

Woman Suffrage West to East: The View from *Puck*, 1915¹

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Today most people who know anything at all about the women's suffrage movement in the United States associate it with its New York heroines, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Although some Americans may remember that Wyoming was the first American territory to let women vote, few realize that *all* the first victories occurred in the West. By 1915, not a single state east of the Mississippi had granted full voting rights to women. New York's own record was dismal. From 1876 to 1913, its legislature rejected every appeal. Stanton and Anthony were long dead by the time their state finally authorized a referendum on the question. The date was set for November 2, 1915.²

Determined to reach every corner of society, New York suffragists launched a sophisticated campaign. One of their earliest projects was a special issue of the New York humor magazine *Puck*. In the centerfold was a two-page cartoon by Henry (Hy) Mayer, the magazine's newly appointed director of comic illustrations (Figure 1).³ Readers at the time would have understood it instantly. Today, people find it puzzling.

It shows a massive white woman striding east across an outline map of the United States wearing a cape emblazoned with the words "Votes for Women." Her upraised torch identifies her as Liberty, but she has left her pedestal. Poised on an unbroken string of states stretching from California to Kansas, she looks ahead to see the entire eastern half of the country filled with desperate women struggling to

1 Read 26 April 2019.

2 "Timeline of Events in Securing Woman Suffrage in New York State," February 2017, <https://thehistorycenter.net/>; "Woman Suffrage and the New York Convention," *Outlook*, June 2, 1915, 243; Lisa Tetrault, *The Myth of Seneca Falls: Memory and the Women's Suffrage Movement, 1848–1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014). Tetrault shows the many ways in which Stanton and Anthony worked to make sure their branch of the movement took precedence in future histories.

3 Jeff Lenburg, *Who's Who in Animated Cartoons: An International Guide to Film and Television* (New York: Applause Theatre and Cinema Books, 2005), 227; "Hy. Mayer Goes to Puck," *Cartoons Magazine* 5, no. 3 (1914): 330.

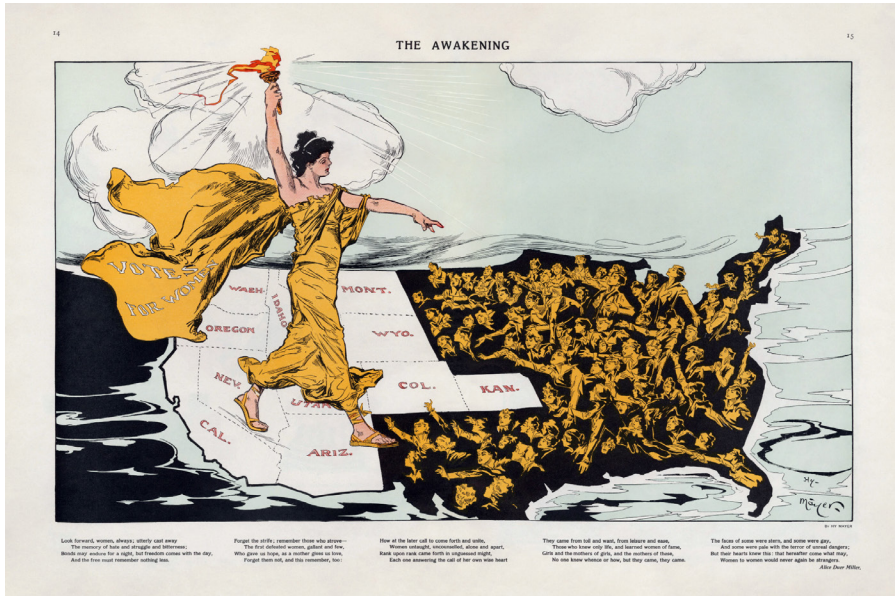


FIGURE 1. Hy Mayer, “The Awakening,” *Puck* 77, no. 1981 (February 20, 1915), 14–15. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

emerge from deep black sludge. Some have managed to liberate their arms, others only their heads. They look west toward Liberty’s torch.⁴

Beneath the cartoon is a poem by Alice Duer Miller, a Greenwich Village novelist, who was one of the issue’s guest editors.⁵ Although her poem makes no mention of Liberty or the map, its opening lines appear to address the tangled crowd in the East:

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.

For suffragists, the poem was a reminder, if any needed it, that New York women had been struggling for a very long time.⁶

4 Hy Mayer, “The Awakening,” *Puck* 77, no. 1981 (February 20, 1915): 14–15. The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) announced the coming issue in *The Woman’s Journal* 46, no. 7 (February 13, 1915): 49. A full-color view of the entire *Puck* issue has recently become available through an online database and resource site created by members of the American Journalism Historians Association in honor of the 2020 centennial of the 19th Amendment. See suffrageandthemediamedia.org.

5 Susan Goodier and Karen Pastorello, *Women Will Vote: Winning Suffrage in New York State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), 115, 122, 124; Mary Chapman, “‘Are Women People?’: Alice Duer Miller’s Poetry and Politics,” *American Literary History* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 59–85.

6 Mayer, “Awakening,” 14–15.

Carrie Chapman Catt, who led the Empire State Campaign and would soon reassume the presidency of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), was the only one among the six guest editors who had any experience in the West. Born in Wisconsin and raised in Iowa, she had made her reputation as an organizer in Colorado's successful 1893 campaign and had continued to work with western suffragists ever since.⁷ She may have had something to do with the geographic tilt of the cartoon. But Mayer probably didn't need her help in picking up on what was at the time a familiar campaign device—the so-called “suffrage map” was well-established.

First employed around 1908, it originally featured a simple outline map of the United States with the states that had granted full suffrage filled in with black and those that had granted partial suffrage given polka dots or slanted lines. At some point, poster-makers reversed the colors to reinforce the notion that female voters would purify the nation. As a speaker at a suffrage event in New York City put it, pointing to a map, “They say men paint the town red. We want to paint the United States white.” Parades with groups of women dressed in white reinforced the allusion. Because the size of western states ensured a wide expanse of whiteness, maps also conveyed the idea that the campaign was succeeding, even though the population of most western states remained small.⁸

Puck's cartoon reinvigorated the classic suffrage map by introducing a vibrant goddess with a flowing cape and by picturing anguished women in blackened eastern states. The three main elements in the drawing—Liberty, the map, and the submerged women—provide a visual index to little-known aspects of suffrage history. Liberty and her supplicants remind us that the contest for women's rights began with the American revolution and that, from the beginning, it was intertwined with racism's dark presence. “I am a slave, a favoured slave,” Elizabeth Cady Stanton exclaimed in Waterloo, New York in 1848.⁹ The suffrage map reinforces that entanglement. In the United States, racism not only drew boundaries between north and south but between east and west.

7 Goodier and Pastorello, *Women Will Vote*, 53, 64–71, 93–94, 164–65, 170–72.

8 Christina Elizabeth Dando, “The Map Proves It’: Map Use by the American Woman Suffrage Movement,” *Carographica* 45 (2010): 221–40; “One Minute Talks at Suffrage Shop,” *New York Times*, January 16, 1915, 16.

9 Ann D. Gordon, ed., “Address by ECS on Woman's Rights,” in *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, vol. 1, *In the School of Anti-Slavery, 1840–1866* (New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 97.

LIBERTY

Before she became a statue in New York Harbor, Liberty was an icon of revolution passed on from Europe to Britain's rebellious colonies and from the newly configured United States to France. In the 18th century, she was one among a crowd of female figures who represented abstract concepts like Justice, Wisdom, Fame, or Memory. She was distinguished from the others by accessories that signified a supposedly ancient Roman ceremony in which a slave about to be freed was touched with a rod (the *vindicta*) and given a soft hat (the *pileus*). For men who called themselves Sons of Liberty, these poles and caps had nothing to do with actual slavery as practiced in the Americas. Patriots like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were focused on their own bondage to Parliament. As the radical pamphleteer Thomas Paine expressed it, "if being bound in that manner, is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth."¹⁰

By the end of the Revolution, a developing antislavery movement and a nascent interest in women's rights began to alter Liberty's meaning. In 1792, the Library Company of Philadelphia acquired a five-by-six-foot painting portraying a group of Black men, women, and children kneeling before a school-marmish Liberty holding a cap and pole. Under her feet was a broken chain. The subtitle of the painting, *The Genius of America Encouraging the Emancipation of the Blacks*, left no doubt about its meaning (Figure 2).¹¹ A second image of a seated Liberty appeared that same year as the frontispiece for the first volume of the Philadelphia *Lady's Magazine, and Repository of Entertaining Knowledge*. This time, the kneeling supplicant was a well-dressed white woman holding out a paper labeled "Rights of Women" (Figure 3). Excerpts from Mary Wollstonecraft's newly published treatise, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, appeared inside the new journal.¹²

Only a few miles away in New Jersey, partisan conflict led a handful of white women and an as yet undetermined number of free Blacks to take advantage of a clause in the state's 1776 constitution that granted voting rights to any citizen who met residence and property qualifications. Although by 1800 more than 7 percent of voters in some counties were female, New Jersey's nascent experiment in equality ended in 1807 amid charges of fraud and confusion. The New Jersey

10 Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis*, no. 1, December 23, 1776, in *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Citadel Press, 1945), 1:50.

11 Robert C. Smith, "Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences: A Philadelphia Allegory by Samuel Jennings," *Winterthur Portfolio* 2 (1965): 84–89, 94; "A Philadelphia Allegory," *The Art Bulletin* 31 (1949): 323–26. Also see the Library Company's website at <http://www.librarycompany.org/>.

12 *The Lady's Magazine, and Repository of Entertaining Knowledge* 1 (1792): 189–98.



FIGURE 2. Samuel Jennings, *Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences, or the Genius of America Encouraging the Emancipation of the Blacks*, 1792. Library Company of Philadelphia.

story acknowledges both the power of revolutionary ideas and the near impossibility of maintaining them in a nation where slavery was written into the constitution and where economic and social structures reinforced traditional gender roles.¹³

In the 1830s, the growing visibility of women in the abolitionist movement provoked a feminist revival. Political assaults on the right of women to petition Congress and physical attacks on the multiracial meetings of female antislavery societies taught activists that sex as well as race could be instruments of repression. Among the participants at the now-famous women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York in 1848 were Lucretia Mott, a Quaker leader in the antislavery movement, and Frederick Douglass, an abolitionist orator who had himself

13 The presence of female voters in New Jersey has been long known but little studied. Philadelphia's Museum of the American Revolution is planning a major exhibition on the topic. Marcela Micucci, "The First Generation: America's Women Voters, 1776–1807," *History Now* (Spring 2020, Gilder Lehrman Institute), gilderlehrman.org (accessed April 5, 2020). News stories on the museum's research include Jennifer Schuessler, "The Jersey Exception," *New York Times*, February 25, 2020; and Stephen Salisbury, "Women and the Right to Vote," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 25, 2020.



FIGURE 3. “Frontispiece,” *The Lady’s Magazine, and Repository of Entertaining Knowledge*, Philadelphia (1792). Library Company of Philadelphia.

escaped from slavery. As the image of Liberty became associated with abolitionist radicalism, she gradually lost her cap and pole and in mainstream culture merged with or appeared alongside a new white goddess named Columbia.¹⁴

By the eve of the Civil War, her regalia had become too divisive for official Washington. When a sketch for a statue to stand atop the dome in the newly expanded U.S. Capitol showed a liberty cap, the cabinet member responsible for the project intervened. He argued that the ancient symbol of emancipation was “inappropriate to a people who were born free and would not be enslaved.” That official was Jefferson Davis, soon to become president of the Confederate States of America.¹⁵

14 Jean Fagan Yellin, *Women and Sisters: Antislavery Feminists in American Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 29–52, 99–124, and figures 3, 6, 10, 18, 20, 21.

15 Vivien Green Fryd, *Art and Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States*

After the Civil War, the vision of Liberty as an emancipator reappeared in Black festivals commemorating the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 or the ratification of the 15th Amendment in 1870. In cities as far apart as Charleston, South Carolina and Chicago, Illinois, parades featured young women portraying Liberty with her cap and pole.¹⁶

Unfortunately, arguments over the Reconstruction Amendments bitterly divided former allies in the women's rights movement. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were among those who wanted an amendment guaranteeing equal rights to citizens without regard to sex, race, or previous condition of servitude. Republican leaders whose votes were essential to the process insisted that giving women the vote would doom any attempt to enfranchise newly freed men. Frederick Douglass and the Boston suffragists Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell supported them. Stanton and Anthony went the other way.¹⁷ Ironically, within a very short period, Congress abandoned its efforts to enforce the new amendments, unwilling to once again divide the nation by forcing southern states to abandon exclusionary laws that effectively denied full citizenship to Black men.

Over these same years, France's icon of Liberty also changed. As the militant "Marianne," she had led men into battle in the 1830 painting by Eugène Delacroix. But for moderates, like Édouard de Laboulaye, the Frenchman who proposed creating a state in New York Harbor, a more placid and dignified image was required. He feared the Marxist radicalism unleashed during the Prussian siege of Paris in the fall of 1870, when women as well as men adopted Liberty's red cap. The sculptor Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi followed his intentions. As a consequence, New York's Statue of Liberty lifts a torch rather than a liberty pole. She has broken chains at her feet but no *bonnet rouge*.¹⁸

Capitol, 1815–1860 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 190–95, quotation 193. Also see "The Statue of Freedom" on the U.S. Capitol website, <https://www.aoc.gov/art/other-statues/statue-freedom>.

16 Leslie Schwalm, *Emancipation's Diaspora: Race and Reconstruction in the Upper Midwest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 229–30; Mitch Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African Emancipation Celebrations, 1808–1915* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 132, 136, 376; Amber Bailey, "Days of Jubilee: Emancipation Day Celebrations in Chicago, 1853–1877," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 109, no. 4 (Winter 2016): 369. A small sketch of a parade wagon carrying "Liberty" appears in "The Celebration of Emancipation Day, January 6th, in Charleston," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York), February 10, 1877, 376.

17 Ellen Carol Dubois, "Outgrowing the Compact of the Fathers: Equal Rights, Woman Suffrage, and the United States Constitution, 1820–1878," *Journal of American History* 74, no. 3 (December 1987): 844–51.

18 Edward Berenson, *The Statue of Liberty: A Transatlantic Story* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 12–13, 25; Yvonne Korshak, "The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in American and France," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 1 (1987): 52–69; John Higham, "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: The First Female Symbols of America,"



FIGURE 4. “Welcome to the Land of Freedom,” *Leslie’s Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*, LXIV, 1887, 324–25. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Bartholdi’s statue looks outward to the Atlantic, not to welcome incoming immigrants but to shine the light of Republican government toward France. Still, as historian John Higham has written, generations of immigrants eventually embraced the statue “not as a beacon to other lands but as a redemptive salutation to themselves” (Figure 4).¹⁹ Whether the cartoonist Hy Mayer, an immigrant from Germany, had any such feeling about it we do not know. Without question he passed it many times to and from his journeys to Europe.

At the time of its dedication, Black men and women had little reason to embrace the new Liberty. An 1886 editorial from the *Cleveland Gazette* was blunt:

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society 100 (June 3, 1990): 62–63; David Harden, “Liberty Caps and Liberty Trees,” *Past and Present* 146 (1995): 66–102; Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789–1880*, trans. Janet Lloyd (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 141.

¹⁹ Peter Skerry, “Mother of Invention,” *The Wilson Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (Summer 2006): 44–47; John Higham, “The Transformation of the Statue of Liberty,” in *Send These to Me: Jews and Other Immigrants in Urban America* (New York: Atheneum, 1975): 79–87, quotation 82–83. The engraving appeared in *Leslie’s Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*, LXIV, 1887, 324–25.

Shove the Bartholdi statue, torch and all, into the ocean until the “liberty” of this country is such as to make it possible for an industrious and inoffensive colored man in the South to earn a respectable living for himself and family, without being ku-kluxed, perhaps murdered, his daughter and wife outraged, and his property destroyed. The idea of the “liberty” of this country “enlightening the world,” or even Patagonia, is ridiculous in the extreme.

Black men and women have struggled ever since to understand their own relationship to the statue.²⁰

New York suffragist Lillie Devereux Blake was equally dismissive. In 1886, she chartered a boat for 200 members of the New York Women’s Suffrage Association to watch the dedication from afar. As the *New York Times* reported:

Immediately after the veil had been drawn from before Liberty’s face Mrs. Blake called an indignation meeting on the lower deck. After denouncing the ceremonies just witnessed as a farce she offered resolutions declaring “that in erecting a statue of Liberty embodied as a woman in a land where no woman has political liberty men have shown a delightful inconsistency which exiles the wonder and admiration of the opposite sex.”²¹

Four years later when Wyoming’s petition for statehood was accepted by Congress, suffragists found a better way to honor Liberty. In an elegant speech at the celebration held in Cheyenne, a female speaker exclaimed: “Bartholdi’s statue of liberty enlightening the world is fashioned in the form of a woman and placed upon a pedestal carved from the everlasting granite of the New England hills, but the women of Wyoming have been placed upon a firmer foundation and hold a more brilliant torch.” Embracing cooperation rather than competition between the sexes, she concluded that Wyoming’s domain was “guided (not governed) by the hand of man clasped in the hand of woman.”²²

Unfortunately, the attempt by Wyoming legislators to include an image of Lady Liberty on their new state seal ran into trouble a few months later when a renegade legislator quietly substituted a nude Liberty for the original image when he carried the bill to the governor

20 *Cleveland Gazette*, November 27, 1886, 2. For recent work on African American response to the Statue, see Rebecca M. Joseph et al., “The Black Statue of Liberty Rumor: An Inquiry into the History and Meaning of Bartholdi’s *Liberte eclairant le Monde*,” National Park Service, September 2000; and Tyler Stovall, “AHA Presidential Address: White Freedom and the Lady of Liberty,” *American Historical Review* 128, no. 1 (February 2018): 1–27.

21 *New York Times*, October 29, 1886, 8.

22 Therese A. Jenkins, “Speech Given at Statehood Celebration,” *Cheyenne Daily Sun* and *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, July 24, 1890, reprinted in *Annals of Wyoming* 62, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 73.

for signing. Newspapers from San Francisco to Philadelphia reported the scandal. In 1893, the legislature restored its reputation by accepting a new design with a chastely attired neoclassical goddess perched on a pedestal between a livestock rancher and a miner, with a banner proclaiming "Equal Rights" behind her head.²³ In the meantime, the new state of Idaho graced its own state seal with another version of Liberty, a well-clothed woman lifting a broken chain with her upraised arm. This seal, ostensibly the only one in the United States designed by a woman, preceded Idaho's adoption of woman suffrage by six years.²⁴

In 1893, a 65-foot-high Liberty with a crown of electric lights around her head appeared in the Grand Basin at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. With one hand she lifted a liberty cap on an elongated pole, and with the other she held a globe surmounted by an American eagle, a symbol of an emerging American empire. Frederick Douglas labeled the glistening white buildings surrounding the basin a "whited sepulchre" because of its rejection of an exhibit devoted to African Americans. In a scathing critique, anti-lynching crusader Ida B. Wells-Barnett documented that rejection. She and Douglas were both staunch supporters of women voting. In 1913, she assured her place in suffrage history by refusing to obey the request by Alice Paul that she and other Black women march at the back of the massive parade down Constitutional Avenue toward the White House.²⁵

Anxious not to offend southern women suffragists, legislators marginalized non-white allies and remained silent about the disenfranchisement of Black men. They nevertheless embraced the Goddess of Liberty in the 1913 parade. At a carefully defined moment, marchers paused before a living panorama unfolding on the steps of the U.S. Treasury Building. In a succession of tableaux, professional actresses impersonated a panoply of neoclassical goddesses, including Columbia, Justice, and Wisdom. Liberty entered to the sound of the "Triumphal

23 Tom Bohnsack, "Who Stripped the Robes off Wyoming's Goddess of Liberty," in *This is Wyoming Listen*, ed. Robert C. Cheney and Emmie D. Mygatt (Basin, WY: Big Horn Publishing Company, 1977): 62–64; available in Digital Archives, Wyoming State Historical Society. I have found multiple newspaper stories from 1890 to 1891 reporting this story with several national stories about the 1893 revision.

24 Leonard J. Arrington, *History of Idaho*, vol. 1 (Boise, ID: Idaho State Historical Society, 1994), 433–35; "Arial L. Crowley to State Board of Education," May 11, 1936, and "Emma Edwards Green, Notarized Statement," May 25, 1936, in *Emma Edwards Green Papers*, "Idaho Women 100 Celebration Digitization Project," Idaho State Archives, idahohistory.contentdm.oclc.org.

25 Judy Sund, "Columbus and Columbia in Chicago, 1893: Man of Genius Meets Generic Woman," *Art Bulletin*, 75, no. 3 (September 1993): 443–66; Wanda A. Hendricks, "Ida B. Wells-Barnett and the Alpha Suffrage Club of Chicago," in *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*, ed. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler (Troutdale, OR: New Sage Press, 1995), 263–75.



FIGURE 5. “Miss Alice Paul,” *The Suffragist* 3, no. 52 (December 25, 1915): 6. Library of Congress Manuscript Division.

March” from Verdi’s *Aida*, an opera about a female slave winning her freedom. As the pageant concluded, the performers descended the steps to join the march.²⁶

Puck’s cartoon may have been inspired by Paul’s parade. With her muscular arm and confident stride, Liberty evoked the “new women” parading across the pages of American periodicals in the early 20th century. She looked like someone capable of joining a pageant or showing up at a polling place and demanding the right to vote. She even looked a bit like Alice Paul (Figure 5). The tiny figures on Liberty’s right assume a place once held by kneeling slaves and much later by the “huddled masses” evoked in the poem by Emma Lazarus.²⁷ Yet these women are neither immigrants nor slaves. In their shirtwaists and neatly coifed hair they look like women one might see on a street in New York City. Are they women still unaware of their bondage? Or, as Alice Duer Miller’s little poem suggests, discouraged suffragists trying to recover from multiple defeats?

Only one thing is certain. They look toward the West.

26 Annelise K. Madsen, “Columbia and Her Foot Soldiers: Civic Art and the Demand for Change at the 1913 Suffrage Pageant-Parade,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 48 (Winter 214), 293, 304–305.

27 Emma Lazarus, “The New Colossus,” November 2, 1883, <https://www.nps.gov/stli/learn/historyculture/colossus.htm>.

THE MAP

By delineating state boundaries in the West and wiping them out in the East, *Puck's* cartoon energized the familiar woman suffrage map. It also reconfigured the classic cartographic presentation of U.S. history. Early maps of the United States showed a narrow strip of states along the Atlantic seaboard with vague markings to the west signifying unknown territory. As successive purchases, admissions, and conquests enlarged the nation's boundaries the maps expanded, moving decade by decade from east to west.

In schoolbooks, these sequential maps sustained the myth of "manifest destiny," an idea portrayed in a painting by John Gast completed shortly after the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. Reproduced as a chromolithograph in a popular railway tourist guide, it reached more than two million viewers annually (Figure 6). It shows Liberty's sister Columbia floating barefoot above the West, wearing "the star of Empire" in her hair. In the scenes unfolding beneath her, each new mode of transportation replaces another. A covered wagon supplants the American Indians' travois; a stagecoach gives way to a locomotive; wild animals and wild people disappear into the setting sun.²⁸

Other than the floating goddess, only two female figures are visible in Gast's picture, both of them part of an American Indian family fleeing alongside a herd of bison. Elsewhere all the distinguishable actors are male. There are miners with guns and shovels, teamsters prodding oxen, a stagecoach driver, and two farmers plowing. Perhaps in the painter's view, the overwhelming presence of the white goddess precluded any need to represent the actual lives of Euro-American women. He alluded to the gender division of labor, however, by placing two symbolic objects in the goddess's arms, one associated with women, the other with men.

Lest readers miss the significance of these accessories, Crofutt's *Guide* provided an explanation:

In her right hand she carries a book—common school—the emblem of education and a testimonial of our national enlightenment, while with the left hand she unfolds and stretches the slender wires of the telegraph, that are to flash intelligence throughout the land.²⁹

28 John Gast, "American Progress, 1872," Autry Museum, Los Angeles, <http://collections.theautry.org/>; Martha A. Sandweiss, "John Gast, American Progress, 1872" in *Picturing United States History*, <https://picturinghistory.gc.cuny.edu/john-gast-american-progress-1872/>; Jennifer Raab, "Panoramic Vision, Telegraphic Language: Selling the American West, 1869–1884," *Journal of American Studies* 47, no. 2 (May 2013): 495–520.

29 Crofutt quoted in Sandweiss, "John Gast."



FIGURE 6. George A. Crofutt, “American Progress,” chromolithograph after a painting by John Gast, 1872. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

The schoolbook signifies the responsibility of women, as mothers and as teachers, for primary education. In a few places in the West, women also may have managed the art of using a telegraph key. But it is hard to imagine them climbing telegraph poles to string wire. In her gravity-defying gown, Gast’s goddess was never meant to represent actual women. She was an ethereal presence, the spirit of the nation.³⁰

In *Puck’s* cartoon, Liberty plays a similar role. She may look like an actual woman, but she too is an icon, an idea. She doesn’t float, but she surmounts mountains. The real question is how she happened to show up in the American West. What was it that allowed the slogan on her cape to become solidified in law? Sociologist John Markoff has interpreted the western tilt in the American women’s suffrage movement in the light of a broader argument about political innovation in democratic societies. He argues that “it is generally away from the great centers of wealth and power that democratic creativity has flourished.” In this way, the geographic history of women’s suffrage is not just typical: “We may even call it paradigmatic.” His line-up of examples is

³⁰ See Elizabeth Kane’s description of female telegraphers in *Twelve Mormon Homes: Visited in Succession on a Journey from Utah to Arizona* (Philadelphia, 1874), 4–5.

impressive. Women had voting rights in New Zealand, Australia, and Ireland before they did in Britain, in Brazil before Portugal, in Ecuador before Spain, and though “Quebec was very late by Canadian standards. . . . it was still ahead of France.”³¹

In a recent study, Dawn Langan Teele has marshalled statistical evidence to show that in the United States the operable factor for suffrage success was not so much distance from centers of power as political competition. In places where no single party had a firm hold, suffrage mobilization had a chance for success. Voters in the West were more than three times as likely to switch parties as those in the North. They were also more comfortable splitting votes and more amenable to the attractions of third parties.³²

Teele’s study meshes well with Rebecca Mead’s state-by-state account of western suffrage campaigns. But if place mattered, so did time. Suffrage victories were spread over more than 40 years, with the first coming in the territories of Wyoming and Utah in 1869–1870, the second in the 1890s when the newly established states of Wyoming and Utah were joined by Colorado and Idaho, and a third “progressive” triumph between 1910 and 1914 when Washington, California, Arizona, Oregon, Kansas, Nevada, and Montana started a new wave of suffrage activism. Even in the West, winning the vote was an extraordinarily difficult process. Suffrage victories there as elsewhere were laced with suffrage defeats.³³

The central problem was convincing white men that it was in their interest to give the vote to women. Here studies of so-called peripheries point to an elusive but nevertheless significant factor. In “settler societies” formed through European migration a key question for colonizers was how to keep their nations white. Some version of that question appeared in most western campaigns, though it took different form in different places.³⁴

31 John Markoff, “Margins, Centers, and Democracy: The Paradigmatic History of Women’s Suffrage,” *Signs* 29, no. 1 (Autumn 2003): 106, 108.

32 Dawn Langan Teele, *Forging the Franchise: The Politic Origins of the Women’s Vote* (Princeton University Press, 2018), 89, 111, 130–131.

33 Rebecca J. Mead, *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868–1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 2.

34 Patricia Grimshaw, “Settler Anxieties, Indigenous Peoples, and Women’s Suffrage in the Colonies of Australia, New Zealand, and Hawai’i, 1888 to 1902,” *Pacific Historical Review* 69, no. 4 (2000): 557, 559; Ellen Dubois, “Woman Suffrage: The View from the Pacific,” *Pacific Historical Review* 69, no. 4 (2000): 542–44; Patricia Grimshaw and Katherine Ellinghaus, “‘A Higher Step for the Race’: Caroline Nichols Churchill, The ‘Queen Bee’ and Woman Suffrage in Colorado, 1879–1893,” *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 20, no. 2 (December 2001): 29–46; Mead, *How the Vote Was Won*, 36–42, 88–92, 137–139; Teele, *Forging the Franchise*, 89–93, 101.

It was there in spades in the first two western victories. How could it have been otherwise since both emerged from the heated debate over reconstruction? The argument over enfranchising Black men spilled over into an argument about the validity of enfranchising white women. William Bright, the saloonkeeper and miner who proposed woman suffrage in Wyoming in 1869, had a few months earlier chaired a convention of Democrats at South Pass that “repudiated the Reconstruction policy of Congress, negro suffrage, and the principles espoused by the Radical Republican party.” He seems to have been animated by some version of a common question: If Congress is going to enfranchise Black men how can it deny the vote to the white mothers of the nation? Whether he was inspired by the speeches of two suffragists who lectured in Cheyenne that year, we do not know, but race and gender issues animated the discussion of his bill. One opponent tried to refine it by changing the word “women” to “ladies.” Another attempted to defeat it by adding “all colored women and squaws.”³⁵

Some historians have suggested that the Democrats who composed the territory’s legislature wanted to embarrass the federally appointed governor, a Republican, by forcing him to make a decision on an issue that had been divisive in his own party. He called their bluff by voting for the bill. In the next session, a different set of Democrats tried to repeal it because they thought the few women in the territory had voted Republican. That may have been so because three Republicans were now in the legislature. Their support prevented Democrats from overturning the governor’s veto of their bill to rescind. In this case, competitive politics and racial animus worked even without a suffrage campaign.³⁶

In a very different way, the racial politics of Reconstruction shaped events in Utah, which unlike Wyoming, was a long-established territory. Its Mormon inhabitants (members of the communitarian Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) had arrived in the arid Salt Lake Valley in 1847 as religious refugees. Although the U.S. Census of 1870 counted fewer than 9,000 inhabitants in Wyoming with six times as many men as women, the situation in Utah was dramatically different. Females composed a slight majority of the territory’s 86,000 residents.³⁷ Most had either been born in the United States or had

35 Michael A. Massie, “Reform Is Where You Find It: The Roots of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming,” *Annals of Wyoming* 62, no. 1 (Spring 1990), 5, 7–8; T. A. Larson, “Petticoats at the Polls: Woman Suffrage in Territorial Wyoming,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 44 (April 1953): 75.

36 T. A. Larson, “Woman Suffrage in Wyoming,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (April 1965): 57–66.

37 Beverly Beeton, “How the West Was Won for Woman Suffrage,” in *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*, ed. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler

migrated from Britain or Scandinavia, yet critics found multiple ways to define them as non-white. The practice of plural marriage, critics argued, was creating a new and dangerous “Mormon race.”³⁸

If it hadn’t been for the Gold Rush, the utopian religious society they established in Utah might have remained undisturbed. But westward expansion not only ended their isolation, it encouraged the kind of growth in their own highly organized society that made them a target for evangelical reformers and a threat to developers who wanted access to the state’s rich mineral resources. Calls for Federal Action began with the Republican Party Platform of 1856, which declared plural marriage in Utah and slavery in the South “twin relics of barbarism.” The Church and its supporters pushed back, insisting that its marital practices were sanctioned by the Bible and that its members were loyal citizens. There was little hope of enforcing anti-polygamy legislation during the Civil War, but in 1869 their antagonists were ready to try again. Half-jokingly, some newspapers suggested that imposing woman suffrage on the territory might be a solution, reasoning that no rational woman would actually vote for polygamy.³⁹

No one was prepared for the response of Utah women, who on January 13, 1870, organized a massive “Indignation Meeting” to protest an anti-polygamy bill. That same week they petitioned Utah’s federally appointed governor demanding “the right of franchise.” As in Wyoming, the Republican governor responded by signing a bill submitted by the church-dominated legislature.⁴⁰ Although Brigham Young, the Mormon prophet, supported woman suffrage, it was the women themselves who promoted it. In 1872, they launched *The Woman’s Exponent*, which became the longest-lived women’s rights periodical west of the Mississippi, and they went about establishing links to eastern suffragists. In 1879, the *Exponent’s* editor Emmeline Wells became Utah’s representative to Stanton and Anthony’s National Woman’s Suffrage Association.⁴¹

(Troutdale, OR: New Sage Press, 1995), 105.

38 On the racialization of Utah, see W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); and on the constitutional issues, Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill, NC and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 62–83.

39 Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A House Full of Females: Plural Marriage and Women’s Rights in Early Mormonism, 1835–1870* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017), xi–xix.

40 “Proceedings in Mass Meeting of the Ladies of Salt Lake City to Protest against the Passage of Cullom’s Bill,” Salt Lake City, 1870; Ulrich, *House Full of Females*, 377–82.

41 Carol Cornwall Madsen, *An Advocate for Women: The Public Life of Emmeline B. Wells, 1870–1920* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2006), 148–91.

The media had long portrayed Mormon women as abject victims of male tyranny. When they stood up and defended their church, critics fell back on the portrayal of Mormons as racial others and on the imperialist claim that one nation might justly dominate and coerce another “by virtue of its superior civilization.”⁴² These ideas were graphically portrayed in a cartoon published in 1883 in a San Francisco newspaper called *The Wasp*.⁴³ It portrays the figure of Columbia as a middle-class housewife sitting in an uncomfortable chair in her living room trying unsuccessfully to cope with “three troublesome children” (Figure 7). One of the miniature males on her lap is pulling her hair. The other is sticking out his tongue in her face. A mischievous creature sitting on the floor is breaking toy soldiers with his hatchet. Meanwhile, her husband, portrayed as Uncle Sam, sits by the window reading the latest political news, unaware that his household is about to implode.

To make sure viewers fully understood the identities of the troublesome children, the cartoonist labeled them: “The Mormon Question,” “The China Question,” and “The Indian Question.” The meaning was clear. Uncle Sam needed to step up to his responsibilities. He should turn away from Washington politics to take charge of the crisis in the West by employing the whip on the back of his chair labeled “Law.”⁴⁴ By portraying the United States as a family, the cartoon not only reduced racial and religious minorities to the status of children, it insisted on the inadequacy of maternalist remedies for discord in the face of extensivist threats to white hegemony. It is no accident that the Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act of 1882 passed Congress in the same session (and with some of the same sponsors) as the Chinese Exclusion Act, nor that the much more stringent Edmunds–Tucker Act of 1887 appeared alongside the Dawes Act that removed western American Indians from tribal lands.⁴⁵

All three acts had champions in the West. Both Nevada and Idaho, fearful of Mormon migration into their states, passed laws

42 Nathan B. Oman, “Natural Law and the Rhetoric of Empire: Reynolds v. United States, Polygamy, and Imperialism,” *Washington University Law Review* 88, no. 3 (2011): 660–705.

43 The newspaper’s name refers to its stinging satire rather than to the acronym for “White Anglo-Saxon Protestant,” which didn’t appear until the mid-20th century.

44 For more on the place of *The Wasp* in anti-Chinese propaganda, see Nicholas Sean Hall, “Wasp’s ‘Troublesome Children’: Culture, Satire, and the Anti-Chinese Movement in the American West,” *California History* 90, no. 2 (2013): 42–63, 74–76. For more on the amalgamation of anti-Chinese, anti-American Indian, and anti-Mormon cartoons in *The Wasp* and elsewhere, see Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color*, 100–105, 238–242.

45 Gordon, *Mormon Question*, 130–32, 193, 204. For executive attempts to impeded Mormon immigration, see Kerry Abrams, “Polygamy, Prostitution, and the Federalization of Immigration Law,” *Columbia Law Review* 105 (2005): 641, 657–61.

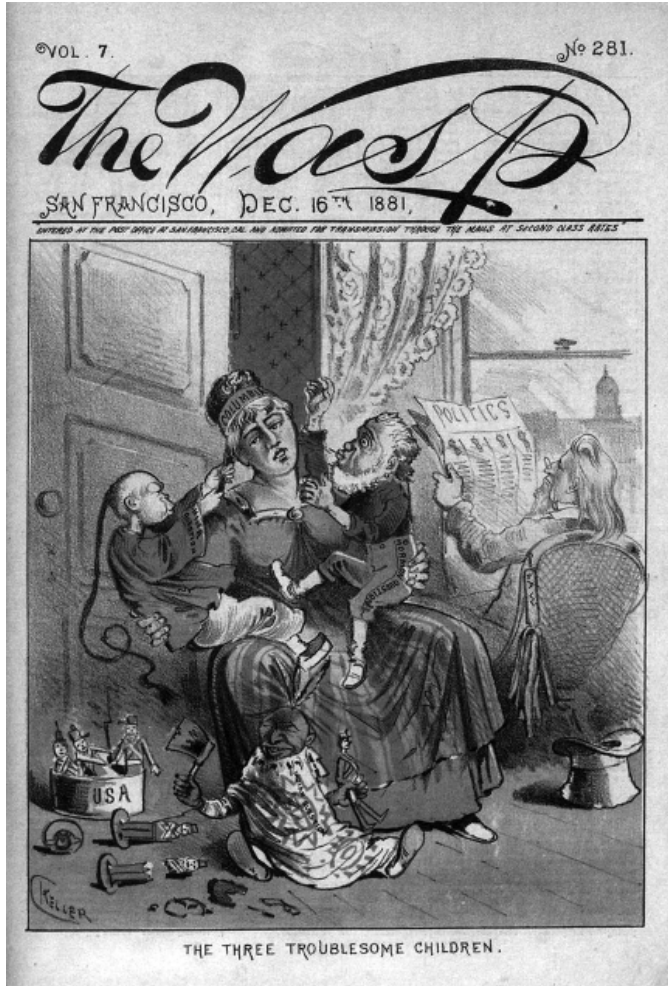


FIGURE 7. “The Three Troublesome Children,” *The Wasp* 7 (July–December 1881). Courtesy UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library.

disenfranchising polygamists. The latest version of Idaho’s law successfully passed judicial muster even though it disenfranchised non-polygamists who affiliated with any organization that condoned its practice. The issue here was never marriage alone but fear of Mormon growth. Anti-Mormons in Idaho were especially concerned about the campaign for woman suffrage because Mormon communities had a much higher ratio of women to men than other parts of the state.⁴⁶

46 Winston A. Bowman, “Life After Civil Death: Felony and Mormon Disenfranchisement in the U.S. West (1880–1890),” *Psi Sigma Siren* 2, no. 1 (January 2004): 1–28; Arrington, *History of Idaho*, 429–38; Lincoln Mullen, “Divergence in U.S. Sex Ratios by County, 1820–2010,” <https://lincolnmullen.com/projects/sex-ratios/>. In the 1890 map, Utah

Empowered by a Supreme Court decision declaring anti-polygamy legislation constitutional, the federal government disbanded Utah's territorial militia, imprisoned church leaders, and confiscated religious property. When they also took away women's right to vote, eastern suffragists stood up in their defense but they had no power to change things. In 1890 the church, facing bankruptcy, agreed to end plural marriage. Although it took territorial leaders another five years to convince Congress to accept Utah's petition for statehood, it came into the union in January 1896 as the nation's third equal suffrage state. Idaho soon followed. Delegates from all four states gathered in Iowa in 1897 for NAWSA's annual convention. Emmeline Wells was there as the representative of Utah sitting beside her daughter Melvina Wood, who was one of Idaho's suffrage leaders.⁴⁷

The Utah story returns us to an odd little detail in *Puck's* cartoon, the obscuring of Utah's name, which is partially tucked under the rim of Liberty's skirt. Was that an unintentional accident of the design? An acknowledgement that in Utah votes for women came and went? Or does it represent a twinge of discomfort among *Puck's* editors or New York suffragists over the presence of Utah on the suffrage line-up? After all, *Puck* published no fewer than 15 cartoons between 1904 and 1907 poking fun at the Mormons, including one full-page, full-color image warning against its ostensibly devious hierarchy.⁴⁸ Still it is important to remember that opinions change. Before *Puck* became a champion of women suffrage it had for years been a critic.

The responses of women suffragists to Asians and American Indians varied. Anthropologist Alice Fletcher, who was active in the New York suffrage movement, supported the Dawes Act. Although she sympathized with the tribal communities she worked with, she considered them helpless in their current situation and in need of forced assimilation. Although some western suffragists respected Chinese immigrants, others allied themselves with anti-Chinese parties. In 1896, Carrie Chapman Catt blamed "Chinese voters in pigtailed and sandals" for the loss of a suffrage referendum in California. She used similar language when campaigning in Idaho. As the threat from Chinese immigration subsided, attitudes toward Asians softened. In 1911, California's suffragists celebrated victory by publishing a picture of Ty Lueng, a

looks like the Northeast. Idaho has one of the most heavily skewed sex ratios in the United States, except in the southeastern part of the state where Mormon settlement predominated.

47 Ida Husted Harper and Susan B. Anthony, eds., *History of Women Suffrage*, vol. 4, 1883–1900 (Rochester, NY: National American Women Suffrage Association, 1902), 389–99.

48 Davis Bitton and Gary L. Bunker, "Mischievous Puck and the Mormons, 1904–1907," *Brigham Young University Studies* 16, no. 4 (Summer 1978), 504–19. The "Mormon Hierarchy" cartoon appeared in the issue for April 27, 1904.

Chinese-American woman whom they praised as the first woman in the state to vote.⁴⁹

For suffragists in the East, however, the real challenge was how to deal with the anti-suffragists, white women, who were their greatest opponents.

THE NEW YORK CAMPAIGN

The New York suffrage campaign of 1915 was earnest, well-funded, and sometimes playful. In a regular column published in the *New York Tribune*, suffragist Alice Duer Miller parodied President Woodrow Wilson's announced goal of bringing politics "back to the people" by asking over and over again, "Are Women People?" This was her way of asking, through comic dialogues and rhymes, how high-toned rhetoric translated into actual behavior. She also lampooned common anti-suffrage arguments, as in a little piece called "Why We Oppose Pockets," which argued that since most women didn't want them the rest shouldn't have them and that since men had used pockets "to carry tobacco, pipes, whisky flasks, chewing gum, and compromising letters," there was no reason to believe women would do any better. Miller eventually turned her *Tribune* columns into a *Book of Rhymes for Suffrage Times*.⁵⁰

The 1915 campaign also made creative use of the classic "suffrage map" by printing it on paper fans, drinking glasses, calendars, and baseball programs, and by inventing an amusement park game where participants hopped across it.⁵¹ Determined to reach voters in every part of the state, they campaigned in the countryside as well as in cities, and sought aid from union organizers, officers of local granges, and Black women's clubs. In August, *The Crisis* published a symposium featuring essays by Mary Church Terrell and Nannie Helen Burroughs and a powerful editorial by W.E.B. Dubois.⁵² Over the course of the campaign, the New York City Woman Suffrage Party held 5,225 outdoor meetings, sponsored 13 concerts, and organized 28 parades and torchlight processions. They held block parties for immigrants in

49 Gail H. Landsman, "The 'Other' as Political Symbol: Images of Indians in the Woman Suffrage Movement," *Ethnohistory* 39, no. 3 (1992): 270–74; Mead, *How the Vote Was Won*, 38–42, 91; Mary Chapman, "A 'Revolution in Ink': Sui Sin Far and Chinese Reform Discourse," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (December 2008): 995–96.

50 Alice Duer Miller, "Introduction," in *Are Women People? A Book of Rhymes for Suffrage Times* (New York: George H. Doran, 1915).

51 Dando, "The Map Proves It," 227, 237n33.

52 Valethia Watkins, "Votes for Women: Race, Gender, and W.E.B. DuBois's Advocacy of Woman Suffrage," *Phylon* 53, no. 2 (Winter 2016): 4, 8, 11.

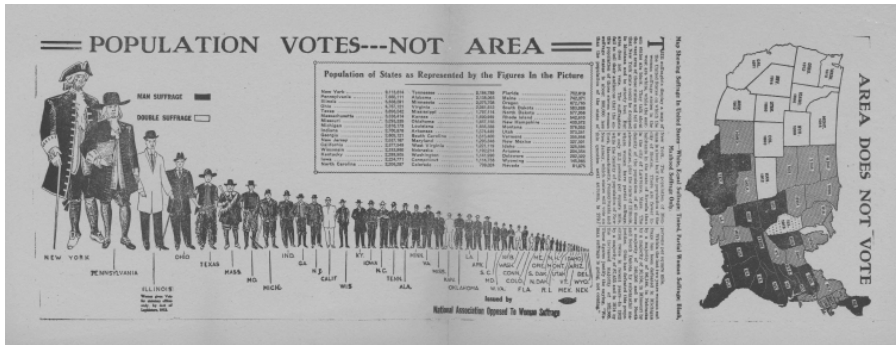


FIGURE 8. “Population Votes—Not Area,” National Association Opposed to Women Suffrage, 1915. Cornell University—P.M. Mode Collection of Persuasive Cartography.

the Lower East Side and sent canvassers into subway excavations where Italians, Greeks, and Irishmen were working.⁵³

Unfortunately, New York’s anti-suffragists were also well-funded and highly organized. While arguing that a woman’s place was in the home, they gave lectures, lobbied legislators, set up booths in county fairs, and sent reams of material to newspapers. They too reached out to working-class women as well as middle-class housewives, all the while insisting that they had not departed from woman’s proper sphere. One volunteer gave 50 or 60 presentations a month on “The Menace of Feminism.” Their tracts insisted that women should not want the vote because they had more power without it.⁵⁴

In such an atmosphere, arguments over the success of woman suffrage in the west became a two-edged sword. Anti-suffragists pointed out that thinly populated western states had little relevance for New York, which had almost 10 times the population of all the suffrage states put together. To reinforce the point, they distributed an impressive graphic that represented each state with a male image proportional to its population. New York’s and Pennsylvania’s massive icons began a line-up that ended with Wyoming’s pin-prick figure (Figure 8).

The Antis described female voting as a production of “the crude, raw, half-formed commonwealths of the sagebrush and the windy plains, whence have come an endless procession of foolish and fanatical politics and policies.” One essayist argued that feminism in the West had not only weakened male authority in the home but had undermined male responsibility for public safety. It pointed to a 1914

53 Ronald Schaffer, “The New York City Woman Suffrage Party,” *New York History* 43.3 (July 1962): 280–81.

54 Susan Goodier, *No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 79, 81–83, 86–91, 168–69.

mine workers' strike in Colorado where the governor had been forced to call in federal troops supposedly because he had not clamped down on unions soon enough. In anti-suffrage portrayals, political radicals and socialists took places once reserved for American Indian and Chinese laborers.⁵⁵

Although few of these writers had any actual knowledge of the West, their arguments may have been effective with eastern voters who knew even less than they. No state got more attention than Utah. That a well-produced play on polygamy was attracting crowds on Broadway did not help.⁵⁶ One *New Yorker* claimed that Mormonism was "the 'backbone' of woman suffrage in the West," another that it effectively controlled eight out of nine suffrage states.⁵⁷ In a long article published in *The North American Review*, historical novelist Mary Elliot merged Mormons with Asians, Mexicans, and Africans to argue that it was "the invariable tendency of all alien races to act as a unit."⁵⁸

As the date for the referendum approached, New York suffragists intensified their efforts. On October 23, they mounted the largest parade ever held in New York City. On October 29, young women in sandwich boards announced a huge rally to be held in Carnegie Hall where there would be continuous speakers for 26 hours. They should have won. But, on November 2, New York's male voters defeated the referendum by a margin of 57 percent to 42 percent.⁵⁹

When Harriet Laidlaw, the chair of the Manhattan Borough, saw dismal returns pouring into headquarters that evening, she rallied the tired women around her and rushed out into the still-crowded street to begin the campaign anew. Suffragist leaders were determined to seize a victory out of defeat, claiming that the vote had not been defeated, only postponed. Carrie Chapman Catt took heart from the fact that many ballots had been returned without any mark on the suffrage

55 Billie Barnes Jensen, "In the Weird and Woolly West': Anti-suffrage Women, Gender Issues, and Woman Suffrage in the West," *Journal of the West* 32 (July 1993), 41, 44, 49; Mrs. Arthur M. Dodges, "Case Against Votes For Women," *New York Times*, March 7, 1915, SM15; "Suffrage, East and West," *New York Times*, October 16, 1915, 10; "Mr. R.U. Johnson on Woman Suffrage," *New York Times*, October 13, 1915, 14.

56 Kenneth L. Cannon, "Mormons on Broadway: 1914 Style," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 84, no. 3 (Summer 2016): 192–214; and "Polygamy in Four Acts: Full Transcript," *UHQ Extra*, Summer 2016, history.utah.gov.

57 Henry W. Hayden, "Answers," *New York Times*, February 28, 1915, X2; Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin, "Mormons Control 8 Suffrage States," *New York Times*, January 15, 1915, 2; also see Jensen, "In the Weird and Woolly West," 46, 47.

58 Molly Elliot Seawell, "Two Suffrage Mistakes," *North American Review* 199, no. 700 (1914): 366–76.

59 "Suffrage Campaign to End in A Whirl," *New York Times*, October 29, 1915, 5; "Timeline of Events in Securing Woman Suffrage in New York State," The History Center, Tompkins County, Ithaca, NY, thehistorycenter.net.

question. All they needed to do was renew their campaign and persuade men who remained undecided. Marching to Albany in full force in January, they began their efforts to convince the legislature to schedule another referendum, which they did in March. They now had 18 months to rally voters.⁶⁰

Unfortunately, a polio outbreak in the summer and continuing concern over whether the United States would enter the war in Europe impeded the work. Some suffragists were also discouraged by the reelection of Woodrow Wilson, who continued to resist committing himself and his government to the suffrage cause. On December 2, 1916, two female aviators, sympathetic to Alice Paul's attempt to hold Wilson responsible, attempted to fly over his yacht as it proceeded down the Hudson toward an illumination ceremony for the Statue of Liberty. They carried petitions from "western women" that they planned to drop, like bombs, on his head. Unfortunately, gale-force winds forced them to land in a Staten Island swamp.⁶¹

A few weeks later, Miller published a new sketch in her *New York Tribune* column. She entitled it "An Unauthorized Interview between the Suffragists and the Statue of Liberty." It described a group of discouraged campaigners standing before Liberty's pedestal. They asked her why she had treated them so poorly. Liberty responded:

I'm not she—
 The winged Goddess, who sets nations free.
 I am that Liberty, which when men win
 They think that others' seeking is a sin;
 Therefore they made me out of bronze, and hollow,
 Immovable, for fear that I might follow
 Some fresh rebellion, some new victim's plea:
 And so they set me on a rock at sea—
 Welded my torch securely in my hand
 Lest I should pass it on, without command.
 I am a milestone, not an inspiration;
 And if my spirit lingers in this nation,
 If it still flickers faintly o'er these waters,
 It is your spirit, my rebellious daughters.⁶²

60 Goodier and Pastorello, *Women Will Vote*, 167–69.

61 Gabriella Leone, "Where Suffrage Took Flight: Staten Island and the Woman Suffrage Movement," The Gotham Center for New York City History, www.gothamcenter.org/blog; Maureen Maryanski, "The 'Suff Bird Women' and Woodrow Wilson," From the Stacks, New-York Historical Society Museum and Library, March 26, 2014, blog.nyhistory.org; "Wind Brings Down Suff Bird Women," *The Sun* (New York), December 3, 1916.

62 Partially quoted in Chapman, "'Are Women People?'" 75. A clipping pasted inside a copy of Duer's book in Harvard's Schlesinger Library contains the last 10 lines. The poem originally appeared in the *New York Herald* on December 31, 1916.



FIGURE 9. "Congratulations," *Life* 76, no. 1982 (October 28, 1920). Ann Lewis Women's Suffrage Collection, accessed July 18, 2020, <https://lewissuffragecollection.omeka.net/items/show/1893>.

Recognizing that symbols alone had little power to change the world, she and other suffragists reaffirmed their faith in each other.

On November 6, 1917, the state's male voters at long last approved a woman suffrage amendment to the state's constitution.⁶³ Miller immediately published a new book entitled *Women Are People*. When added to the accumulated power of western states, New York's 45 electoral votes proved pivotal to the passage of a national amendment. The nation's entry into World War I also played a role. Determined to get congressional approval for his foreign policy commitments, Wilson declared woman suffrage essential. During the war, liberty caps embellished with the stars and stripes mysteriously appeared on recruitment posters and war bond advertisements. In 1920, a statuesque Liberty shook hands with a female voter on the cover of *Puck's* rival humor magazine *Life*. For the moment at least, suffragists had given Liberty a new life (Figure 9).

⁶³ Catt, who had long been a pacifist, strategically emphasized the importance of asserting patriotism as well as the necessity of person-to-person campaigning. Suffragists emphasized their own war work and appealed directly to military personnel. Goodier and Pastorello, *Women Will Vote*, 170–73.