

# Imagery of the American Suffrage Movement: The Strategic Implementation of Traditional Gender Roles

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## *Abstract*

*In the final decades of the American suffrage movement (1900-1920), suffrage artists created cartoons and postcards to voice their arguments and refute the arguments of anti-suffragists. The surviving suffrage imagery demonstrates the image women chose to introduce, while commercial postcards and opposing cartoons present the prevailing societal attitude toward women's suffrage. Suffrage artists' understanding and use of traditional gender roles played a key part in their calculated effort to change public perception of their cause. Suffrage artists cunningly crafted images of relatable and admirable voters and depicted women that cared about both the vote and their families. The prevailing understanding of gender roles, held by prospective suffragists, voting men, and politicians, shaped the imagery and themes utilized by suffrage artists.*

For seventy-two years women in the United States fought for their right to vote. Throughout their campaign, they used shifting strategies to challenge and persuade anti-suffragists, including postcards and cartoons. The last two decades of the women's suffrage movement (1900-1920) coincided with an increase in women's admittance into art schools and the "golden age" of postcards. Art education became widely available to women for the first time as part of their training to become teachers. "Accomplishment in art and music was often taken as evidence that a high standard of moral refinement was met," a necessary character for women becoming teachers.<sup>1</sup> Lou Rogers and Nina Allender are two examples of women who studied art, intending to become teachers, then used their skills to create cartoons in support of women's suffrage.<sup>2</sup> Suffrage artists fought for visibility and opportunities to publish their artwork in newspapers, postcards, and magazines. Postcard historians vary on the exact dates, but generally place the "golden age" of postcards between 1900 and 1915, citing the Rural Free Delivery system for the medium's popularity.<sup>3</sup> Once free delivery became standard, postcard collecting became a popular hobby.

Women faced their changing role in society from opposite sides of the suffrage debate. Amidst suffrage organizing, speechmaking, illustrating, parading, and protesting, anti-suffrage women and men fought against legalization of women's votes. The proliferation of pro-suffrage cartoons and postcards during this period voiced women's arguments for suffrage and countered anti-suffrage arguments. Some postcards were produced in collaboration with suffrage organizations while commercial companies created other postcards with both pro- and anti-suffrage themes. Suffrage

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<sup>1</sup> Arthur D. Efland, "Art and Education for Women in 19th Century Boston," *Studies in Art Education* 26, no. 3 (1985): 139, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1320318>.

<sup>2</sup> Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 105-108.

<sup>3</sup> Kenneth Florey, *American Woman Suffrage Postcards* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Incorporated Publishers, 2015), 5. Before 1898 and the system's creation, only people living in cities with 10,000 or more homes received free mail delivery. Americans living in more rural areas rarely sent or received mail because of the many miles of travel required to send or receive letters.

organizations primarily sold their cards in their headquarters or through advertisements in their papers, such as *Woman's Journal* and *Suffragist*.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the cards reached few people outside the movement. Commercially produced cards, on the other hand, were sold in stationery shops and drug stores, reaching a larger audience. They primarily presented anti-suffrage themes, but some cards exhibited a supportive tone. The surviving suffrage postcards demonstrate the image women chose to introduce, while commercial cards present the prevailing societal attitude toward women's suffrage.

Suffrage imagery in postcards and cartoons provides a window into the actors, arguments, and cultural context of the suffrage movement. The images offer positive depictions of the women fighting for the right to vote. They show how enfranchisement would allow women to improve society, reflecting a common argument in suffrage speeches and media. They demonstrate the prevailing understanding of gender norms in the 1910s. However, the scholarship centering on suffrage imagery is woefully lacking. In art history, a distinction between fine art and low art diverts scholarly attention away from crafts and cartoons.<sup>5</sup> Historian Alice Sheppard's research has largely dominated the niche of suffrage imagery. She acknowledges the limited scholarship on this topic, arguing that "The isolation of [the female audiences of women's journals], reinforced by the stereotype of female humorlessness, resulted in the failure of women humorists to be adequately recognized and remembered."<sup>6</sup> When writing her book, *Cartooning for Suffrage*, she found and graphically improved over two hundred suffrage cartoons. The book combats the lack of remembrance by presenting a catalog of images and background information for many suffrage artists.

Feminist political historian, Elisabeth Israels Perry, wrote the introduction to *Cartooning for Suffrage*. As she acquaints readers, Perry argues that suffrage cartoons "did not go far enough, ... in freeing women from narrow conceptualizations of their social roles in American public life."<sup>7</sup> Perry's statement ignores the social context in which women produced the images and instead projects her current understanding of feminism onto women's rights activists of the past. Although this imagery unfortunately reinforced women's roles and potentially created challenges for future women's rights activists, this style of depiction was necessary for incremental change. Women could not hope to gain the vote, throw off the responsibilities of the home, and gain all the privileges men had in one fell swoop. Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) illustrates the incremental steps needed to increase women's rights. The foundational feminist text argues that women are in fact human. Wollstonecraft's text emphasizes women's distinctiveness from men, and associates women with physical weakness and traditional roles within the home. Additionally, Wollstonecraft argues that barring women from education was detrimental to society because women cannot raise good citizens without an education.<sup>8</sup> Without first establishing women's humanity, women could not hope for increased rights and freedom to choose work outside the home. Similarly, women's enfranchisement built on the steps of activists who came before, as later feminist organizing built on the progress of suffrage. Further, the suffrage movement began in an era of women's colleges whose "curricula ... emphasized literature, art and music, domestic science, and home economics," preserving the

<sup>4</sup> Kenneth Florey, *American Woman Suffrage Postcards* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Incorporated Publishers, 2015), 11.

<sup>5</sup> Anne D'Alleva, *Methods and Theories of Art History* (London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2012), 62.

<sup>6</sup> Alice Sheppard, "There were Ladies Present: American Women Cartoonists and Comic Artists in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of American Culture* 7, no. 3 (1984): 47.

<sup>7</sup> Elisabeth Israels Perry, introduction to *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 5.

<sup>8</sup> Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman with Strictures of Political and Moral Subjects* (1792), edited by Jonathan Bennett, 2017, <https://www.earlymoderntexts.com/assets/pdfs/wollstonecraft1792.pdf>.

woman's sphere.<sup>9</sup> The institutions exponentially increased women's access to education, but like suffrage imagery, they did so within the strictly regulated roles that society held for women.

The ideas presented in suffrage imagery aimed to counteract negative depictions and encouraged acceptance of the cause. Men held the power to enfranchise women or to prevent the passage of legislation. Therefore, women chose to address one issue at a time by using arguments men understood and accepted. While anti-suffrage postcards presented images of ugly or foolish suffragists and men's impending subordination if suffrage passed, suffragists sought to calm those fears. Suffrage imagery argued that women could vote without losing their femininity or uprooting the traditional societal structure. Additionally, anti-suffragists argued that women did not deserve the vote because only a small minority wanted the right. In response, suffragists worked to expand their support by targeting hesitant women. Suffragists created imagery women could relate to and presented suffrage as compatible with women's traditional strengths like homemaking. The images produced by the women's suffrage campaign advocated for increased rights in a way that reflected the contemporary conceptualizations of women and their place. The prevailing understanding of gender roles, held by prospective suffragists, voting men, and politicians, shaped the imagery and themes utilized by suffrage artists.

### **An Introduction to the American Suffrage Movement**

The seventy-two-year fight for women's suffrage in the United States represented the first organized push for women's rights in this country. In 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and four other women convened the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York. The assembled audience listened to debates about women's rights as outlined in Stanton's *Declaration of Sentiments*, which in its mirroring of the Declaration of Independence, "explicitly [drew] on the philosophies of the classical liberal tradition that stress[es] autonomy, rights, and personal freedoms."<sup>10</sup> The adopted resolution that "it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise,"<sup>11</sup> stands as the documented origin of the call for women's suffrage. This founding document of the women's suffrage movement led the way for the justice argument and liberal feminism, which characterized the early movement. Justice arguments like those in the *Declaration of Sentiments* cited similar principles to the American Revolution such as consent of the governed, taxation without representation, and the justice of women's political equality.<sup>12</sup> Liberal feminism focuses on legal and political change to achieve women's equality.

In 1851, Stanton met Susan B. Anthony, forging a friendship that propelled the suffrage movement. The two women were introduced by their mutual friend, Amelia Bloomer, who popularized the dress-reform outfit nicknamed "bloomers."<sup>13</sup> Anthony's Quaker upbringing imbued her with a strong belief in women's equality, and her relentless dedication to women's suffrage made her the most well-known and respected figure associated with the movement. Stanton and Anthony wrote, planned, and organized for the suffrage cause together for decades.

<sup>9</sup> Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 70.

<sup>10</sup> Judy D. Whipps, "A Historical Introduction: The Three Waves of Feminism," in *Philosophy: Feminism*, ed. Carol Hay (Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2017), 6.

<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions" (address, Seneca Falls, New York, July 19-20, 1848), <https://www.sjsu.edu/people/cynthia.rostankowski/courses/HUM2BS14/s0/Womens-Rights.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 44.

<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Frost-Knappman and Kathryn Cullen-DuPont, *Women's Suffrage in America: An Eyewitness History*, Updated ed. (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 88.

Stanton and Anthony helped form the first national organization working to expand voting rights, the American Equal Rights Association (AERA).<sup>14</sup> The AERA sought to enfranchise both African Americans and women. However, amendments proposed to Congress that would enfranchise only Black men and introduce the word “male” as a qualifier for voting, strained the group and alienated women’s suffrage activists.<sup>15</sup> Anthony and Stanton reorganized as the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA).<sup>16</sup> Lucy Stone, a fellow member of the AERA and advocate for abolition and suffrage, created a separate organization, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). The organizations varied in approach; while the NWSA worked for a federal amendment, the AWSA sought state referendums to enfranchise women. Additionally, the NWSA advocated for a wider variety of reforms, including divorce, equal pay, and healthcare, while challenging religion as the basis of women’s subordination. Lucy Stone’s AWSA took a less radical approach, allowing male officers, adopting a moderate tone, and seeking only voting rights for women.<sup>17</sup>

Despite working for twenty years, neither group secured state or federal amendments to enfranchise women. Younger members of the opposing NWSA and AWSA worked to combine the organizations. In 1890, the groups merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), all working toward the same goal of women’s suffrage. Stanton and Anthony led the organization until their age and ill-health required new leadership. Changing the public’s minds about women’s right to vote required the determination and efforts of multiple generations. Carrie Chapman Catt’s fund-raising and organizing abilities propelled her to the NAWSA presidency in 1900. In 1904, Anna Howard Shaw, a compelling public speaker, succeeded her as president. The organization worked towards a federal amendment but focused most of its energy on state-by-state campaigns.<sup>18</sup>

Women’s involvement in suffrage organizations reflected their increased engagement in activism in the public sphere throughout the late 1800s. They attended colleges and joined women’s clubs, activist groups, the workforce, and labor movements. Jane Addams had a strong background in service for the poor and activism for children, women, and labor. As vice president of NAWSA in 1912, she advocated for suffrage before state and national congresses. Addams’s strategy, which she called dovetailing, “start[ed] with what was accepted in women’s roles and then work[ed] within those models to actively challenge and expand them.”<sup>19</sup> This tactic faced criticism for its acceptance of traditional gender roles and some modern historians question if she supported gender essentialism.<sup>20</sup> This view proposed that women and men were inherently different because of their biology, which has been challenged by later waves of feminism. Today gender is understood as socially constructed or influenced by the social norms of the time and place. Second wave feminists, like Judith Butler,

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<sup>14</sup> Sally R. Wagner, ed., *The Women’s Suffrage Movement* (New York: Penguin Books, 2019), 143.

<sup>15</sup> Stanton and Anthony turned to problematic, racist tactics to advocate for women’s need for the vote, including educated suffrage which would effectively bar Black men from voting because enslaved men could not be educated.

<sup>16</sup> Sally R. Wagner, ed., *The Women’s Suffrage Movement* (New York: Penguin Books, 2019), 155.

<sup>17</sup> Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 80.

<sup>18</sup> This led to problematic, racist state’s rights arguments. The organization endorsed the Shafroth Amendment which required states to hold a referendum to enfranchise women if eight percent of voters in the previous election signed a petition for the cause. Although the amendment did not pass, it threatened to place Black men’s voting rights in a precarious position by providing states with even more authority to decide who could vote. Additionally, the organization allowed chapters in the south to ban African American members.

<sup>19</sup> Judy D. Whipps, “A Historical Introduction: The Three Waves of Feminism,” in *Philosophy: Feminism*, ed. Carol Hay (Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2017), 9.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

suggested that gender is a role that we learn and perform.<sup>21</sup> However, feminist theorists did not introduce theories of biological sex versus gender until half a century after the time of Addams and other suffragists. Elisabeth Israels Perry imposes today's understanding of gender roles onto women of the past who conceptualized gender differently. Dovetailing was a pragmatic strategy intended to secure the vote for women. By tailoring their approach to their audience's perspective, suffragists hoped to more quickly achieve their goal: the vote.

NAWSA stood as the uncontested national organization leading the suffrage cause until Alice Paul pushed the movement to take more radical actions. Paul grew up in a Quaker tradition that encouraged each member to find a "testimony" or reform goal to better the world for others. Her philanthropy brought her to London where she learned about the English suffrage movement and "recognized that it involved women who, instead of accepting or ameliorating the status quo, were taking risks each day to advocate legal and social change."<sup>22</sup> Paul participated in their staged protests, arrests, and hunger strikes to gain sympathetic media coverage. Here she met Lucy Burns, another American woman abroad who later took what she learned from the militant British Suffragettes and applied it to the U.S. movement. When Paul returned to the United States, she became the chair of NAWSA's Congressional Committee, with Lucy Burns as vice-chairman. Together they focused on achieving a federal suffrage amendment. Under Paul's leadership, the once-neglected committee became a formidable force of its own, and her adjoining suffrage group, the Congressional Union, grew to over 1,000 members by 1913.<sup>23</sup> NAWSA leadership attempted to exercise more control to curtail "the magnitude and independent nature of the Congressional Union," but Paul refused their conditions and the two organizations separated.<sup>24</sup>

In 1917 Paul and Burns organized the first picketing outside the White House, taking a bold approach to demanding the vote. The women, known as Silent Sentinels, stood outside the White House gates six days a week without speaking or arguing for their cause. Instead, their banners called for the president to act. Silent Sentinels faced arrest, and following the lead of the British suffragettes, many women participated in hunger strikes and were violently force-fed by prison officials. A chief Washington correspondent, Gilson Gardner, covered their protests during Wilson's second inauguration, noting that "to see a thousand women ... marching in a rain that almost froze as it fell; to see them standing and marching and holding their heavy banners, ... hour after hour, ... was a sight to impress even the jaded senses of one who has seen much."<sup>25</sup> The Silent Sentinel's persistence in the face of poor weather, jeering taunts, and imprisonment earned sympathy from some Americans and consistent attention from the media.<sup>26</sup>

### The Artists Illustrating a Movement

Dramatic visual protests were just one element of Alice Paul's strategy. She engaged members of the Congressional Union through written articles and dynamic political cartoons in *Suffragist*. The

<sup>21</sup> Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal*, 40, no. 4 (1988): 519–31. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3207893>.

, <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0192-2882%28198812%2940%3A4%3C519%3APAAGCA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-C>.

<sup>22</sup> Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 9.

<sup>23</sup> Sally R. Wagner, ed., *The Women's Suffrage Movement* (New York: Penguin Books, 2019), 423.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 426.

<sup>25</sup> Gilson Gardner quoted in Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 166-167.

<sup>26</sup> Judy D. Whipps, "A Historical Introduction: The Three Waves of Feminism," in *Philosophy: Feminism*, ed. Carol Hay (Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2017), 11.

journal targeted women already invested in suffrage with articles focused on the federal amendment. Paul imagined the journal's reader as a woman whose "self-respect, unity with other women, and determination will enable her to soon obtain the goal."<sup>27</sup> This imagined reader gained a visual form in Nina Allender's cartoons. Allender had attended the Corcoran School of Art and later the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. After divorcing her unfaithful husband, she supported herself by working for the U.S. Treasury Department.<sup>28</sup> Her higher education and independence mirror that of many suffrage artists.<sup>29</sup> In 1914, Allender became the official cartoonist of the Congressional Union responsible for creating the imagery and visual tone of the journal's cover. To create her unique, forceful visual arguments, "Allender embraced traditional notions of women as objects of courtship, homemakers, and childraisers [*sic*] at the same time that she created new notions of women—as highly competent citizens and workers, aware of the wider world."<sup>30</sup> Her drawings became representative of the determined women Paul hoped to recruit.

NAWSA similarly created regular publications supporting suffrage. From 1870 to 1927, the *Woman's Journal*<sup>31</sup> shared the more moderate message of the AWSA and NAWSA, reaching 20,000 readers in 1913.<sup>32</sup> In 1916, the publication featured Blanche Ames as one of its art editors and cartoon contributors. Ames had attended Smith College and received a certificate from their art school. She began her artistic career illustrating her husband's botany papers and expeditions.<sup>33</sup> The couple's support of women's suffrage led to her contributions of cartoons to the cause.

Some publications outside the suffrage organizations also produced pro-suffrage imagery. Lou Rodgers was a prolific cartoonist who applied her talents to the suffrage cause. Born Annie Lucasta Rogers, she published cartoons under the nickname "Lou" to avoid sexist responses to a female artist.<sup>34</sup> Rogers's parents and upbringing sowed the seeds for her activism later in life. She described her parents as civically responsible and "working tooth and nail for the things they believed in."<sup>35</sup> She attended the Massachusetts Normal Art School. After first reading suffrage literature, she felt called to help the woman's suffrage cause through her art. She produced clever, symbolic cartoons for *Woman's Journal*; *New York Call*, a socialist newspaper; and the "Modern Woman" page of *Judge*, a satirical magazine.<sup>36</sup>

The National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company (NWSPC) formed in 1914 as part of NAWSA's literature distribution strategy. Rose O'Neill contributed artwork to a collection of

<sup>27</sup> Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 44.

<sup>28</sup> Susan Ware, "Cartooning with a Feminist Twist," in *Why they Marched: Untold Stories of the Women Who Fought for the Right to Vote* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019), 230-231.

<sup>29</sup> For much of history, celebrated female artists have been few and far between. Thus, the number of successful, talented artists that emerged in the suffrage movement is significant. In 1971, art historian Linda Nochlin published "Why Have There Been No Great Woman Artists?" This seminal text of feminist art history suggested the lack of female artists throughout history resulted from the systemic denial of access to technical artistic training.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>31</sup> The journal continued from 1917 to 1927 under the name *Woman Citizen*.

<sup>32</sup> Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 43.

<sup>33</sup> Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 112.

<sup>34</sup> Susan Ware, "Cartooning with a Feminist Twist," in *Why they Marched: Untold Stories of the Women Who Fought for the Right to Vote* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019), 226.

<sup>35</sup> Lou Rogers, "Lightning Speed Through Life," in *These Modern Women: Autobiographical Essays from the Twenties*, ed. Elaine Showalter (New York: The Feminist Press, 1989), 100.

<sup>36</sup> Alice Sheppard, "Suffrage Art and Feminism," *Hypatia* 5, no. 2 (1990): 123, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3810160>.

postcards for the NWSPC.<sup>37</sup> Although O'Neill received no formal art training, she became a successful artist "and at one time was the highest paid female illustrator in the world."<sup>38</sup> She is best known for her Kewpie characters, modeled after cherubs, which had chubby bodies and wide eyes. The characters first appeared in *Ladies Home Journal* in 1909.<sup>39</sup> The instantly recognizable Kewpies appeared on commercial goods and advertisements, including a 1915 promotional recipe booklet for Jell-O (figure 1).<sup>40</sup> O'Neill then lent the fame of her Kewpies to support the suffrage cause, creating soft, harmless characters that advocated for suffrage on behalf of their mothers. O'Neill became an active suffragist, marching in New York City parades under the banner for illustrators supporting the movement.<sup>41</sup>

"The use of suffrage art," including cartoons and postcards, "was integral to a political scheme of celebration, publicity, and persuasion."<sup>42</sup> As historian Alice Sheppard notes, the upbringing and education of suffrage artists allowed for opportunities women in previous generations could never have imagined:

Most suffrage artists received an extended education, typically attending prestigious art schools and colleges. ... Their family responsibilities were reduced by remaining single, marrying late, or having significantly fewer children. They joined women's collectives whose concerns included politics and self-development, replacing older values of public service and literary appreciation. ... Their world views were constructed in the post-Civil War years, and their lifestyles were forged in the era of the New Woman.<sup>43</sup>

These women witnessed the incremental changing and expanding of the "women's sphere." They utilized the expectations of the day, their education, and feminist beliefs to push for women's right to vote.

### The Look of a Suffragist

Lou Rogers observed that "there was not a cartoon on our side, though plenty of fierce ones on the other,"<sup>44</sup> inspiring her contributions to the movement. Established male cartoonists mocked suffragists from the beginning of the movement, leaving later generations of suffrage artists to



Figure 1 Rose O'Neill, "Jello-O and the Kewpies." (booklet), 1915

<sup>37</sup> Kenneth Florey, *American Woman Suffrage Postcards* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Incorporated Publishers, 2015), 17.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>39</sup> Alice Sheppard, "There were Ladies Present: American Women Cartoonists and Comic Artists in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of American Culture* 7, no. 3 (1984): 38.

<sup>40</sup> "Jell-O and the Kewpies." (booklet), 1915. Courtesy of Google Arts and Culture.

<sup>41</sup> Adina Solomon, "The Prolific Illustrator Behind Kewpies Used Her Cartoons for Women's Rights," *Smithsonian Magazine*, March 15, 2018, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/prolific-illustrator-behind-kewpies-used-her-cartoons-womens-rights-180968497/>.

<sup>42</sup> Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 87.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>44</sup> Lou Rogers, "Lightning Speed Through Life," in *These Modern Women: Autobiographical Essays from the Twenties*, ed. Elaine Showalter (New York: The Feminist Press, 1989), 104.

respond. Beginning early in the suffrage campaign, anti-suffrage imagery depicted suffragists as masculine, undesirable, and foolish. The emergence of “bloomers” or the “bloomer costume” fueled several unflattering depictions of early suffragists. The outfit, comprised of a loose-fitting tunic, and pantaloons worn under a knee-length skirt, was popularized by Amelia Bloomer and adopted by early suffragists, including Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucy Stone. However, suffragists were “ridiculed, denounced from the pulpit ... threatened by mobs, and accused of taking away men’s power by wearing trousers.”<sup>45</sup> Bloomers came to represent a challenge to men’s authority which was harshly attacked. Those opposed to increasing women’s rights utilized images of bloomers to ridicule women. Even British cartoonists mocked American suffragists as seen in the cartoon “Bloomerism- An American Custom” (figure 2), published in *Punch* magazine in 1851.<sup>46</sup> In the image, children stare and ridicule the women wearing bloomers as they walk down the sidewalk. “Properly dressed” women in long dresses glare over their shoulders in judgment of the masculinized, smoking, scandalous women. This cartoon illustrates how women who chose to wear bloomers performed their femininity improperly and therefore society policed their actions. Many suffragists ultimately abandoned the outfit, “[suspecting] that bloomers detracted from issues of greater importance to women.”<sup>47</sup> In 1855, Stanton returned to traditional dress, because of “the tyranny of custom;”<sup>48</sup> a seemingly inescapable societal expectation for women. Suffrage leaders compromised their newfound comfort and freedom of movement to avoid galvanizing the public in opposition to their cause. Even early in the suffrage movement, leaders were willing to adapt their public image to prioritize their main reform’s success.



Figure 2 “Bloomerism—An American Custom.” *Punch*, 29 October 1851.

Unflattering and masculinized images persisted long after most suffragists abandoned their bloomers. A commercial postcard captioned “How’d You Like to Spoon with Me?” from 1908 is exemplary of the unflattering depictions of unlovable suffragists. The woman depicted in the postcard holds a “votes for women” flyer, denoting her as a suffragist. Her gaping mouth, large teeth, unfashionable hair, and ill-fitting clothing create a fearsome depiction of women who campaigned for the vote.<sup>49</sup> Anti-suffrage images like this suggested that only unlovable, ugly women campaigned for

<sup>45</sup> Sally R. Wagner, ed., *The Women’s Suffrage Movement* (New York: Penguin Books, 2019), 90.

<sup>46</sup> “Bloomerism – An American Custom,” *Punch*, 29 October 1851. Courtesy of The Library Company of Philadelphia.

<sup>47</sup> Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 72.

<sup>48</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton, “Reminiscences,” *History of Woman Suffrage: volume I*, (1881), republished in *The Women’s Suffrage Movement*, ed. Sally R. Wagner (New York: Penguin Books, 2019), 111.

<sup>49</sup> “How’d You Like to Spoon with Me?” no publisher information provided, (postcard), ca. 1908. Courtesy of The March of the Women Collection and Mary Evans Picture Library. <https://www.prints-online.com/suffragette-howd-like-spoon-me-14161435.html>.



the vote. The caption signals the absurdity of wanting a romantic relationship with such a woman and likely encouraged young men to avoid the cause and its supporters. Additionally, the image demonstrates that women had to present themselves in a certain, feminine way to be taken seriously or accepted. Images like these, which focused on the appearance of a suffragist, created a form of ad hominem attack, rather than addressing the validity of the suffragists' arguments.

Unflattering, anti-suffrage depictions took many forms. A 1911 postcard, ironically captioned "Votes for Women!," depicts a young girl on her way to becoming a suffragist. On her chalkboard, she writes "give us our rites [*sic*]" and draws a man suspended from a noose labeled "mem [*sic*]." <sup>50</sup> The young suffragist takes an anti-men approach, and the artist depicts her as foolish through her inability to spell. This image unflatteringly reduced suffragists to silly girls throwing a tantrum for their rights. If suffragists were just foolish youths, men should not take their calls for enfranchisement seriously. Additionally, by depicting the suffragist as a child, the image kindles a paternalistic attitude, suggesting that men knew better what women needed, thus drawing on anti-suffrage arguments that fathers, husbands, and brothers represented women's interests with their vote.

In contrast, Nina Allender produced images of a competent, young, attractive suffragist referred to as the Allender girl. Allender commonly drew young, attractive women in modern but respectable clothing, who confidently and capably approached the world. These characteristics came to define the Allender Girl. <sup>51</sup> This character often appeared on the cover of *Suffragist* and offered an image of a reformer that women would actually want to relate to, contrasting with ugly stereotypes seen in anti-suffrage imagery. Even supportive images from previous decades reproduced depictions of the stern, older suffragist. Alice Paul used the *Suffragist* publication to form the consciousness of the members of the Congressional Union. Paul understood women were "viewed as obsequious and dependent, as having little control over their own lives, and as frequently believing men's negative judgments of them." <sup>52</sup> To combat this mindset in her followers, she formed a strong group through meetings and the content published in the *Suffragist*. The Allender girl contradicted negative depictions of suffragists, kindling a positive self-image that Paul sought for her followers.

Allender drew women with traditionally feminine appearances and sometimes placed them within the home as seen in her cartoon for the *Suffragist*, "If he deosn't stop talking and come in, his dinner will be spoiled!". However, she also expanded the definition of what women could do, as seen in "Insulting the President?" (figure 3) which appeared on the cover of *Suffragist* on June 8, 1917. The image depicts a young woman in an ankle-length dress, sensible shoes, and a stylish hat. She holds a banner that says, "We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts,

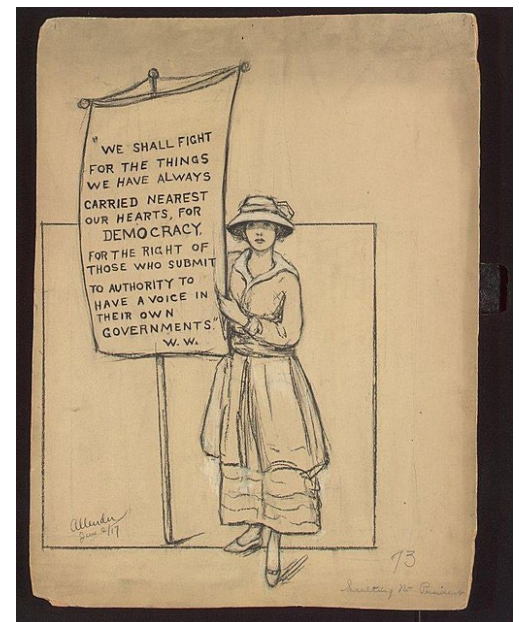


Figure 3 Nina E. Allender, "Insulting the President?" *Suffragist*, 8 June 1917

<sup>50</sup> "Votes for Women!" Publisher: G. D. & D., New York and London, postmarked 1911, in Kenneth Florey, *American Woman Suffrage Postcards* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Incorporated Publishers, 2015), image CC 62. Postcard can be viewed at: <https://thesuffragepostcardproject.omeka.net/items/show/625>

<sup>51</sup> Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 60.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments,”<sup>53</sup> a quote taken from President Wilson’s address to Congress on April 2, 1917. The cartoon references the Silent Sentinels who in 1917 became the first people ever to protest in front of the White House, expanding notions of what women could do. Like the original banner which served as inspiration, the cartoon aims to show the absurdity of the President’s words. He claims to support democracy and citizens having a voice in their government, while women in his country have no voice in America’s supposed democracy. The Silent Sentinels showed composure and competence in their visual political protests and Nina Allender captures these abilities in her Allender girl.

### Votes versus Women’s Sphere

Postcards with an anti-suffrage tone commonly depicted men forced to complete housework and child-rearing duties when their wife was off voting or campaigning. A 1912 postcard published by Taylor, Platt & Company (figure 4) depicts the common theme of gendered role reversal. The postcard image depicts the husband as diminished and feminized in an apron and bonnet. He sits dejected rocking his baby in a cradle and administering colic remedy to the red-faced infant. Outside the window his stout, overbearing wife parades with a “Vote for Women” sign. The commercial producers of this image inspire sympathy for the dejected husband and encourage men’s fear of finding themselves in this situation, asking “Now what would you do in a case like this?”<sup>54</sup> They suggest that suffrage is a threat to the home and traditional gender roles by depicting “the New Woman breaking away from traditional molds; she was asserting the dangerous independence that was characteristic of the potential woman voter.”<sup>55</sup> This degree of independence was something to fear. Anti-suffragists approached the vote with the traditional understanding of family as the key unit of society, not the individual. The male head of the household represented the interests of the family with his vote, so according to anti-suffragists, women gaining the vote would fundamentally alter their relationship with the family unit and society.<sup>56</sup>



Figure 4 “Now what would you do in a case like this?” published by Taylor, Platt & Company, New York, ca. 1912.

<sup>53</sup> Nina E. Allender, “Insulting the President?” *Suffragist*, 8 June 1917. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

<sup>54</sup> “Now what would you do in a case like this?” Taylor, Platt & Company, (postcard), ca. 1912, in Anne Wallentine, “A history of the US women’s suffrage movement in five objects,” *Apollo*, July 14, 2020, <https://www.apollo-magazine.com/us-womens-suffrage-movement-five-objects/>.

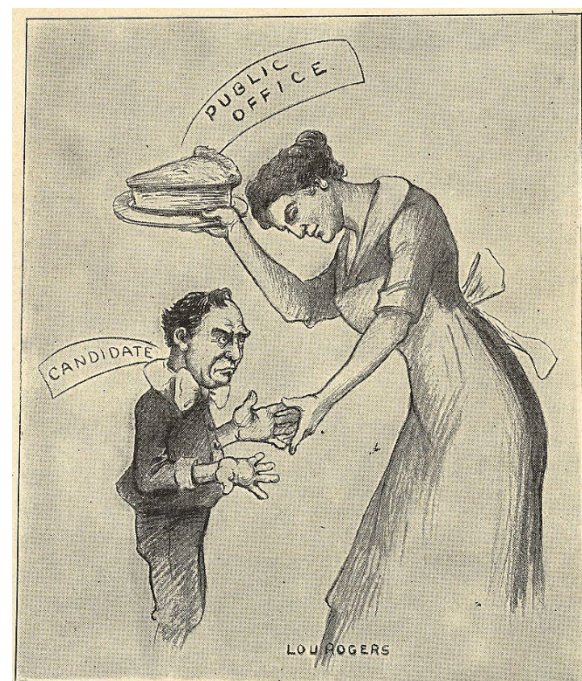
<sup>55</sup> Kenneth Florey, *American Woman Suffrage Postcards* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Incorporated Publishers, 2015), 216.

<sup>56</sup> Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 24-25.

On the other hand, pro-suffrage imagery often reinforces the status quo, commonly drawing on traditional women's roles as mothers and homemakers to present women in association with voting. Nina Allender depicted a pretty, well-dressed woman in the kitchen preparing dinner in her cartoon for the *Suffragist*. The suffragist in the image comments that if her husband, representing the Senate, "...doesn't stop talking and come in his dinner will be spoiled!"<sup>57</sup> Her pot on the stove represents the 1918 elections which she poises to stir with her spoon of women's votes. The House of Representatives voted to pass the suffrage amendment in January of 1918. As Allender published her cartoon on March 30, 1918, suffragists grew impatient for the Senate to follow suit and allow women to vote in the midterms. However, on September 30, 1918, the Senate failed to pass the suffrage amendment, falling two votes short.<sup>58</sup> Allender's cartoon operates within the accepted realm of women, the home, and depicts a conventionally feminine woman. From this accepted depiction, she argues for the enfranchisement of women, illustrating how voting was not synonymous with the destruction of the family unit.

Some suffrage images respond to specific events, while others refer to the state of affairs in politics and illustrate overarching suffrage reasoning. Suffragists argued that women's history within the home and their roles as mothers and housekeepers prepared them to clean up politics and bring their morality to the public sphere. Lou Rogers's 1914 "Transferring the Mother Habit" (figure 5) is one such cartoon that reflects how women would apply the skills of motherhood to politics. In the image a tall, maternal woman in an apron stands over a diminutive man, representing both the candidate and her child. The woman voter asks, "Are your hands clean, son?" withholding the treat of public office until she is satisfied his actions are fair and legal.<sup>59</sup> Rogers argues in this cartoon that women voters would only elect candidates who aligned with their strong moral values. As mothers, women held a degree of power, and as Sheppard argues, her authority over the male candidate is "soften[ed] ... through the more palatable metaphor of age guiding youth."<sup>60</sup> Rogers uses women's accepted role of mother to show women exercising power over a male candidate without offending the public.

This type of imagery, employed here by Nina Allender and Lou Rogers, was necessary to implement the specific change in women's rights that suffragists sought. The primary goal of the



TRANSFERRING THE MOTHER HABIT TO POLITICS  
Woman voter—Are your hands clean, son?

Figure 5 Lou Rogers, "Transferring the Mother Habit to Politics." *Judge*, 31 January 1914

<sup>57</sup> Nina E. Allender, "Suffragist- 'If he doesn't stop talking and come in his dinner will be spoiled!'" *Suffragist*, 30 March 1918, in Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 189. Cartoon can be viewed at: [https://writingwithoutpaper.blogspot.com/2012/03/all-art-friday\\_09.html](https://writingwithoutpaper.blogspot.com/2012/03/all-art-friday_09.html)

<sup>58</sup> Elizabeth Frost-Knappman and Kathryn Cullen-DuPont, *Women's Suffrage in America: An Eyewitness History*, Updated ed. (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 327.

<sup>59</sup> Lou Rogers, "Transferring the Mother Habit to Politics," *Judge*, 31 January 1914. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

<sup>60</sup> Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 188.

suffrage movement was to gain voting rights for women. Although suffragists supported other reforms, many could not be achieved without the vote. They prioritized the vote as their only goal or as the means to achieve their next reform goals. Meanwhile, anti-suffrage women feared corruption of women's morality and loss of their femininity or special sphere.<sup>61</sup> Most commonly, upper-class, white women held these beliefs, because for these women, staying in the home allowed them a degree of privilege. Suffragist-produced images of women in the home could appeal to hesitant women, allowing them to see themselves in the admirable, lady-like voters depicted, accepting that their values and strengths had a place in politics. By using their mothering instincts and morality they could maintain their uniqueness and have a voice.

### Expediency: Improving Society with the Vote

By cleaning up politics and voting morally, women argued that they would improve society once allowed to vote. Blanche Ames adopted this theme in "Our Answer to Mr. Taft," published in *Woman's Journal* on September 18, 1915. The image depicts former president Taft sitting on a dock with his foot resting on a life preserver titled "Votes for Women."<sup>62</sup> Five women who have the vote either stand beside him, dripping wet, or crawl out of the dangerous waters below. They each demonstrate the ways that women have actively used the vote to improve conditions in their states, including "mothers' pensions," raising the age of consent, and "red light abatement laws."<sup>63</sup> In the dark, turbulent waters below the dock, women without the vote struggle to protect themselves and their children against sweatshops, diseases, filth, and white slavery. The cartoon responds to an anti-suffrage article authored by Taft on September 11<sup>th</sup>, in which he asserts that "There is no great evil which their being kept out of the franchise continues."<sup>64</sup> By illustrating the ways suffrage states have improved conditions, Ames explicitly presents the very evils that continue because disenfranchised women cannot address them. With this cartoon, Ames embodies the expediency argument for suffrage, which suggests that enfranchisement would allow women to solve other problems.<sup>65</sup> In the later years of the suffrage campaign, expediency became an accepted argument, expanding from the justice argument presented by early suffragists: "Some suffragists used the expediency argument because social reform was their principal goal and suffrage the means. Other suffragists used the same expediency argument because the link of women's suffrage to reform seemed to be the best way to secure their principal goal: the vote."<sup>66</sup> Anti-suffragists argued that women needed separation from public life to care for their home and children.<sup>67</sup> Expediency arguments like Ames's "Our Answer to Mr. Taft" contradict this logic, suggesting that women needed the vote to care for their children as government regulation influenced more elements of home life including child labor, food quality, and education.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Susan Goodier, *No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 21.

<sup>62</sup> Blanche Ames, "Our Answer to Mr. Taft," *Women's Journal*, 18 September 1915, in "The Suffrage Cartoons of Blanche Ames," *League of Women Voters of Needham*, accessed March 3, 2022, <https://lwv-needham.org/suffrage-cartoons-of-blanche-ames-2/>.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> William H. Taft, "Votes for Women," *The Saturday Evening Post*, (Philadelphia), September 11, 1915.

<sup>65</sup> Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 127.

<sup>66</sup> Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 45-46.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 67.

The expediency argument could also appeal to poor men who faced many of these same challenges of diseases, filth, white slavery, and sweatshops, that women hoped to change with the vote. Images like these may have persuaded male voters that enfranchised women would prioritize eliminating the evils and barriers to quality of life that working-class male voters perceived in their own lives. Additionally, “there were groups of men in or near power who needed allies and who could be brought over [to the suffrage cause]” by this type of argument.<sup>69</sup> Thus, expediency appealed to progressive era men who sought reforms such as prohibition.

The expediency argument also could appeal to fathers who wanted better for their children. The artwork of Rose O’Neill exemplifies this appeal as she “transformed images of sentimentality into a political statement when she contributed a parade of her famous Kewpies,” marching in support of women’s votes on postcards and posters.<sup>70</sup> She lent her Kewpies’ popularity to the cause, associating the well-known, cheerful characters with suffrage. For example, in 1915, O’Neill collaborated with NAWSA’s National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company to produce the postcard “Give Mother the Vote!” (figure 6).<sup>71</sup> The postcard depicts several youthful Kewpies marching side-by-side. The Kewpie at the front of the line holds a flag aloft which reads, “Votes for Our Mothers.”<sup>72</sup> The text beside the image describes the things mothers should have a voice in regulating. Images like these emphasized women’s role as mothers and argued that mothers had the best understanding of their children’s needs. The association of children with suffrage provided the cause with a non-threatening tone.



Figure 6 Rose O’Neill, “Give Mother the Vote!” National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co. Inc., postcard, 1915.

Suffrage was not the cause of foolish, man-hating women, but the cause of mothers who wanted to use their vote to improve their children’s future. These young advocates for the vote appealed to fathers who similarly wanted better for their children. The postcard also exemplifies the expediency argument which dominated the later suffrage movement. It argues that with the vote, women could improve schools and food safety to better protect their children.

## Conclusion

In the early months of 1919, the House of Representatives, and later the Senate, passed the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment to enfranchise women. Following this victory, suffragists turned their attention to the final step toward achieving their goal: ratification. At least thirty-six of the state legislatures needed to approve the amendment for it to become part of the constitution. For over a year, suffragists and

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 73-74.

<sup>70</sup> Alice Sheppard, “Suffrage, Art and Feminism,” *Hypatia* 5, no. 2 (1990): 128, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3810160>.

<sup>71</sup> Rose O’Neill, “Give Mother the Vote!” National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co. Inc., (postcard), 1915. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons and the Missouri History Museum. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%22Give\\_Mother\\_the\\_Vote!%22.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%22Give_Mother_the_Vote!%22.jpg).

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

their opponents campaigned fiercely in the states, working to secure the necessary votes. On August 18<sup>th</sup>, 1920, Tennessee became the thirty-sixth and final state needed to ratify the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment.<sup>73</sup> Seventy-two years of organizing, representing three generations of women, culminated in thirty-nine crucial words added to the governing document of this nation: “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”<sup>74</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> amendment represented progress toward the ideal of government by the people, as proposed by the founders of the United States.

“Though they had no legal standing or governmental representation,” women in the movement “learned to manipulate the levers of political power and pull the strings of public opinion.”<sup>75</sup> Their understanding and use of traditional gender roles played a key role in this manipulation, encouraging their hesitant audience to see suffrage as a benefit, not a threat. Suffrage artists cunningly crafted images of relatable and admirable voters and depicted women that cared about both the vote and their families. Suffrage artists and activists worked from women’s accepted role to expand women’s rights; a torch carried further by each generation of feminists who followed.

The analysis of suffrage imagery must not end here. “We can continue to thank Anthony, Shaw, Catt, Paul, their followers, and their organizations for working so hard to get us the vote. But we must also hold them accountable for the legacy of racism, anti-immigrant sentiment, and class entitlement they left.”<sup>76</sup> Many suffrage historians are doing this important work; bringing attention to the Black women overlooked and the racism ignored by past accounts of suffrage.<sup>77</sup> This work should continue through further analysis of imagery. The membership of suffrage organizations included a narrow section of the population, primarily consisting of white upper- and middle-class women. The imagery produced by suffrage artists reflects this membership, projecting a limited view of who could be a suffragist or female voter. Black women were erased as NAWSA allowed southern branches to reject Black women’s membership and the Congressional Committee segregated Black women to the back of their 1913 Washington D.C. parade. This erasure is reflected in the profound lack of women of color represented in suffrage imagery. Additionally, racist imagery from both sides of suffrage demonstrates the racist climate that suffragists operated in and perpetuated. Lawmakers, especially from the South, kindled racist arguments by withholding support from suffrage measures that could give more voting power to Black citizens. In fact, James Vardaman worked to enfranchise white women by overturning the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment.<sup>78</sup> The prevailing racist attitudes, held by lawmakers, prospective suffragists, voting men, and suffragists themselves, shaped the imagery produced by suffrage artists.

<sup>73</sup> Elaine Weiss, *The Woman’s Hour: The Great Fight to Win the Vote* (New York: Penguin Books, 2018).

<sup>74</sup> U.S. Constitution, amend. XIX, § 1 and 2.

<sup>75</sup> Elaine Weiss, *The Woman’s Hour: The Great Fight to Win the Vote* (New York: Penguin Books, 2018), 3.

<sup>76</sup> Sally R. Wagner, ed., *The Women’s Suffrage Movement* (New York: Penguin Books, 2019), 488.

<sup>77</sup> *Vanguard: How Black Women Broke Barriers, Won the Vote, and Insisted on Equality for All*, Martha Jones (2020); *The Women’s Suffrage Movement*, Sally R. Wagner (2019); and *Recasting the Vote: How Women of Color Transformed the Suffrage Movement*, Cathleen Cahill (2020), to name a few.

<sup>78</sup> Martha S. Jones, *Vanguard: How Black Women Broke Barriers, Won the Vote, and Insisted on Equality for All* (New York: Basic Books, 2020), 168-169.

Similarly, additional scholarship is needed into the connections between class and suffrage imagery. A woman from the Women's National Trade Union League, Gertrude Barnum, criticized NAWSA's approach of "preaching to [working women], teaching them, 'rescuing' them, doing almost everything for them except knowing them and working with them."<sup>79</sup> Suffrage writings and conventions discussed poor women but rarely allowed them to speak for themselves. In the same manner, Nina Allender's drawings present working women, but her cartoons such as "The Inspiration of Suffrage Workers" (figure 7) depicted working women as needing saving, not as suffragists or voters themselves.<sup>80</sup> Suffragists lived at a time in which upper-class women devoted their energy to caring for the home and to philanthropy.<sup>81</sup> Thus, upper-class suffragists likely encountered the working class primarily in the context of charity work and offering them aid. Events like the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire inspired in suffragists a sense of solidarity with working women. The tragic fire killed 146 workers, mostly young women. Emergency exit doors were locked shut, trapping workers who then died in the blaze or from jumping from the building.<sup>82</sup> The dangerous working conditions that caused this tragedy became exemplary of the issues that women needed the vote to solve. In the final years of the suffrage movement, more working-class women joined because of recruiting efforts following the Triangle Factory Fire and other injustices. Further scholarship could determine if suffrage imagery reflected the shifting composition of the movement's membership.



Figure 7 Nina Allender, "The Inspiration of the Suffrage Workers." *Suffragist*, 13 June 1914.

The suffragists we celebrate were dedicated and skilled women who fought for the rights of women in America. They were also human, and their beliefs and actions reflected the time they lived in and the ideas they were exposed to. Despite working toward abolition, many held racist beliefs, or utilized racist arguments to achieve their primary goal. Upper-class suffragists understood women's role in charity and viewed poor women as their beneficiaries, not their equals. They understood their gender and role in society from their mothers, grandmothers, and friends, only daring to imagine piecemeal changes to their status, but their organizing empowered women in an unprecedented way and expanded women's rights. They built on the work of their predecessors, like Mary Wollstonecraft, in changing the perceptions of women. Historians like Elisabeth Israels Perry fail to see the logistical necessity of gradual change.<sup>83</sup> They project onto women from over one hundred years ago a presentist understanding of gender, which would have immediately been condemned as

<sup>79</sup> Sally R. Wagner, ed., *The Women's Suffrage Movement* (New York: Penguin Books, 2019), 386.

<sup>80</sup> Nina E. Allender, "The Inspiration of the Suffrage Workers," *Suffragist*, 13 June 1914. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

<sup>81</sup> Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 27.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>83</sup> Elisabeth Israels Perry, introduction to *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 5.

radical and unimaginable during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The imagery of the American suffrage movement illustrates how suffrage artists understood perceptions of their cause and masterfully catered their appeal to their audience.



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