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The Male Madonna and the Feminine Uncle Sam: Visual Argument, Icons, and Ideographs in 1909 Anti-Woman Suffrage Postcards

Catherine H. Palczewski

In 1909, at the height of the woman suffrage controversy and during the golden age of postcards, the Dunston-Weiler Lithograph Company of New York produced a twelve-card set of full-color lithographic cartoon postcards opposing woman suffrage. The postcard images reflect, and depart from, verbal arguments concerning woman suffrage prevalent during this period. They reflect arguments against suffrage that highlighted the coarsening effect the vote would have on women. The postcards also present an argument that was absent in the verbal discourse surrounding suffrage: that men (and the nation) would become feminized by woman suffrage. Accordingly, these postcards offer a productive location in which to explore how the icons of the Madonna and Uncle Sam, as well as non-iconic images of women, were deployed to reiterate the disciplinary norms of the ideographs of <woman> and <man>.

Keywords: Woman Suffrage; Postcards; Visual Argument; Visual Ideograph; Icon

Although we now think of postcards as mass-produced slips of paper (festively decorated with generic images or off-color jokes) to be sent to family and friends from vacation destinations, the social import of postcards during their “Golden Age” (1893–1918) rivals the power of the Internet in contemporary times. The postcard industry was technologically and artistically prepared to play a part in the 1908 presidential election, with postcards reaching the height of their popularity during that campaign. Although it would be impossible to quantify their direct effect on the election, postcards “offer a vivid chronicle of American political values and tastes.”

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Postcards, and their chronicling of American political values, were not confined to electoral politics. Postcard historian Frank W. Staff remarks, “The detail and unusual items of domestic and social history which [postcards] show are of inestimable value to the historian” and, I would add, to those who study the rhetoric of historical movements. In her comprehensive study of British women’s suffrage campaign imagery, Lisa Tickner cites John Fraser’s research on the postcard, suggesting “that the pictorial postcard was ‘possibly the great vehicle for messages of the new urban proletariat between 1900 and 1914’ (it was cheap to buy and to post, simple to use, and quick to arrive in an age of frequent postal deliveries).”7 In Britain, middle-class collectors formed and joined postcard clubs, subscribed to postcard journals, and attended shows where they would place their collections in competition for medals and awards.8 During postcards’ heyday in the United States, “no ‘drawing room table’ was complete without one of the special albums in which picture postcards could be preserved”9 and “one’s social standing could be determined by the style and quality of the picture postcards in the album.”10 Thus, it is no surprise that postcards both supporting and opposing woman suffrage in the U.S. were common during the movement’s legislative doldrums from 1890/C1915 and its developing organizational and philosophical renaissance from 1896 to 1910.11 Accordingly, a fascinating intersection occurred between advocacy for and against woman suffrage, images of women (and men), and postcards.

Woman suffrage advocates recognized the utility of the postcard as a propaganda device. In the United States, the majority of the postcards supporting woman suffrage contained real-photo images of the suffrage parades,12 verbal messages identifying the states that had approved suffrage, or quotations in support of extending the vote to women.13 However, the most visually evocative images in the United States, as in Great Britain, came not from postcards officially commissioned by woman suffrage groups, but from ones produced by commercial postcard publishers.14 Simply by tapping into prevailing ideology, postcard producers assisted anti-suffrage forces “almost incidentally” by creating “a public imagery of the female form” that used suffragists as “topical or humorous types.”15

The intersection of postcards, images of women and men, and the U.S. woman suffrage battle is best represented by a twelve-card set of full-color lithographic cartoon postcards lampooning, satirizing, and opposing woman suffrage produced in 1909 by the Dunston-Weiler Lithograph Company of New York.16 Although many companies produced series of woman suffrage related postcards,17 the Dunston-Weiler set is noteworthy for its graphic appeal. Two postcards show fashionably dressed white women, one declaring that her love for the vote was more than her love for her husband (Suffragette Series No. 12) and the other a cigarette-smoking Queen of the Poll (Suffragette Series No. 9). Two other images depict white women fraudulently electioneering, either by bribing older women with money (Suffragette Series No. 2) or men with kisses (Suffragette Series No. 4). Gender-bending images are provided by a white high-heeled Suffragette Coppette in a police uniform (Suffragette Series No. 5), a white Pantalette Suffragette in overalls (Suffragette Series No. 3), and a white beardless Uncle Sam, Suffragée wearing a skirt (Suffragette Series No. 11).
Anti-Woman Suffrage Postcards

No. 5

SUFFRAGETTE COPPETTE
BEWARE OF THE DOG.

No. 6

UNCLE SAM, SUFFRAGEE.

Copyrighted.
No. 9

Anti-Woman Suffrage Postcards

No. 10

WHERE, OH WHERE IS MY WANDERING WIFE TONIGHT?

Queen of the Poll.
The remaining five images show white men at home, caring for infants and toddlers, while women left the home to vote, were away at suffrage rallies, or simply absent. In particular, the *Suffragette Madonna* (Suffragette Series No.1) shows a white man with a halo behind his head bottle-feeding a small child. This last image's deployment of a Catholic icon also makes clear that not only are the citizens depicted in the other images presumed white, but they also are presumed Protestant.

Accessing images of women and men, images that speak to the many intersecting and countervailing pressures at the turn of the century, warrants a turn to the images depicted in popular culture forms such as postcards. Michael Calvin McGee encourages scholars to look to "popular" history, such as "novels, films, plays, even songs" when tracking the vertical structures of ideographs, ideographs being the "vocabulary of concepts that function as guides, warrants, reasons, or excuses for behavior and belief." Although McGee believed "the political language which manifests ideology seems characterized by slogans," Janis L. Edwards and Carol K. Winkler persuasively argue that scholars should attend not only to verbal slogans, but also to visual ones.

Edwards and Winkler distinguish the "representative form" of the visual ideograph from the icon, citing Lester Olson's definition of icons as "a type of image that is palpable in manifest form and denotative in function." Icons operate referentially, in this case denoting specific people (the Madonna and Uncle Sam) with identifiable characteristics. Particularly with the Madonna icon, the referential element is central; in many ways, the Madonna icon came not only to depict the person Virgin Mary, but was believed to be, at least in the pious conception, "a transparent avenue to and from the divine." Extending work on the visual ideograph and its relation to icons, Dana L. Cloud has explored how visual ideographs, as more than recurring iconic images, can index and make concrete verbal ideographs. This essay advances another way to read the interaction between visual icons and verbal ideographs, particularly as they relate to our understandings of sex/gender.

The images in these anti-suffrage postcards offer an interesting location in which to explore how the (necessarily visual) icons of the Madonna and Uncle Sam, as well as non-iconic images of women, were deployed to reiterate the disciplinary norms of the verbal ideographs of <woman> and <man>. This project embraces E. Michele Ramsey’s call for a positionalist critical perspective when studying representations of women, a perspective that enables scholars to understand better the broader social context to which historical women rhetors reacted. While it initially may seem strange to present <woman> and <man> as ideographs, as McGee notes, "many ideographs . . . have a non-ideographic usage." Pointing to my department head, and saying "John is the brunette man" is a non-ideographic usage; however, telling my department head to "be a man" is, insofar as I use the word as an agency of social control, imbuing the word with an intrinsic force. Thus, the images in the postcards present one location in which to assess the "public vocabulary" defining <woman> as well as the public vocabulary defining <man>.

This essay contributes to a happily expanding body of communication studies literature on woman suffrage in general, and on images of <woman> emerging
from the suffrage era in particular. This essay adds to the insights of these studies by focusing on the images found in anti-suffrage items, and by attending to the way in which <man>, as well as <woman>, was ideographically deployed through images and icons.

In addition to exposing the intersection of icons and ideographs, the postcards analyzed here are fascinating both for how they reflect, and for how they depart from, verbal arguments concerning woman suffrage prevalent during this time period. Accordingly, this essay moves through the following arguments. First, I recognize that the postcards offer visual forms of the arguments against suffrage that highlight the coarsening effect the vote would have on women; the postcards offer visual indexes to measure the departure from the verbal ideograph of <woman> caused by suffrage. The postcards show women forsaking their motherly duties and acting masculine by smoking, wearing masculine clothing, and engaging in the debauchery of the polls.

Second, I explore how the postcards present an argument that was absent in the verbal discourse surrounding suffrage: just as women would become de-feminized by the public activity of voting so, too, would men become feminized by the private activity of caring for infants, an activity forced on them by women's public activities. To detail the feminization of man argument, I specifically analyze Uncle Sam, Suffragee and the Suffragette Madonna postcards. In particular, the Suffragette Madonna postcard negotiated the anti-Catholic bias that was present in both suffrage and anti-suffrage arguments. In many ways, this postcard encapsulated the complex arguments concerning gender, sexuality, religion, nationality, and citizenship that circulated throughout the suffrage controversy.

Reflecting the Verbal Arguments: Woman Suffrage Taints and De-feminizes Woman

During the Victorian era (1837–1901), clearly defined roles for men and women emerged, roles that persisted into the Edwardian era (1901–circa 1918). Women were to be the “angel in the house,” while men were to face the vagaries of the public world of politics and commerce. Of course, these separate spheres were not impermeable. Woman suffrage advocates challenged the notion that women and the vote were unfit for each other, whether it be that women were unfit to vote, or that the vote would make women unfit to be women. These challenges to the prevailing conception of womanhood did not go unanswered.

At the turn of the century, the “cult of domesticity,” and its attendant images of man and woman, was a prevalent theme in “Victorian literature, art, and social commentary.” Women who violated the separation of spheres became the “Fallen Woman,” modified in the case of suffrage to also include the “nagging wife” or the “embittered spinster.” Particularly in relation to suffrage, “the assumption that the ‘public’ woman was an unsexed harridan ran deep in contemporary thought.” Thus, women were disciplined to remain in the private sphere or risk losing their femininity. However, even those opposed to woman suffrage did not eschew the public realm as a locus of action for women.
The complexity and development of anti-suffrage (antis) arguments should not be ignored or underestimated. As Manuela Thurner argues, “a case can be made for studying the losing side of a protracted historical struggle, such as the contest over woman suffrage” because “a fuller picture of the period’s cultural and political climate emerges when both, or more, sides of the debate are taken into consideration.” Thus, even though woman suffrage may have been won, anti-suffrage postcards offer valuable insights into how sex and citizenship were negotiated through visual argument. But, to recognize the distinctiveness of anti-suffrage images, like those contained in the Dunston-Weiler series, an understanding of the antis’ verbal arguments is necessary.

Many male political leaders condemned the idea of a woman voting on the grounds that women were not biologically suited to such an endeavor, and male-run liquor interests played a significant role in combating suffrage. However, men were not the only opponents. Well-organized groups of women, known as remonstrants, also opposed suffrage, claiming as their motto “Home, Heaven, and Mother.” Remonstrants believed woman suffrage was a misguided and unnecessary reform. For them, women of good character would be better able to influence public policy by means other than the vote; concomitantly, granting to all women the right to vote might enable those women with less than savory character to overwhelm their more upstanding sisters, as implied by the *Suffragette Vote-Getting* and *Queen of the Poll.*

Typical verbal arguments against suffrage, made by men and used extensively in remonstrant literature, emphasized the effect of the vote on women. Daniel Webster (lawyer, congressperson, and statesperson) decried, “The rough contests of the political world are not suited to the dignity and the delicacy of your sex.” Cardinal James Gibbons (Catholic archbishop and the youngest prelate at the First Vatican Council) worried, “If woman enters politics, she will be sure to carry away on her some of the mud and dirt of political contact.” Dr. S. Weir Mitchell (celebrated clinician and neurologist) exhorted, “woman accepts the irrevocable decree which made her woman and not man. Something in between she cannot be.” And antis noted that not only would women be coarsened, but that suffrage would be “an appeal to the coarser strength of men.” Those opposed to suffrage were worried more about how women would be tainted and de-feminized, than about whether men would be feminized.

In many ways, one can read the visual arguments in pro- and anti-woman suffrage literature as responding to each other. E. Michele Ramsey argues that *The Woman Citizen’s World War I* era cartoons reconfigured citizenship’s relationship to sex and gender by presenting woman as a “competent citizen” and redefining the meaning of “loyal citizen.” Functioning as a response to this argument, the Dunston-Weiler postcard series depicted the verbal anti-woman suffrage arguments that highlighted women’s unsuitability for citizenship duties. Two themes in particular reinforce the verbal arguments opposing woman suffrage and supporting masculine conceptions of citizenship: (1) women lacked the physical power necessary to enforce their vote, and (2) the public realm was unsuited to proper women.
Suffragette Coppette

The *Suffragette Coppette* (No. 5) postcard reflected the antis’ verbal arguments concerning women’s inability to enforce the effect of their votes. Aileen S. Kraditor, in her germinal history of the movement, outlines the argument linking physical power to voting rights:

If women were to vote, the thesis continued, half the electorate would be incapable of enforcing its mandate and vicious elements would be encouraged to resort to violence. A vote was not simply the registering of an opinion; it was a demand and consequently would be meaningless unless exercised only by the muscular portion of the community.44

The New York Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in a circa 1910 statement presented to both houses of the U.S. Congress, noted: “To extend the suffrage to women would be to introduce into the electorate a vast non-combatant party, incapable of enforcing its own rule.”45 Goldwin Smith (British-born historian and journalist), in his commentary on the question of woman suffrage, explained: “Political power has hitherto been exercised by the male sex . . . because man alone could uphold government and enforce the law.”46 In other words, physical power was needed in order for a vote to carry any force.

The *Suffragette Coppette* postcard,47 one of six that focused on women in public, presented the idea of a woman being a law enforcement officer as laughable. Armed with a rolling pin instead of a truncheon, and accompanied by a demure puppy instead of a vicious police dog, her high-heeled stance makes clear her lack of power. In fact, the subtitle of the postcard makes clear where the real threat of force lies: “Beware of the dog.”

Public Woman

The remainder of the postcards depicting women in public reflected the antis’ verbal arguments concerning the coarsening effect the vote would have on women and their fear that improper women would populate the polls. Jane Jerome Camhi analyzes how the antis visualized “womanhood of consisting of set types,” consisting of “the better class, the indifferent, and the degenerate.”48 Of particular worry to antis were the prostitutes, whom they feared would overwhelm their more upstanding sisters at the polls because “the best of women would shun political life and the most unprincipled would have the field to themselves.”49 Such worries were reflected in the smoking *Queen of the Poll* (No. 9), the bribery of *Electioneering* (No. 2), and the aggressive kissing of *Suffragette Vote-Getting, the Easiest Way* (No. 4).

Interestingly, and in contrast to the oft-seen renderings of suffragists as masculine, the Dunston-Weiler postcards depict women acting in public as still feminine in appearance, wearing attractive dresses and having beautiful faces. However, it would be a mistake to read these postcards as unqualifiedly liberatory. Instead, these images represent a moment in which “sex is both produced and destabilized in the course of this reiteration,”50 where sex norms are both maintained and challenged. In these
images, a public woman may not be a masculine woman, but that did not make her a good woman.

As Judith Butler notes, as sex is reiterated “gaps and fissures” emerge and present opportune moments for resistance. Yet it would be incorrect to read the postcard images of women as subversively progressive because they contradicted the representations of suffragists as unsexed harridans. These images are not an example of the widening of a fissure in our understanding of woman as citizen just because, in these images, woman maintained her femininity even as she voted. Why?

The type of femininity the voting woman was allowed to maintain is one that is sexualized. The connection between sexuality and publicity is not accidental. At this time, a prostitute was considered a “public woman”; thus, being a public woman meant one was a publicly accessible woman. As Lisa Maria Hogeland points out in her discussion of public sex scandals and Victoria Woodhull, “public women’ are sexual(ized) women.” Thus, even as the postcards presented a public woman as still a feminine woman, she was not a good woman. Instead of using the loss of femininity as a disciplinary mechanism, the postcards instead deployed the loss of virtue. Either only bad women would vote, or if a woman voted she would be presumed bad.

Evidence of how the voting (public) woman was presented as the sexualized (public) woman is contained in the repeated theme of the exposed ankle, appearing in Suffragette Series Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 12. The repeatedly exposed ankle is not accidental. My argument here is not that actual 1909 women never exposed their ankles. Rather, my argument is that the exposed ankle functions as code, indicating that the woman who voted was to be read as a bad woman.

The sexual significance of the ankle was one that began long before the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century. For example, “The provocative effect of the exposed ankle or leg was a source of both moral outrage and ribald jests throughout the [eighteenth] century.” Although the story of Victorian piano legs prudishly being skirted in order to avoid exciting the erotic sentiments may be apocryphal, one can still argue that the ankle was coded sexually. In 1850s United States, one of the primary objections to the dress reform represented by the Bloomer outfit was that it exposed the ankle, thus lending the outfit an erotic quality. For a middle-class woman, showing an ankle was shocking, even up until 1909. A cursory review of the Sears Catalogue, “the arbiter of fashion to small-town America,” makes clear that women’s dresses skirted to the floor were the norm in 1909, with barely a toe peeking out from underneath. Not until 1912 would ankles appear consistently as an acceptable fashion statement. Thus, the repeatedly exposed ankle (and even the, gasp!, calf in No. 4) appearing in these postcards is noteworthy.

Even as these postcards allowed women to maintain their attractiveness as they ventured into the public, the postcard images were not really progressive nor did they rearticulate an understanding of <woman>. Instead of women being disciplined by the loss of their looks, they were disciplined with the loss of their purity. The publicity of the voting woman was the publicity of a “public woman.” In fact, the only images in which the woman’s ankles were not exposed were still coded as sexual. Queen of the Poll (Suffragette Series No. 9) stands with a lit cigarette, and the woman in Election-
Day (Suffragette Series No. 7) sports a low cut bodice as she bids farewell to her husband.

Half of the postcards in the Dunston-Weiler series reflected the verbal arguments concerning the effect of suffrage on women and <woman>. Should women venture into the public world of electoral politics, they risked losing their purity and good standing as women or, conversely, only those who had already lost their good standing would venture to the polls. However, the de-feminization/sexualization of women is not the only argument the postcards depict. In fact, the remaining images advance an argument that was not present in the verbal discourse, an argument appealing to the ideograph of <man> via the icons of Uncle Sam and the Madonna.

Departing from the Verbal Arguments: Woman Suffrage Feminizes Man

E. Michele Ramsey and Cheryl Jorgensen-Earp both provide examples of how diffuse images of women found in the expansive cultural contexts of the dominant discourse structure the ideograph of <woman>. Katherine Meyer, John Seidler, Timothy Curry, and Adrian Aveni, in their analysis of images of women in Fourth of July cartoons, demonstrate how cartoons are one of the expansive cultural mediums which structure the meaning of <woman>, even when that is not the intentional purpose of the cartoon. Supplementing these scholars’ work, this essay explores one location in which the dominant discourse and cultural images gave structure to the concept of <man> as well as <woman>, in part by presenting what is not manly and by presenting men in locations typically populated by women. The corollary to the woman unsexed (or oversexed) by the masculine vote was the man unsexed by the voting woman.

Popular culture images of men in the home appear to be the only traces of a potentially inarticulable fear of the emasculated man, a man made suitable for the private world of childrearing. Most often at this time, dominant cultural images showed men as incompetent in the nursery, the location perhaps most identified with “women’s work.” Quite simply, by virtue of being a man, men were incapable of pursuits in the domestic realm. A number of British and U.S. postcards show men trying to do laundry, as the cat gets into the milk and the children sit squawking. Consistent with this theme as presented in mass media and other postcard images, every time a man appears in the Dunston-Weiler series (which is in six of the twelve images), they are shown feminized. However, the specter of the feminized man was absent in the verbal discourse opposing suffrage.

The Dunston-Weiler series also presents a variation on the home-bound man theme, with its images of men competently caring for infants, as in the Suffragette Madonna (No. 1) and Suffragette Series Nos. 8 and 11. Yet even the competent male caregiver appealed to anti-suffrage sentiments, for then the image was of “the poor, tired husband home from his day’s labor only to find that he must mind the baby or do the dishes so that his wife may prepare a speech or attend a public meeting.” He was the martyr to the suffrage cause.
As woman suffrage advocates attempted to stretch the meaning of *woman* to incorporate the public act of voting into their role as citizens, those opposed (or indifferent) to woman suffrage formulated images depicting the effect of women’s vote on men. This demonstrates that the conflict over gender roles is always simultaneously about femininity and masculinity. In the dominant discursive structure, one cannot expand the meaning of *woman* without necessarily shrinking the understanding of *man*. Writing twenty years after the appearance of the Dunston-Weiler postcards, Virginia Woolf plays out why a gain by women is always simultaneously read as a loss on the part of men:

Women have served all these centuries as looking-glasses possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man at twice its natural size. . . . That is why Napoleon and Mussolini both insist so emphatically upon the inferiority of women, for if they were not inferior, they would cease to enlarge. That serves to explain in part the necessity that women so often are to men. . . . How is he to go on giving judgement, civilising natives, making laws, writing books, dressing up and speechifying at banquets, unless he can see himself at breakfast and at dinner at least twice the size he really is?  

More recently, Judith Butler has spoken to the theme of how the masculine/feminine binary constitutes what it means to be man or a woman. Gender and sex are something we do, not something we are and thus “persons’ only become intelligible through becoming gendered in conformity with recognizable standards of gender intelligibility.” The unintelligibility of a male Madonna and a feminine Uncle Sam speak to this move, as do the images of male caregivers.

The series contains five images of men in the home (Suffragette Series Nos. 1, 7, 8, 10, and 11), all of them caring for children. Perhaps best reflecting the idea that a zero-sum tradeoff exists between men and women’s rights, *I Want to Vote But My Wife Won’t Let Me* (No. 11) pictures a man washing clothes while also watching over an infant and cat. In this image, a woman’s exercise of voting rights has stripped a man of those rights. However, the most interesting male caregiver image is represented by the *Suffragette Madonna*, which completes the transformation of a man (bottle-feeding an infant) into the mother of all mothers. Not only are fathers feminized in the Dunston-Weiler series, but so too are uncles, in the form of Uncle Sam. The remainder of this essay focuses on these two postcard images, primarily because of the way they represent intersections of icons and ideographs. I discuss the intersections of religion, gender, and the vote presented by the *Suffrage Madonna* later, but for now turn to a discussion of *Uncle Sam, Suffragee*.

**Uncle Sam, Suffragee**

The name Uncle Sam was first used to criticize the United States during the War of 1812, and the first images of Uncle Sam appeared in 1832. Although Brother Jonathan was the more popular image leading up to the Civil War, by the war’s end, Uncle Sam became the dominant image, being used both as a positive icon and as a way to challenge the government. Uncle Sam was not depicted with facial hair until
1856, and the facial hair persisted most likely because the figure of Abraham Lincoln so influenced the depictions that after the Civil War, the bewhiskered Uncle Sam was the universally used and recognized likeness.\(^7\) In fact, Uncle Sam would become known in slang as “Mr. Whiskers.”\(^7\) In the 1870s, Thomas Nast’s cartoons solidified Uncle Sam’s characteristics. As a result of Nast’s illustrations, the adult Uncle Sam was always depicted with a beard, as he is in the most widely distributed and recognizable image: the 1917 James Montgomery Flagg recruiting poster “I Want You for the U.S. Army.” In a collection of Uncle Sam images, all show him with a beard when he is not depicted as a child, except for the image of Uncle Sam, Suffragist.\(^7\) In his comprehensive history of Uncle Sam, Alton Ketchum notes that one of the “last appearances of a beardless Uncle Sam” was in 1865.\(^7\) As this postcard series demonstrates, however, Mr. Ketchum was off by 44 years.

Although not possessing the religious power of the Madonna icon, Uncle Sam still functions more like an icon than an ideograph. Although the form of Uncle Sam has changed across time, what he denotes has remained relatively constant.\(^7\) According to the government official responsible for asking Herbert Noxon, at the behest of the State Department, to create the official version of Uncle Sam in 1950, “He is the United States. . . . He is our composite American personality—the symbolic projection of what our country means to us and to other nations.” Uncle Sam denotes the United States. Although typically shown as “benign, friendly, yet firm,” manipulating the image enables one to play with the image of the United States. Thus, a cross-dressing Uncle Sam (or United States) warrants analysis. Uncle Sam, Suffragist depicts Uncle Sam clean-shaven, in star-spangled skirt, with hand on hip, and jaunty bonnet atop his head, giving a whole new meaning to “I want you.”

The feminization of Uncle Sam is achieved through the change in clothes, the stripping of his secondary sex characteristic of facial hair, minimizing his height, and making him the object of the act of suffrage—the suffragist. Instead of wearing his traditional trousers, top hat, and tails, Uncle Sam is shown in a long skirt, red and white striped duster coat, heels, and oversized bonnet. Whereas many other postcards depicted women in masculine dress (as in Pantalette Suffragette and Suffragette Coppette), this one turned the tables, putting Uncle Sam in drag. The transformation is completed with the clean-shaven face. In this moment, Uncle Sam was stripped of his masculinity and lost a characteristic that had come to be part of his identity as the representative of the United States. Coupled with his posture, with hands on hip, his stature completes the transformation of the larger than life representative of U.S. power to a figure who is acted upon and passive.

Thomas H. Bivins, in his analysis of the changing shape of Uncle Sam across the decades, posits that part of his heroic nature is embodied in his stature. With the average man standing six and a half heads tall, comic characters are made to appear heroic by having smaller heads and larger bodies, so that they are eight or more heads tall. When Nast finally stabilized the image of Uncle Sam, he was “tall and Lincolnesque, about 7 1/2 heads, and would probably fall somewhere between thin (ectomorphic) and muscular (mesomorphic).”\(^7\) This image persisted well into the 1900s, where his mesomorphic body depicted him as “paternal, protective and the
epitome of strength.” In contrast, the *Suffragee* image shows him not as muscular, but as curvy with a suspicious bulge at his chest. He also stands only about six heads tall, including his high heels but excluding his patriotic bonnet.

Finally, as “suffragee,” Uncle Sam as representative of the United States is on the receiving end of suffrage, not as a right but as something wielded against him. He is the one to whom suffrage is done, and the result of having suffrage done to him is the loss of his masculine power. But Uncle Sam is not the only one feminized by the vote.

**The Suffragette Madonna**

While the series as a whole negotiated the conflict between de-feminized women and feminized men, the *Suffragette Madonna* postcard in particular also negotiated the anti-Catholic bias that was present in both pro- and anti-woman suffrage arguments. In many ways, this postcard encapsulated the complex arguments concerning gender, sexuality, religion, nationality, and citizenship that circulated throughout the suffrage controversy. The image operated on multiple levels: it appealed to the anti-woman suffrage Catholic population by highlighting how the vote would violate the religious admonition that woman's place was in the home, it appealed to anti-Catholic sentiments fed by the fear that Catholics as a voting block would overtake Protestants, and it deployed the stereotype of Catholicism as effeminate to intensify the feminizing effect of the vote.

Anti-Catholicism was neither new to the time period, nor unique to either suffragists or remonstrants, as both responded to the influx of immigrants from a nativist perspective. During the early decades of the nineteenth century, immigration from Europe to the United States fueled the rapid growth in the Catholic Church until Catholicism represented the country’s largest religious denomination by mid-century. For the Irish and Germans who had arrived during this first wave of immigration, a unique period of Catholic religious vitality and political and economic stability occurred from 1870 to 1896. During the second half of the nineteenth century, however, new waves of Italian and Polish immigrants, with their “alternative expressions of Catholicism,” arrived, presenting a challenge to this stability. This second wave of growth in Catholicism, with its “massive waves of Catholic immigration to industrial and mining centers of the Northeast and Great Lakes states,” combined with “a pre-existing distrust of Catholicism to precipitate an anti-Catholic, nativist reaction.” In these regions, most Protestants “banded together in the Republican party as a means for preserving the quasi-official... Protestant quality of American life.” These reactions made clear the way in which conceptions of American-ness, and citizenship, were bound up with issues of ethnicity and religion.

Given the depth of anti-Catholicism, it was unavoidable that both anti- and pro-woman suffrage groups would appeal to the bias. Anti-immigrant prejudice was evident within the suffrage movement, whose members bemoaned the fact that well-educated native women did not have the vote while expanded suffrage enabled...
illiterate immigrant men to overwhelm the polls. In order to limit the power of ethnic, often Catholic, political machines, suffragists argued that women should be given the vote. Such arguments were persuasive enough that in the 1890s the American Protective Association endorsed woman suffrage as a way of combating the rising political power of Irish Catholics.85

Immigrant communities were well aware of the implications of the suffragists' arguments. Immigrant organizations feared how the native-born population would use woman suffrage against them and, thus, stubbornly opposed any change in voting laws. Not only did immigrants fear the political effect of women’s voting, but they also feared its social effect. Immigrant men saw suffragists as “dangerous radicals who sought to destroy the harmony of their traditional family unit by introducing the issue of ‘women’s’ rights into the household. . . . [M]ale immigrants refused to see the ‘Votes for Women’ campaign as anything less than the destruction of their solitary refuge amid a life of turbulence and danger: the home.”86 These political and social fears explain why, even though the Catholic Church never took an official position, it functionally was the most unified national religious body to oppose woman suffrage.87

Remonstrants appealed to this anti-woman suffrage bias of recent Catholic immigrants, even as they also appealed to their Protestant audiences, by highlighting the threat of illiterate immigrant women overwhelming the polls. Even though antis made cursory appeals to the Catholic anti-woman suffrage vote, with the Massachusetts remonstrants publishing a brochure in Polish prior to a 1915 referendum campaign, generally “antis treated the immigrant community and the Catholic Church with disdain”88 for the “root of anti-immigrant bigotry among remonstrants was anti-Catholic.”89 Thomas Jablonsky vividly explains antis’ fear of how woman suffrage would supplement the immigrant vote:

Of special concern was the alleged nightmarish march of a female Catholic army descending upon the polls under orders of their priests and bishops. “Cathedrals and ignorance” awaited the future of America. Alarmed by the rise of urban political machines, which, in turn, were fueled by the votes of Irish, Polish, and Italian men, antis feared that the country would suffer greater harm at the hands of “Bridget,” “Natasha,” or “Maria.”90

Into this anti-Catholic and highly sex-segregated society, the image of the Suffragette Madonna was introduced.

The Suffragette Madonna postcard advances the idea that when woman gains (masculine) political power, man becomes feminized, relegated to caring for infants, a duty typically delegated to women and to the domestic sphere. No longer the public citizen, the man becomes the private caregiver, a martyr to the suffrage cause. With its play on the Madonna image, this postcard also reflected a bias against Catholics (even as it appealed to Catholic males’ fear that the vote would undermine the sanctity of the home) as it hinted that an expanded franchise might benefit the growing Catholic immigrant community to the detriment of Protestant groups.

It would be impossible to understand the significance of the Madonna image without understanding the concept of “visual piety.”91 For many, the act of looking
upon a religious image is deeply spiritual; Catholics in medieval times believed that simply “looking upon relics afforded forgiveness of sin.” This led Middle Age European art and architecture to focus on the presentation of the relic and the host, converting the sacred into a visual experience, much as the icon had done in the East. Because the most powerful Catholic female role model is the Virgin Mary, appropriation of the icon is fraught; it is likely to be extremely distasteful, if not outright sacrilegious, to Catholics unless the image, itself, were attempting to stabilize the meaning behind the icon.

However, if the Madonna icon functions so powerful for Catholics, what enabled it to resonate at all with Protestants? During the nineteenth century, many homes would have displayed Murillo’s *Immaculate Conception*, such that the Catholic Madonna and Child “were reinterpreted to be any mother and her child. The Mary was emblematic of all mothers and not merely the mother of Jesus.”

During the Victorian era, the standard up to which women had to live was the “angel in the house,” with the “preeminent Angel in the House” being the Virgin Mary. The angel ideology was premised on the notion that women’s domestic duties were essentially a spiritual calling. In fact, the postcard’s use of a child highlights the effeminate nature of care-giving, since the child was of an age where it most likely still required breast-feeding, substituted in this case by the bottle held by the man. The man is not left caring for a young adult, or even a toddler, but an infant—that creature most dependent on parental care. This image employs the representative form of the Madonna icons that show Mother Mary and infant Jesus, but it also highlights the hyper-feminized role of caregiving for infants.

The image appealed to the universally shared belief that woman’s place was in the home, particularly with small children. But, even as the image spoke to Catholic men’s fears of the loss of their (idealized) home, it also tapped into Protestant men’s biases against Catholic immigrants. Although the “angel in the house” ideal transcended religious denominations, Protestants distrusted what they perceived to be Catholics’ penchant for idol-worship, most typified by the new immigrant love of mass-produced Mary images. Because the Madonna icon is identified with the Catholic love of religious images, the postcard was a subtle reminder that the type of woman voting would be a Catholic woman, with her Catholic husband caring for their (precipitously expanding number of) children while she was at the polls.

Even as the image of a male caregiver appealed to Protestant and Catholic men’s fear of emasculation (caused by the loss of their monopoly on the vote), and as the postcard appealed to Protestants’ fear of an ever-burgeoning Catholic vote, it also played on Protestant men’s fear of the emasculating effect of Catholicism. Religion scholars have recently focused on how gender and religion intersect, and it is now commonly accepted that “there were distinctive patterns of men’s spiritual experience.” In contrast to the effeminacy of Catholicism (as perceived by non-Catholics given Catholic priests’ celibacy and clothing), Protestants touted the ideal of “muscular Christianity.” In other words, not only were men in general emasculated by the vote, but when Catholics overwhelmed the polls and imposed
their religion on everyone, Protestant men in particular would be emasculated by Catholicism.

The *Suffragette Madonna* potentially appealed to both Catholic men and to those with an anti-Catholic bias. For Catholic men, the image represented their greatest fear: loss of the sanctity of their home life, which for many was the only stable location in their tumultuous immigrant world. Given that Catholics tended to see women’s calling in the home as even more scripturally determined than their non-Catholic counterparts, the appeal made clear that supporting woman suffrage would constitute sacrilege. For Protestants who feared the influx of Catholic immigrants, the image appealed to their fear that Catholic women would overwhelm the polls. However, even as the image spoke in a split voice to the two groups, it also appealed to both on the same level. The image tapped into men’s fear, regardless of religion, that the vote would feminize them.

**A Postcard Postscript**

For anyone interested in the study of sex/gender, *<man> and <woman>* should be a central focus of study. As Judith Butler consistently reminds us, “[s]exual difference, however, is never simply a function of material differences which are not in some way both marked and formed by discursive practices.”100 Construction of what it means to be a man or a woman is “a temporal process which operates through the reiteration of norms.”101 As this study and the existing literature examining the function of images in the suffrage controversy make clear, discursive and non-discursive practices produced by suffragists, anti-suffragists, and institutions of popular culture mark and form understandings of sexual difference.

As Ramsey notes in her call to study the images of woman appearing in “non-traditional texts,”102 norms are reiterated even when not produced by any entity officially allied with a movement. Supplementing Ramsey’s call to study non-traditional texts such as advertisements, this study establishes the need to look beyond news media outlets when studying political and suffrage images, at least when examining controversies that occurred during the golden age of postcards. Interestingly, most rhetorical studies of political cartoons analyze ones that appeared in newspapers and magazines.103 Although critical studies of postcards do exist,104 none examine the intersection of political cartoons and postcards, even though postcards were cheap, easily accessible, and did not present the demands of literacy that newspapers did.105

Postcards were circulated more widely than magazines, were not dependent on literacy, and did not allow audience self-selection (one could not control what postcards one would receive). Studying the images of political controversies from the turn of the century, but ignoring the role of postcards, would be equivalent to studying a contemporary political campaign and ignoring the use of televised commercials and the Internet. Postcards were ubiquitous, cheap, easily accessible, and clearly participated in the suffrage controversy in a way that developed and extended the argument beyond what can be found in the verbal arguments contained in
broadsides and print media. The postcards analyzed here represent one location of reiteration of what it means to be a <man> and to be a <woman>.

However, as critical race scholars note, identity is intersectional. One is never only a woman or only a man. We also are composed of races, genders, sexualities, classes, religions, ethnicities, etc. One cannot study sex/gender distinct from other identity ingredients, for no scholarly alchemic process exists by which to extract a description of sex pure of race, gender, sexuality, class, religion, ethnicity, etc. How we do woman is informed by how we do race, how we do man is informed by how we do gender, and how we do citizenship is informed by how we do religion. Accordingly, I foregrounded the whiteness of the bodies depicted in the postcards when I described them earlier. I intentionally made clear that the images of <man> and <woman> are images of white men and white women.

In fact, it may be that the very ideograph of <woman> is raced white in the United States. For example, Barbara Welter, in her extremely influential book Dimity Convictions, notes how womanhood was defined as pure, pious, domestic, and submissive. Yet, as Chandra Talpede Mohanty makes clear, such an idealized conception of womanhood was confined to white women of the middle and upper classes. Women of color and poor women could never attain the ideal because of their race and class. This, of course, does not mean that the ideograph held no power over them; it was still able to discipline them, to declare each of them a bad <woman> as Sojourner Truth’s query of “Aren’t I a woman?” made clear. Ultimately, all the postcards in this series, and the Uncle Sam, Suffrage image in particular, offer a way to assess the means by which the nation and citizenship are presumed masculine and white.

Even as the postcards do not trouble the normativity of whiteness, the Suffragette Madonna postcard’s deployment of religion allows recognition of the way in which nationality, ethnicity, religion, and citizenship are intertwined. Whiteness was not nearly as undifferentiated a race category at the turn of the century as it is now. Distinctions were made between native citizens and recent immigrants. Between immigrants, distinctions were made between Western and Eastern European, between Irish and German, Polish and Italian, etc. Thus, the Madonna image offers one way to explore the visualization of the ideograph of white <woman> and white <man> as informed by different strands of Christianity, particularly those strands embraced by immigrants.

In addition to exploring how white <woman> and white <man> was indexed through visual depictions, this essay also demonstrates how visual arguments function as part of a larger public controversy, in this case the controversy over woman suffrage which also necessarily implicated the controversies over sex, gender, citizenship, and religion. Studies of visual rhetoric populate our journals. However, when it comes to recognizing visuals’ role in the rhetorical sub-species of argument, some continue to insist that visuals cannot argue, despite a growing body of literature that recognizes visuals can function as argument, both in its propositional and in its process form. This essay should resolve that dispute insofar as it demonstrates that a complete, and significant, argument in the suffrage controversy
that suffrage would feminize men) cannot be discerned and traced without recognizing the possibility of visual argument. Recognizing the role of visual argument, in this case represented by the postcard images although certainly contained in other visual forms, enables critics to read the clash of argument across symbolic forms. Argumentative engagement, thus, is not confined to discursive clash, but can be manifested by occupation of alternate cultural forms. The “answers” to woman suffrage arguments are to be found not only in the discursive creations of organized opposition, but also in the visual products of diffuse popular culture forms.111

Accordingly, this study also takes exception to one of the basic assumptions found in the study of political cartoons: that visual arguments merely reflect or intensify existing discursive arguments. Michael A. DeSousa and Martin J. Medhurst “believe the real significance of the political cartoon lies not in its character as propositional argument or as persuasion but in its ability to tap the collective consciousness of readers in a manner similar to religious rituals, civic ceremonies, and communal observances.”112 Although I agree with their assessment that cartoons tap into collective consciousness, I disagree that cartoons lack a significant propositional character. The postcards analyzed here demonstrate that political cartoons’ propositional function is of real significance insofar as they present an argument in visual form that was absent in discursive form. As the icons of Uncle Sam and the Madonna evoke the ideographs of <man> and <woman>, the postcards make visible the argument that men will be feminized, sacrificing their masculinity and full citizenship to woman’s sullied citizenship of equal suffrage.

As Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites’ work on iconic photographs113 makes clear, images can embody notions of civic and public identity as they form public culture. They believe the images they studied “become iconic because they coordinate a number of different patterns of identification.”114 This study provides an explanation not of how publicity is formed via the emergence of icons, but of how preexisting icons are deployed to contain emerging expansive definitions of citizenship. Once we accept the “constitutive function of public discourse,”115 not only must we search for places where publicity is reconstituted and expanded, where a gap and fissure is exploited, but also those locations where it is reiterated through the re-inscription of binary sex/gender norms that are tied to race, religion, and class.

The postcard images studied here offer compelling visual arguments about the effect of the vote on white men’s and white women’s citizenship. Recognizing this is important, given that even contemporary studies of anti-suffrage arguments focus on how the vote would affect women, not men. Jean H. Baker’s introduction to Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited does note that men feared the vote because “political equality with women cut into their households, endangering domestic arrangements”; however, her description of the explanations offered as to why the arrangements existed was that “women were ill-suited to participate in public life because of their domesticity . . .”116 The fact that men might be ill-suited to tend the home because of their publicity is not noted. Thomas Jablonsky, in his study of the antis, also focuses on the effect on women as represented in the antis’ arguments:
"The world of women ... was blending too quickly with the world of men." 117 The point was not that the world of men was blending too quickly into the world of women. Although contemporary scholars note, and advocates from the period decried, the erosion of the distinction between who populated the public and private (home) spheres, almost all mention the detrimental effect women crossing spheres would have on the public and women's ability to care for the home, while none mention the possible effect women's crossing spheres would have on men's location in the spheres.

What might account for this theme appearing in postcards when it is absent in the verbal discourse? Cartoons are a particularly apt way in which to explore some of the enthymematic arguments present in anti-suffrage discourse. If it is true that "[c]artoons often seem to project unconscious desires and fears," 118 then it seems plausible that while no suffrage opponent (especially a male one) would want to speak of man's (his) possible emasculation, such a fear could be explored in cartoon images where a clothes-washing man is not allowed to vote. Cartoons enabled deep-seated culturally grounded beliefs to be expressed visually, re-entrenching cultural ideals, even while those beliefs were verbally proclaimed to be biologically determined and, thus, not in need of reinforcement.

The recognition of the distinctiveness of the visual arguments against suffrage carries implications for the theory of visual ideographs and where we should search for them. Two forms of visual ideographs have been identified thus far. Edwards and Winkler argue that visual ideographs are representative forms in which depictive rhetoric functions ideographically. 119 Cloud has identified the way in which visual ideographs can "index verbal ideographic slogans, making abstractions ... concrete." 120 This study presents a third version of the play between icons and ideographs: iconic images can be used to maintain the social control power of verbal ideographs, in this case the ideographs of <man> and <woman>. Instead of the Madonna carrying multiple connotations across multiple images (something Edwards and Winkler note is typical of a visual ideograph), or the Madonna meaning shifting depending on context (as Cloud notes), I believe the Madonna's connotation remains stable here and across her images in other postcards. The referential fixity of the iconic image assists in the proof of the unintelligibility of the feminine man. In fact, instead of multiple connotations appearing across multiple images, multiple connotations resonate within this one postcard depending on whether one is Catholic or not.

Although the Madonna image, as well as Uncle Sam, were appropriated and recontextualized, what Edwards and Winkler identify as the "central features of the transformation of visual images into representative forms," 121 I do not believe this means the Madonna and Uncle Sam function as representative forms of the Madonna and Uncle Sam. Instead, the representative form was <man> and <woman>, of which Uncle Sam and the Madonna are examples. Uncle Sam, Suffragee and the Suffrage Madonna are not parodies, the form Edwards and Winkler argue often is used in visual ideographs. Instead, they are cautionary tales. They warn that the very meaning of core religious and secular icons would be altered should woman suffrage
come to pass. These two postcards depict anti-icons and thus do not function as representative forms. They are referential forms, as icons always are. They are appeals to fix and stabilize the iconic form of Uncle Sam and the Madonna in the face of social pressures of destabilization. Taken together, the visual arguments of the Dunston-Weiler postcard series fix and stabilize the ideographs of <woman> and of <man>.

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Notes

[6] British suffragists referred to “women’s suffrage” while U.S. suffragists spoke of “woman suffrage.” Accordingly, when referring to British suffrage activities, I use the phrase “women’s suffrage” and when referring to U.S. suffrage activities, I use the phrase “woman suffrage.”
[10] Staff, 64.
parade marked a milestone in the incorporation of American women into Society. Part of that incorporation involved the portrayal of women in media" (602).

This summary of postcard types comes from the author’s personal collection, a review of postcards available on-line, examination of collections put up for auction, and consultations with suffrage postcard collectors. The differences between pro- and anti-suffrage postcards are not limited to their style and content. Their uses also differed: “Though most cards were heavily anti-suffrage, some were pro-suffrage. When the pro-suffrage cards are found today, they usually have not been postally used. Perhaps the social climate was such that these cards were hand exchanged or merely kept by the purchaser” (Nicholson, 196).

Although I have not yet found exact production numbers for the series, it does appear to be the most widely circulated set of suffrage images in the United States. At least, if survival rates are any indication, it was the most widely produced since postcards from this series are the most commonly available to contemporary postcard collectors.


This is not the only instance of the Suffragette Madonna. In 1910, another postcard by that name was circulated, showing a man with halo feeding a girl doll a bottle (available at http://winningthetovote.org/anti4-big.html). The Nash postcard company also circulated a similar image.


E. Michele Ramsey, “Addressing Issues of Context in Historical Women’s Public Address,” Women’s Studies in Communication 27, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 352–76. Ramsey uses “woman” to refer to “discursively constructed representations” and “women” to denote the literal human beings (see Ramsey, 373, fn 3). Following other studies of ideographs, I use <> to designate when I am using the ideographic form of a word.

McGee, 15.

McGee, 6.


For examples of scholarship analyzing advocacy of woman suffrage, see Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, Man Cannot Speak for Her (New York: Praeger, 1989); Bonnie J. Dow, “Historical


[34] Jorgensen-Earp, 84.


[37] The label “antis” generally refers to any person opposed to suffrage. Remonstrants, however, were exclusively women opposed to woman suffrage.


[40] Maddux, 287.


[42] *Opinions of Eminent Persons Against Woman Suffrage*, pamphlet issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, Room 615, Kensington Building, Boston, MA, October 1912.


[47] A similar postcard appeared in 1912. Produced by the C. Wolf company of New York, it is a black and white drawing of an attractive woman in a dress patterned after a police uniform. The caption of the postcard (sarcastically) reads, “Safely the males may walk on the street while such cops are patrolling the beat.”


[49] Camhi, 55.


[53] Glenna Matthews, *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman's Power and Woman’s Place in the United States, 1630–1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3. Matthews opens her book with the story of the 1895 arrest of Lizzie Schauer, a young working class woman arrested when she asked for directions from two men. Because she was out at night, and unescorted, she was assumed to be a “public woman” or prostitute.


[63] A plethora of postcards, other than those in the Dunston-Weiler set, employed the image of the home-bound and/or care-giving male. However, unlike the Dunston-Weiler set, the vast majority of these other images depicted men as incompetent caregivers. A circa 1910 American Colorgravure postcard (Series 138, Subject 2773) shows a man wheeling a baby buggy with a squalling infant inside, two circa 1910 Bamforth and Co. Publishers postcards.
(Nos. 1240 and 1048) show a man cleaning house (while caring for crying infants) proclaiming “my wife's joined the suffrage movement, (I've suffered ever since!)”, a circa 1911 postcard (698/24) shows the “results of the Suffrage victory” to be a man taking care of a crying infant while the woman leaves, and a 1910 C. Hobson postcard also shows a man caring for children (and a hissing cat) as his wife leaves. English postcards also carried a similar sentiment (see B. B. London series A17).

[64] Jorgensen-Earp, 89.
[68] Butler, Gender, 16.
[71] Ketchum, 74, 80.
[74] Ketchum, 86.
[78] Bivins, 15.
[79] Bivins, 15.
[83] Harvey Hill, 240.
[84] Reichley, 158.
[92] Morgan, 60.
[96] Protestants questioned the significance of Mary: ‘Mariology—the veneration of the Virgin Mary—is one of the points of doctrine that most clearly separates Protestants and Catholics. While Protestants tend to downplay Mary’s role, seeing her simply as an exemplary woman,
for Catholics she performs multiple functions. She is the embodiment of perfect motherhood..." (Heartney, 5). The differences over the role of Mary were not simply ones of degree. In fact, within Victorian England, the Virgin Mary was an extremely controversial figure, “a powerful presence who embodied what many Victorians considered to be the errors of the Roman Catholic Church. These included pagan idolatry, superstition and willful ignorance of the Bible, all of which were summed up in a single word: Mariolotry” (Carole Maire Engelhardt, “Victorian Masculinity and the Virgin Mary,” in Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture, ed. Andrew Bradstock, Susan Gill, Anne Hogan, and Sue Morgan [New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000], 44).

[97] The history of the icon within Catholicism also resonates with some of the anti-suffrage arguments concerning illiteracy overtaking the polls. The visual itself was not without controversy within Catholicism. Ultimately, iconoclasts supported the utility of images in “decorative arts and devotional devices to stimulate piety” because the “uneducated, women, and children were particularly responsive to sacred images” and “illiterate Christians needed them to understand and express their faith” (McDannell, 9). Protestant reformers in the sixteenth century, however, tended to limit the use of images only to instruction, and prohibited their presence in the church, lest worshipers confuse sign and referent, as “[a]rt and objects tempted a weak humanity that fell too easily into idolatry” (McDannell, 10).


[100] Butler, Bodies, 1.

[101] Butler, Bodies, 10.


[105] Sigel, 860.


[118] Alette Hill, 308.


[120] Cloud, 287.

[121] Edwards and Winkler, 305.