration" can come to these "homes" where families rot in despair, and boys and girls grow to maturity stunted in mind and body?

There is no intent to cry down chivalry or desire to repress a single poetic impulse. It is well indeed that men should hold the mother sex in tender, reverent regard, and it is to be hoped that love will never lose its romance and idealism. It is asserted, however, that *true* chivalry must have justice as its firm foundation. The kind that ignores crying evils and patent wrongs in favor of high-sounding periods is nothing more than veneered hypocrisy.

There can be no denial of the imperative nature of the equal suffrage issue. Eleven states and one territory have granted woman the ballot, and in all others it is the principal agitation and demand. Why, then, is it not a high duty to free the discussion of all falsities, smugnesses and obvious claptrap so that honest, sincere argument may have a clear field.

What is more fair, for instance, than the demand that men who grow maudlin in praise of the "American queen" must be prepared to show that, in their particular city and state, the women are treated fairly and decently? Or that those who insist that the "fair sex" does not need the vote be called upon to prove that the women in their sections are without grievance?

In plain words, let chivalry be arraigned and made to justify itself. Is it the thing of perfect honor and protective tenderness, deep-rooted in adequate laws, or only buncombe designed to cloak prejudice, sordid motives and evil privileges? There are many cases, the citation of which will not only make the point clear, but may also lead to a better understanding of the bitternesses and ugly resentments that are clouding and confusing the entire equal suffrage question.

SENATOR TILLMAN, of South Carolina, for instance, bases his opposition upon the belief that the ballot will "mar the beauty and dim the luster of the glorious womanhood with which we have been familiar," and prefaces all of his attacks by the insistence that his "known reverence for good women" will prevent him from being understood.

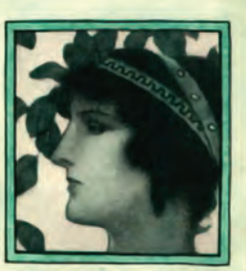
The slightest inquiry into this beauty and luster, however, develops almost unspeakable conditions. The statute-books of South Carolina do not contain one single law for the protection of the working women, thousands of whom are in the cotton mills. The father is the sole and despotic owner of the children, being able to deed them away from the mother if he wishes, and there are no laws that permit a wife to control her own property or her own earnings.

No matter how drunken, worthless or brutal a husband may become, divorce is practically impossible, and if the woman flees the roof that such conditions have made unbearable, the state regards her almost as a fugitive slave who may not be fed or sheltered.

South Carolina is one of the few commonwealths that still permit children of twelve to be worked eleven hours a day, and as if this did not give sufficient opportunity to the robbers of cradles, birth certificates are not required, and the entire appropriation for factory inspection is but three thousand five hundred dollars a year.

It also stands almost alone in refusing to declare prostitution an outlaw industry, nor is the loathsome business of procuring frowned upon by an act of any kind. The one protection against lust is the Unwritten Law, which, says the state's foremost citizen, "is the best law to protect woman's virtue that I ever heard of."

Why bother about prevention when the guilty men may be "shot down like dogs?" There are, to be sure, many women without the necessary father or brother, but it is assumed that such as these would merely mention their needs to any chivalrous gentleman that happened to be passing. A simple matter, a trifling courtesy, since it has been loudly declared that the slayers would be acquitted "without the jury leaving the box."



Nor is this all that is done for the American queen in the "glorious state that smiles under the moral rays of God's blessed sunshine." Education is not permitted to unsettle her placid contemplation of the beauties of her special brand of chivalry, for all the efforts of the women have not been able to secure the passage of a compulsory

(*Continued on Page 24*)

(Opposite page) Figure 94. George Creel, "Chivalry v. Justice," National Woman's Suffrage Publishing, April 1915, pamphlet

Figure 95 James Montgomery Flagg, *Taxation without Representation, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 1915, illustration

MOTION PICTURES

Just as public interest in women's suffrage escalated within mainstream culture, a nascent industry was quietly transforming the media landscape in America. Like the magazines and newspapers that had until then served as the main avenues for spreading art and opinion, the new medium of film began reaching into the many diverse corners of popular culture. As early as 1899, when silent cinema was still a mostly unknown novelty, the topic of women's suffrage was introduced in film with *Women's Rights*, which mocks two young suffragists.[99] The first nickelodeon

Figure 96. *A Lively Affair*, Vitagraph Studios, USA, 1912, film

99 Simon Popple and Joe Kember, *Early Cinema: From Factory Gate to Dream Factory* (London: Wallflower Press, 2004), 51.

theater—a storefront for viewing films at the cost of a nickel—did not open until 1905, but in the coming years tens of thousands of new storefront theaters opened all across the country. Americans had quite an appetite for this new mode of entertainment, which continued to grow as the century wore on.[100] With intensified interest in this groundbreaking form of art and technology, the debate about women's suffrage found its way into film.

Most of the explosion of suffrage films produced between 1909 and 1915 consisted of negative, or anti-suffrage, films mocking and making light of suffragists and their cause.[101] One early suffrage film, *A Lively Affair* (fig. 96), was produced in 1912 by an unknown director and producer. Only seven minutes long, it is essentially a silent film version of the popular anti-suffrage postcards in which suffragists subvert gender roles: women dress like men in bloomers (instead of trousers) and blazers, women abandon their children and husbands to go to suffrage meetings, and women drink and gamble and behave in unladylike ways. By the end, the suffragists have been jailed, a fact that their hapless husbands celebrate, since they seem to rather dislike them anyhow.[102] Many anti-suffrage films of this period took the same approach, such as *A Busy Day* (1914), which starred Charlie Chaplin as a suffragist who subverts gender roles and acts in all manner of "unfeminine" ways.[103]

Figure 97. Caricature from animation in *The Strong Arm Squad of the Future*, USA, 1912, film

100 See Eileen Bowser, *The Transformation of Cinema, 1907–1915* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 1–6; and Emily Scarbrough, "'Fine Dignity, Picturesque Beauty, and Serious Purpose': The Reorientation of Suffrage Media in the Twentieth Century," (Masters thesis, Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, 2015), 72–74.

101 Scott Simmon, "The Strong Arm Squad of the Future (ca. 1912): Film Notes," National Film Preservation Foundation (website), https://www.filmpreservation.org/preserved-films/screening-room/the-strong-arm-squad-of-the-future-ca-1912#.

102 "Film: 'A Lively Affair,' (1912)," Women's Suffrage and the Media (website), http://suffrageandthemedia.org/source/film-lively-affair-1912/.

103 Scarbrough, "'Fine Dignity'," 74.

Figure 98. Advert from *Moving Picture World* magazine for *The Suffragette Sheriff*, 1912

An early example of film animation, the anti-suffrage *The Strong Arm Squad of the Future* (fig. 97), takes a pronounced anti-suffrage stance.[104] Just one minute long, the film parades a cast of six "strong-arm" women across the screen. The term "strong-arm squad" is a reference to the militant suffragettes who were causing such a stir in England. Here the producers have envisioned a world in which these kinds of women have taken control—once again it is a display of the favored anti-suffrage theme of the subversion of gender roles. Excepting the third woman, a beautiful young Gibson Girl, all of these women are depicted as old and monstrous-looking, recalling the other favorite anti-suffrage tradition of discrediting suffragists by denying them their femininity.[105]

Another suffrage film from this era is the absurd comedy of errors, *The Suffragette Sheriff* (fig. 98). The feminist wife and sister-in-law of the protagonist, Bill, inadvertently get him into trouble. His sister-in-law, a "spinster" suffragist, manages to get her sister, Bill's wife, elected as mayor and sheriff. The predictable subversion of gender roles ensues, with Bill feeling neglected and wanting to go back to the way things were before. In an attempt to return things to normal, Bill pretends to commit murder, thinking that his wife would then have to abandon her duties and return to the womanly domestic sphere. Naturally Bill's plot goes awry when his wife learns of his plan and decides to follow through with her pursuit of Bill as a murderer. He is only saved with a surprise "gag" at the end of the film, when he falls into a tub of water at the gallows.[106] The film is neither pro- nor anti-suffrage but shows that the suffrage movement was well-known enough to merit being subject matter for this burgeoning art form.

104 The film is available on You Tube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CJM5Pe2ocfc.

105 Scott Simmon, "The Strong Arm Squad of the Future (ca. 1912): Film Notes," National Film Preservation Foundation (website), accessed May 12, 2020, https://www.filmpreservation.org/preserved-films/screening-room/the-strong-arm-squad-of-the-future-ca-1912#.

106 Maggie Hennefeld, "Early Cinema and the Comedy of Female Catastrophe," in *Specters of Slapstick and Silent Film Comediennes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), np.

A Suffragette in Spite of Himself (fig. 99) is another neutral suffrage film from this period, and as the title suggests, another comedy of errors.[107] The anti-suffragist protagonist winds up with a "Votes for Women" sign on his back after a pair of kids play a prank on him. At an anti-suffrage rally, the unknowing victim is rebuffed by the other men, and he then stumbles upon a pro-suffrage rally where he is confused to find himself treated well. The story and message of the film is somewhat anti-anti-suffragist, although it does not make a strong case for suffrage. Many films of this period wanted to remain neutral so as to appeal to as many viewers as possible.[108]

Figure 99. *A Suffragette in Spite of Himself*, directed by Ashley Miller, Edison Studios, USA, 1912, film

Although film was especially favored by the anti-suffragists, pro-suffrage groups had their say too. Pro-suffrage films were largely made as rebuttals to the films created by their opponents. One of the earliest, produced by NAWSA, was the well-received *Votes for Women*, a two-reel film that viewed women and their enfranchisement as a solution to societal ills.[109] The following year, 1913, the Women's Political Union produced *What 80 Million Women Want—?*, a drama in which a suffragist exposes the corruption and injustice of a man in a position of power (fig. 100).[110] The suffragists Emmaline Pankhurst and Harriot Stanton Blatch make appearances as themselves, which was clearly a tactic to garner attention for the film. The film was a critical success, marking a minor victory for the women's suffrage movement.[111]

107 The film is available on You Tube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZxOpJJLJIGA&feature=youtube.

108 "A Suffragette in Spite of Himself," Century Film Project blog, https://centuryfilmproject.org/2018/01/10/a-suffragette-in-spite-of-himself-1912/.

109 Karen Ward Mahar, *Women Filmmakers in Early Hollywood* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 66. Most scholars believe the film no longer exists. See "Film: Votes for Women (1912)," Suffrage and the Media (website), http://suffrageandthemedia.org/source/film-votes-women-1912/.

110 "What Eighty Million Women Want (1913)" Internet Movie Database (website), https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0002822/.

111 Mahar, 67.

Figure 100. Advert for *What 80 Million Women Want—?*, directed by Willard Louis, Unique Film Co. in partnership with the Women's Political Union, USA, 1913

Your Girl or Mine, one of the most important pro-suffrage films, was produced the following year in collaboration with NAWSA. The film illustrates the injustices inherent in the American legal system.[112] To make matters worse, when conditions in her marriage become so bad that the woman attempts to leave with her children, the law demands she return to her husband's house. The film touches on many of the issues that had become touchstones of the women's suffrage movement: labor, especially child labor and exploitation, and the idea of women as protectors of children and the home.[113] The film was promoted by local suffrage groups and left a lasting impression on its viewers as well as earning rave reviews and was cited as an essential film to help the public understand the importance of giving women the vote.[114]

By about 1915, the fervent attacks on suffragists in films slowed down significantly, perhaps a sign that the tide was turning in their favor.[115] This allowed pro-suffrage films like the 1917 *Mothers of Men* (fig. 101) to take the spotlight and be heard without protest. The plot of this film is similar to the *The Suffragette Sheriff*, but the story is told in a serious and believable way.[116] The film follows one woman's rise to political power—Clara Madison is elected as a judge and eventually as a governor. While serving as governor, she is faced with the question of whether she

112 Alice W. Campbell, "Your Girl and Mine (Suffrage Film)," Social Welfare History Project, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries (website), https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/woman-suffrage/your-girl-and-mine-suffrage-film/.

113 Scarbrough, "'Fine Dignity,'" 64.

114 Campbell, "Your Girl and Mine."

115 Scott Simmon, "The Strong Arm Squad of the Future (ca. 1912): Film Notes," National Film Preservation Foundation (website), https://www.filmpreservation.org/preserved-films/screening-room/the-strong-arm-squad-of-the-future-ca-1912#.

116 The 1917 film no longer survives, but it was re-released as *Every Woman's Problem* in 1921. That film can be viewed on the San Francisco Silent Film Festival website: https://silentfilm.org/preservation/mothers-of-men/.

will intervene on behalf of her husband, who is accused of murder, or whether she will allow the legal system to follow its due process. The film is ultimately about her personal struggle and her integrity, and a portrait of female strength, an example of the dignity women would bring to positions of political power and, by implication, the voting booth as well.[117]

Figure 101. *Mothers of Men*, directed by Willis Robards, Plymouth Pictures Corporation, USA, 1917, film

Created in the very final years of the suffrage campaign, this film was a source of pride and inspiration for supporters of the movement and made a powerful case for women's suffrage through its effective and affecting storytelling. Not unlike the inspiring illustrations created by pro-suffrage artists, the film was hopeful and supportive. As suffragists made their final push before the passage of the 19th amendment, suffrage art became a cacophony of soaring hopes and determination. Film was something of a microcosm of the broader debate about women's suffrage: although suffragists initially faced harsh criticism in film, they ultimately took ownership of the debate. The same thing was happening throughout American culture. The suffragists were at the final stretch before reaching the finish line. They saw victory in sight.

117 "Mothers of Men," San Francisco Silent Film Festival (website), https://silentfilm.org/preservation/mothers-of-men/.

ART IN THE FINAL PUSH FORWARD

The final years of the women's suffrage campaign were marked by an intense burst of activity. Not only did suffragists ratchet up their activism, but they also worked in the shadows of an unprecedented world war. Toward the end of the second decade of the 20th century, the world was quickly changing, and it was in this context that women's suffrage began to seem inevitable. Art produced during these final years reflects that sense of inevitability with an unprecedented urgency and passion. Using motifs and themes that had been developed over the course of the movement, artists began to more directly address the cause's urgent political campaigns, using metaphor and allegory to make their importance immediately understandable. Artists also pulled

Figure 102. Kenneth R. Chamberlain, *Woman's Sphere*, *The Masses*, 1915, cartoon

back to make grand statements about women's roles in society. K. R. Chamberlain's powerful *Woman's Sphere* (fig. 102), which was on the back cover of the 1917 suffrage issue of the *Masses*, is an example of the latter type of image. It simply shows a spotlight on the earth with the words "Woman's Sphere" below. No, it implies, a woman's sphere is *not* limited to the home. Women have a right to the world just like men. Things had changed, it asserted. The argument for women's suffrage was already won; now it was a matter of making women's suffrage a tangible reality.

While bold, sweeping images like Chamberlain's were powerful, suffragist artists also made art that used simpler images to make their point. They examined policy and political campaigns that were vital to their cause, suffusing them with the same sense of inspiration and intensity. Much of this art related to the work being done at the state level to win women's suffrage, which women's rights advocates had turned their attention to after the failure of the federal suffrage amendment in 1887. By 1915, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, Montana, and Nevada had granted suffrage to women, and suffragists looked to these states for inspiration. Artists seized on this, making moving images that spoke to the importance of other states doing the same.

Nina Allender's cartoon *Wise Women of the West* (fig. 103), for example, shows three "wise women" from the enlightened West before the U.S. Capitol, over which shines a star, referencing the star of Bethlehem in the Biblical story of the three wise men. Instead of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, however, these wise women bring Loyalty, Power, and Courage to Washington. They exude grit and determination, and in the context of this rather spiritual image, the message is hopeful and persuasive.

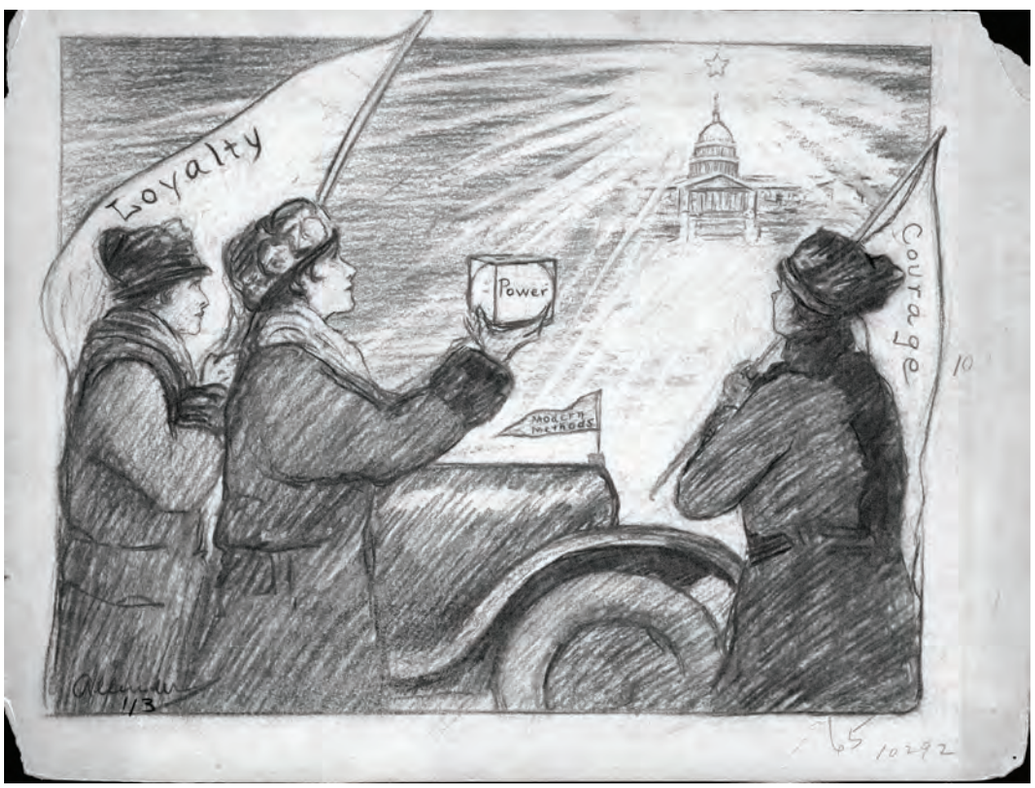


Figure 103. Nina Allender, *The Wise Women of the West Come Bearing Votes*, 1915, cartoon, Nina Allender Collection, National Woman's Party at Belmont Paul Women's Equality National Monument

Another powerful approach to the topic was created by chief cartoonist for *Puck* magazine Henry Mayer in 1915 for the magazine's suffrage issue. *The Awakening* (fig. 104) uses allegory and symbolism to make the case for women's suffrage in the East and is arguably one of the most iconic and powerful images created on behalf of the women's suffrage movement. Mayer's illustration shows a large map of the United States with those states in which suffrage had been adopted colored white and marked clearly with the state's name; the eastern states where suffrage had not been granted were depicted as a murky black purgatory out of which suffering women struggled to rise up. Lady Liberty herself strides eastward across the more enlightened western states, bearing a torch to shed the light of justice on the rest of the nation. Her billowing golden cape bears the words "Votes for Women." The image succinctly suggests that the country will not be whole until all women are granted suffrage, and while the women in the blackened eastern states seem to struggle, there is an optimistic sense that Lady Liberty is coming to their aid.

As if Mayer's image weren't powerful enough, it is paired with a poem by Alice Duer Miller, whose moving words march across the page with a pronounced rhythm to match that of the striding Lady Liberty:

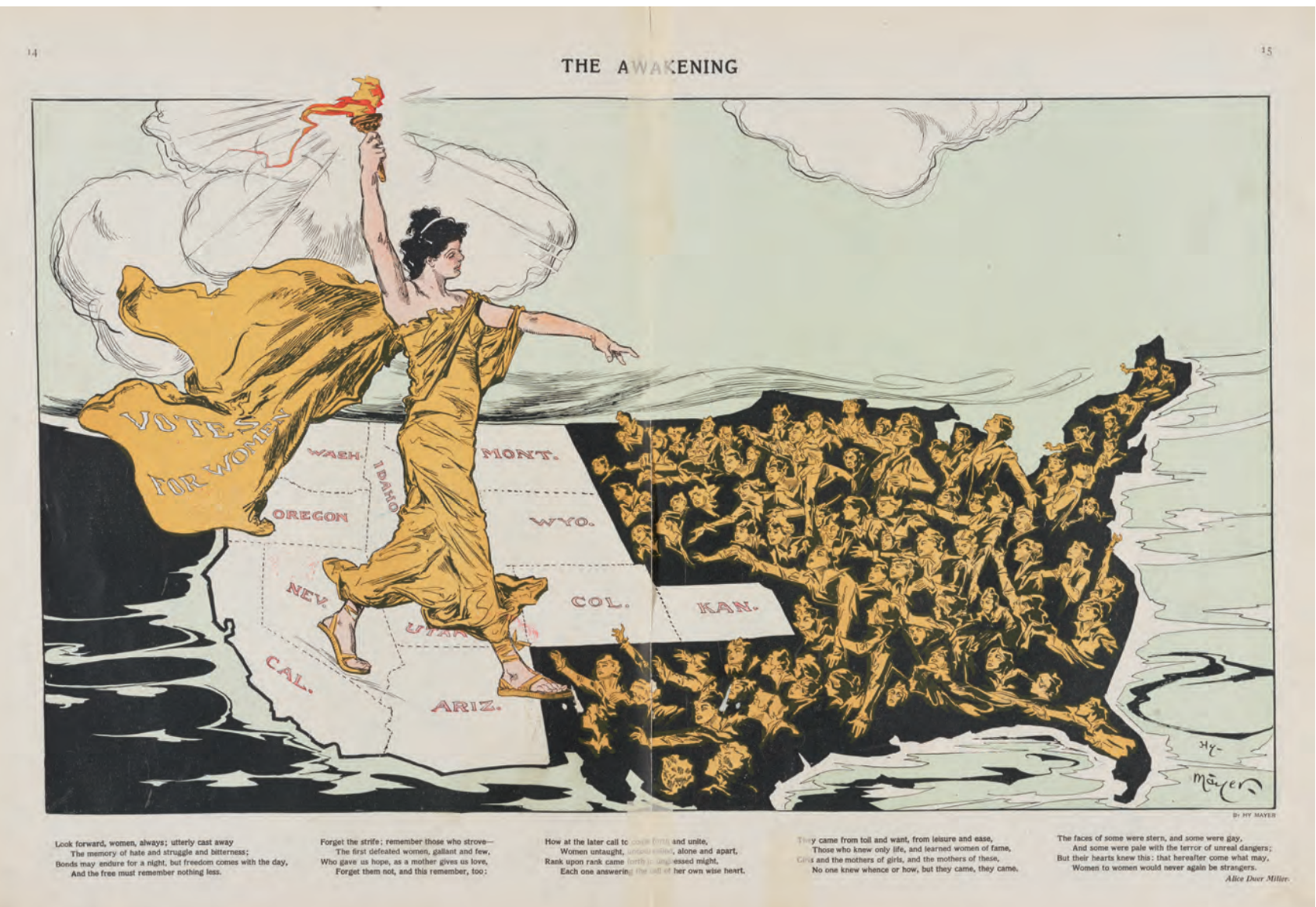


Figure 104. Henry Mayer, *The Awakening, Puck*, centerfold illustration, 1915, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

Look forward, women, always; utterly cast away
The memory of hate and struggle and bitterness;
Bonds may endure for a night, but freedom comes with the day,
And the free must remember nothing less.

Forget the strife; remember those who strove—
The first defeated women, gallant and few,
Who gave us hope, as a mother gives us love,
Forget them not, and this remember, too:

How at the later call to come forth and unite,
Women untaught, uncounselled, alone and apart,
Rank upon rank came forth in unguessed might,
Each one answering the call of her own wise heart

They came from toil and want, from leisure and ease,
Those who knew only life, and learned women of fame,
Girls and mothers of girls, and the mothers of these,
No one knew whence or how, but they came, they came.

The faces of some were stern, and some were gay,
And some were pale with the terror of unreal dangers;
But their hearts knew this: that hereafter come what may,
Women to women would never again be strangers.

Miller's stirring poem, utterly lacking the irony of her famous satirical poetry, is inspirational and aspirational. It captures the passion and urgency of this crucial moment in the fight for women's suffrage.

Another powerful image produced for a NAWSA poster contest captured the same passion and urgency that was specific to this late moment in the women's suffrage campaign. Edward A. Poucher's *The Woman's Hour Has Struck* (fig. 105) shows a suffragist pulling on a rope to ring a massive bell. There is no context or complex storytelling in the image, as the large text around her explains: "Woman suffrage is coming in 1917." The sense of inevitability in Poucher's image made it tremendously effective for the suffrage movement, especially in New York, where women were finally granted full suffrage that year.

Another work in the same spirit was published in *Puck* magazine the same year. *Revised* (fig. 106), by the same Chamberlain responsible for the powerful image *Woman's Sphere*, uses allegory paired along with tangible women's rights issues to create another uncommonly affecting illustration that touches once again on the question of "woman's sphere." Chamberlain depicts an allegorical woman standing at a wall, editing the sentence "Woman's sphere is the home" to read "Woman's sphere is wherever she makes good." She holds a list of other possible options to explain what "woman's sphere" is: "the home, the law, industry, the school, the stage, business, the arts." In sum, women should not be limited in their roles but instead allowed to "make good" in service to their unique calling—just as men do. The woman, although unidentified, is dressed in a robe and flowing cloak that suggest classical mythology; she resembles a personification of one of the virtues. By linking this woman to classical mythology, however vaguely, Chamberlain elevates the subject matter here and by extension all women. Clearly, the image

suggests, women are on the side of justice and righteousness. On another level, Chamberlain adds to the growing chorus of voices saying that the writing was on the wall, so to speak, and that women's suffrage was inevitable.

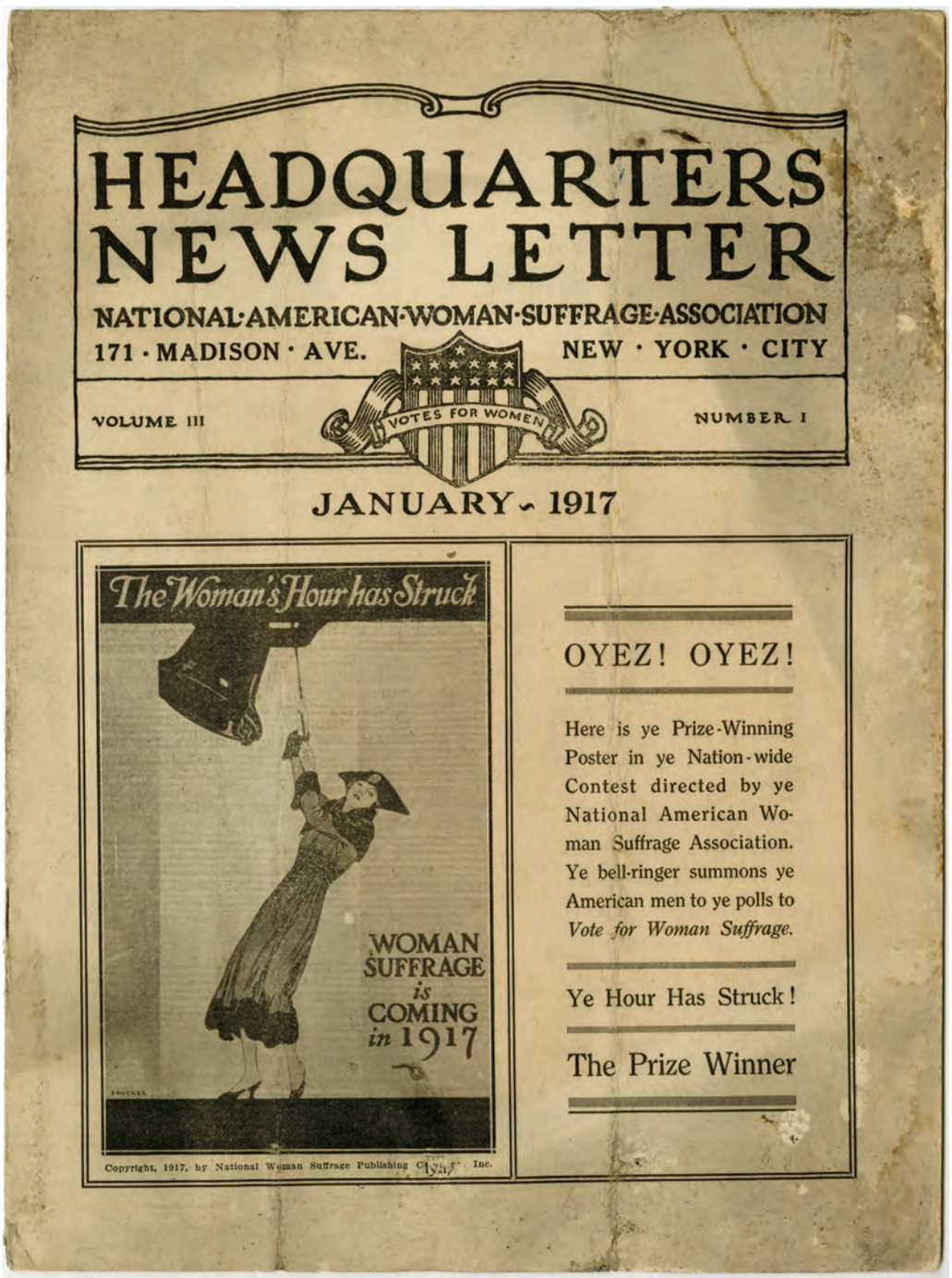


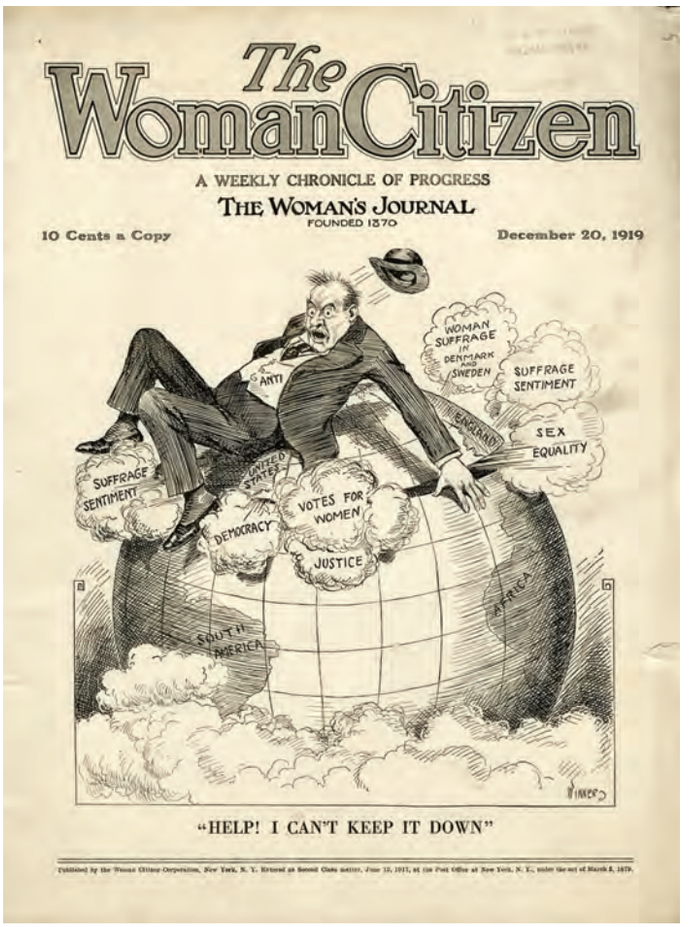
Figure 105. *The Woman's Hour Has Struck*, Cover of NAWSA Headquarters Newsletter, 1917, illustration, Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal

(Opposite page) Figure 106 (top). Kenneth R. Chamberlain, *Revised, Puck*, 1917, cartoon, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

Figure 107 (bottom). Charles H. Winner, *Help! I Can't Keep It Down!, The Woman Citizen*, 1919, cartoon, Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal

Even as women's suffrage became more of a foregone conclusion, many stubbornly resisted. A cartoon published on the cover of the *Woman Citizen* (fig. 107) after the passage of the 19th amendment—but before its ratification—alludes to this. A man identified as "Anti" sits on top of the globe looking desperate and panicked. He struggles to keep a lid on the earth as a whole slew of forces, including "suffrage sentiment," "votes for women," "sex equality," and "woman suffrage in Denmark and Sweden" threaten to blow that lid—and the Anti himself—right off. The man shouts, "Help! I can't keep it down."

Other images address the inevitability of women's suffrage by attacking the capriciousness of men who had so long fought against suffrage, only to support it when it was sure to happen. *Puck* magazine's suffrage issue published a cartoon called *Band-Wagon Biography* (fig. 108) that shows the evolution of an anti-suffragist. As a small boy, he laughed at the suffragists, as a college student he spoke out against suffragists, later he railed against the "militant suffragists," "but when suffrage became imminent," the cartoon explains, "he said, 'My friends, we have lived to see reason triumph over prejudice.'" In this last phase of his evolution, the man smilingly hops onto the "Votes for women bandwagon." Similarly, a cartoon published in the *Washington Evening Star* in 1918 (fig. 109) shows a crowd of men boarding the "Votes for women band wagon," which is headed toward the U.S. Capitol Building, as a horn urgently blasts its "last call."

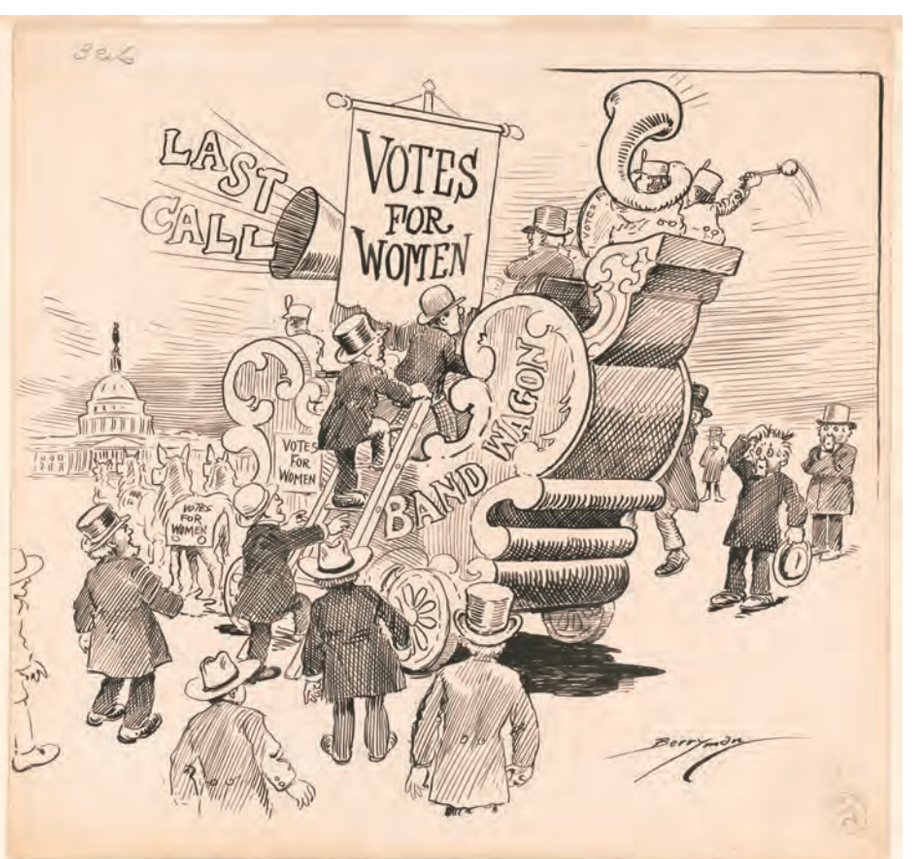


(This page) Figure 108. John T. McCutcheon, *Band-Wagon Biography*, *Puck*, 1915. Courtesy of Hathi Trust

Figure 109. Clifford Kennedy Berryman, *Votes for Women Bandwagon*, Washington Evening Star, 1918, cartoon, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

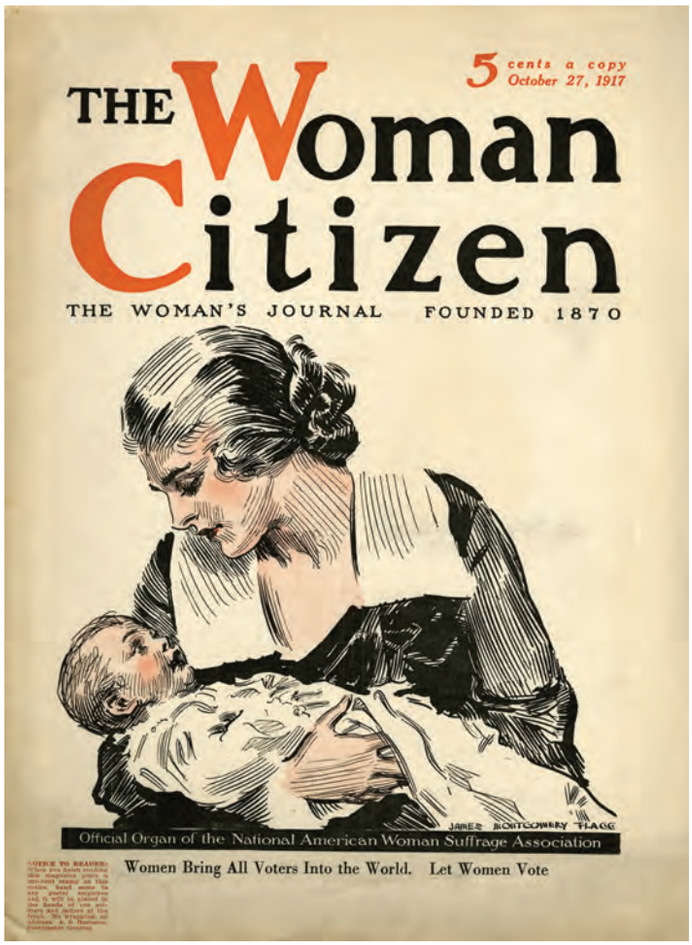
(Opposite page) Figure 110 (top). James Montgomery Flagg, *Women Bring All Voters Into the World*, Cover of *The Woman Citizen*, 1917, illustration.

Figure 111 (bottom). C.D. Batchelor, *Handing on the Work*, Cover of *The Woman Citizen*, 1920, illustration, both from the Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University Libraries. Online: Social Welfare History Image Portal



The image of the suffragist as a mother-protector was also employed to powerful effect in the final days of the movement. These women came to symbolize not just suffragists themselves, but the positive effects women would have on policy and the realities of life in general. The October 27, 1917 issue of the *Woman Citizen* featured such an image on its cover (fig. 110). It shows a tender young mother, holding her infant and gazing lovingly into its eyes. The caption makes for a simple but incontestable argument: "Women Bring All Voters Into the World. Let Women Vote." A similar message published on the cover of the same magazine in February of 1920, after the amendment was passed but before it was ratified, makes explicit the metaphor of suffragist as mother (fig. 111). Here a maternal figure, wearing a sash with the words "suffrage organization" holds a small child with a sash marked "citizenship" on her lap. The caption at the bottom clarifies the metaphor: "Handing on the work."

As the tide was turning in the very last days of the women's suffrage campaign, women's voices had risen from a murmur into a veritable roar on the public stage. The woman's hour had indeed struck, and Congress finally embraced the inevitability of women's suffrage, passing the 19th amendment on June 4, 1919, and sending it to the states for ratification. Although it would be more than a year before the amendment was ratified, there was clearly no turning back. The suffragists had won their hard-fought, multi-decade battle. Victory was finally theirs.



JUN 26 19

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FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1919

Courtesy Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger

At Last

ART EVOKES JOY AND OPTIMISM AFTER THE 19TH AMENDMENT

(Opposite page) Figure 112. *At Last*, Cover of *The Suffragist*, June 21, 1919, illustration, Bryn Mawr College Libraries, Special Collections

As soon as the 19th Amendment was passed, there was an overwhelming sense of joy and optimism in the art that was circulating around the country. Magazine covers featured especially poignant images celebrating this historic moment. Just weeks after the amendment was approved, the cover of the *Suffragist* (fig. 112) featured Justice and American Womanhood in an emotional embrace. The caption simply reads, "At Last." The image expresses the collective sense of joy and relief of women across the country.

Similar images graced the covers of magazines and newspapers after the amendment was ratified. Nina Allender's, *Victory*, for example (fig. 113), appeared on the cover of the *Suffragist* in September of 1920. The image depicts an allegorical female figure standing on top of the world. The woman wears a laurel wreath and a banner reading "VICTORY." It is an image of victorious womanhood—of the victory of women everywhere. Delightfully simple, the image revels in the pure joy of this moment for American women.

Other magazine covers followed suit. Charles Dana Gibson's illustration on the cover of *Life* magazine featured an allegorical image of a woman handing the ballot to a young woman (fig. 114). This image is more businesslike than emotional, as the allegorical figure encourages this young woman to go forth and use her newly won rights. The word "Congratulations" appears at the bottom of the image. Another image, on the cover of the *Woman Citizen*, featured a young woman dressed in the red, white, and blue of the American flag, standing in front of prominent government buildings (fig. 116). She is resolute, and determined, ready to participate in the workings of her government. The message is enhanced by its caption, which is a call to arms: "Suffrage Won—Forward, March!"

Other images, such as Elmer Andrews Bushnell's *The Sky Is Now Her Limit*, celebrated women's suffrage while also alluding to the inequity women continued to face (fig. 116). Bushnell's young woman stands at the bottom of a ladder that rises out of darkness, seemingly infinitely, toward a bright sky above. She is dressed in work clothes and is burdened with two heavy buckets, but she looks hopefully up toward the highest rungs in the light above. Each rung of the ladder is marked with a different position: "slavery" at the bottom rung, "equal suffrage" beyond that, and "presidency" at the highest visible rung. Although "the sky is now her limit," this woman still has a lot of climbing yet to do and bears a heavy burden. For the first time, though, a ladder has been extended to her, and she has the opportunity to rise out of the darkness.

By 1920, despite chaotic events enveloping the world, victory for American women was at hand. From forward-thinking women finding new clothing for new lifestyles to painters and filmmakers creating moving images to generate common understanding, enthusiasm for the social movement, and powerful, clear, and easily heard voices, art helped redefine women's role in society and, as a result, changed America and the world for the better.

Figure 113. *Victory*, Nina Allender Collection, National Woman's Party at Belmont Paul Women's Equality National Monument

Figure 114. Charles Dana Gibson, *Congratulations*, Cover of *Life* magazine, 1920, illustration. From the suffrage collection of Ann Lewis & Mike Sponder

Figure 115. C.D. Batchelor, Cover of *The Woman Citizen*, December 4, 1920, illustration

Figure 116. Elmer Andrews Bushnell, *The Sky Is Now Her Limit*, October 1920, cartoon, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC

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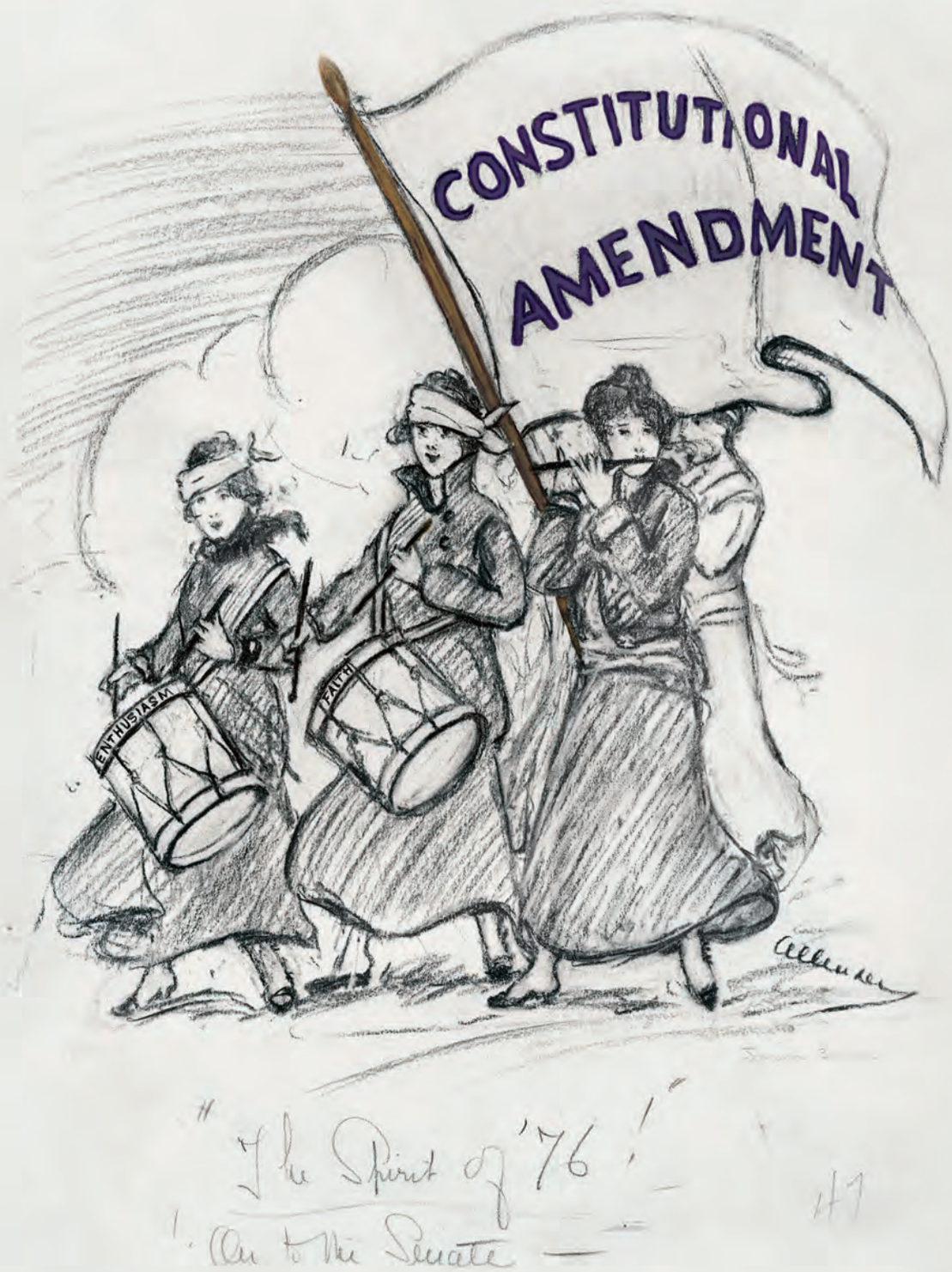

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