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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

‘Tearing Off the Bonds’: Suffrage Visual Culture in Australia, New Zealand and the USA, 1890–1920

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Abstract

This article will examine how transpacific suffrage visual culture imagined and reimagined an artistic tradition centred around the figure of the bound woman. White suffragists and anti-suffragists in Australia, New Zealand and the United States used the iconography of bonds, chains and whips to mediate the possibility of women’s enfranchisement. Haunted by the legacies of settler colonialism, suffrage cartoons directly and obliquely evoked the spectre of chattel slavery, convict transportation and incarceration alongside the elusive ideals of humanitarian reform. While anti-suffrage cartoons lamented the prospect of women’s enfranchisement, pro-suffrage cartoons appropriated this iconography primarily for the benefit of white women.

In 1912, the New York City-based suffrage cartoonist Lou Rogers illustrated ‘Tearing Off the Bonds’ (Figure 1) for a popular satirical weekly, *Judge Magazine*. Featuring in the magazine’s pro-suffrage column ‘The Modern Woman’, her cartoon depicted a white woman bound by ropes. Inscribed on each rope was a perspective commonly embraced by anti-suffragists: ‘POLITICS IS NO PLACE FOR WOMEN’. Rogers was far from alone in using either the iconography of ropes and chains or the idea of physical restraint to symbolise women’s oppression. Both suffragists and anti-suffragists used the figure of the bound woman as a visual metaphor for women’s disenfranchisement at the turn of the twentieth century.

Yet, as historian Nancy F. Cott outlines, the word ‘bonds’ had a dual meaning for the suffragists’ reform predecessors a century earlier. For antislavery and women’s rights reformers, it had invoked the bonds of friendship and sisterhood between women but also symbolised the bonds of chattel slavery. Sarah Grimké, the abolitionist and women’s rights reformer from South Carolina, famously used the phrase the ‘bonds of womanhood’ as the valediction to each of her *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes, and the Condition of Woman* (1837).[1] According to Cott, Grimké intentionally endowed this phrase ‘with the double meaning that womanhood bound women together even as it bound them down’.[2]

Both the rhetoric and the imagery that emanated from this metaphor had historical foundations in the colonisation of North America and the expansion of chattel slavery, yet this trend was not limited

THE MODERN WOMAN

When Mother Votes.

WE ALL get up at peep of day
And fret and fume and stew,
While father lays the breakfast cloth
And makes the coffee, too.
He always gets his fingers burned—
I would not dare to quote
The things he says around the stove,
When mother goes to vote.

The cat is sure to steal the cream,
The puppy nabs the steak,
And when we wash the dishes up
A lot are bound to break;
And baby chokes and cries enough
To split his little throat,
And father seems to hate himself,
When mother goes to vote.

Us kids are all as still as mice
And at attention stand,
Prepared to run for curling tongs
And pins at her command;
And father hooks her up the back
And helps her in her coat,
And puts her in a taxicab,
When mother goes to vote.

She's powdered, puffed and manicured,
And fluted, flounced and frilled,
With half a bottle of cologne
Upon her kerchief spilled;
And everything she wears is new,
From veil to petticoat—
You bet it is a social stunt,
When mother goes to vote!

—*Minna Irving.*

The Little Hatchet.

When Ohio men voted recently on the amendments to the State constitution, they defeated Amendment 23, whereby the suffrage would have been extended to women. At the same time they passed the Initiative and Referendum. Before the entire details and results were in on that day, the women suffragists and the men who voted for the suffrage declared that they would be the first to use the I. and R.!

Amusing, isn't it, how shortsighted those "anti" Ohio voters were? Evidently they honestly believed that women were not sufficiently intelligent to understand the political game, or they themselves were not watching the checkerboard very closely.

Catch a woman carefully fashioning a weapon and then calmly and smilingly placing it in an enemy's hands, as though to say, "Here, you dear little idiot, is a hatchet (with which you could, if you but knew it, cut down my pet cherry tree). It will make a pretty wall decoration for your living-room, gilded and tied with ribbons!"

The moment Ohio women knew that anti-suffrage voters had turned over the hatchet of the I. and R. to them, they spit on their dimpled hands and assumed a Carrie-Nation attitude. Why not? If the men had "stopped to think"—which evidently they did not—they might temporarily have squelched the suffragettes of their State; but, as is always the case with abnormally acquisitive individuals, they overreached themselves. They were blinded by their own greed. They saw the immense advantage of the I. and R. to themselves, but they didn't notice that little, alert-faced, clear-eyed wisp of a woman who watched so eagerly which way the vote was going.

Now, having exercised their "divine right" of franchise to amend their precious constitution, and having gallantly placed a lovely little hatchet at the disposal of the ladies, with an air of "God bless you, dear, harmless children, run and play Indian!" the "anti" voters of Ohio are in a position scarcely to be envied, but certainly not to be pitied.

For at least eighteen months the women, through the faithful guard who stood by them, can hold the pass with the I. and R. hatchet, and then, having the necessary per cent. of the voters with them, they can demand a new poll!

In reviewing the Ohio Battle of Ballots, one is reminded of Marley's ghost, who dragged after him chains made from account books, ledgers and the like. He had been his own Vulcan and had unconsciously forged his own chains!

Meanwhile, the I. and R. hatchet is not going to be gilded or hung on anybody's wall! —*Lida Keck Wiggins.*

TEARING OFF THE BONDS.

The Only Two.

I know one husband and one wife to-day
And nine small children, who are pleased to stay
Far from the strife of suffrage folk, and such
As tag the Bull Moose and talk overmuch.

Of these, the man is master. In his power,
Quite satisfied, the wife moves hour by hour.
The children mind him—he is ruler still;
The changing times change not his mood or will.

Alas! This husband and this docile wife,
Who stay apart from Bull Moose, suffrage strife,
With him the monarch, she the slave of ten,
Are my old rooster and my bantam hen.

—*Lurana Sheldon.*

FIGURE 1 Suffragist Lou Rogers used the iconography of ropes and physical restraint to symbolise women's disenfranchisement. Lou Rogers, 'Tearing Off the Bonds,' *Judge Magazine*, 19 October, 1912. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/64/Rogers_the_Bonds_1912.jpg.

to the USA. Suffrage visual culture came to be defined by visually similar but conceptually different expressions of the restrictions associated with women's disenfranchisement. This article examines how the iconography in pro-suffrage and anti-suffrage visual culture became enmeshed in violent colonial legacies across the Anglophone settler colonies of Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand and the USA. In each context, white suffragists and anti-suffragists embraced specific settler colonial histories to illustrate women's disenfranchisement.

This article focuses on visual culture to address what Ann Curthoys identified as a historiographical problem in 1993: that histories of gender, colonialism, racism and imperialism had remained 'remarkably distinct'.[3] In the decades since, much attention has been dedicated to gender, empire and settler colonialism, and historians have used feminist and postcolonial perspectives to re-envision these deeply entangled global connections.[4] A close symbolic relationship between race and sex existed in both metropolitan and settler colonial contexts. Catherine Hall observes the degree to which discourses of difference about sexual identity became linked to class, ethnic and racial identity, pivotally contributing to the construction of difference between metropole and colony, coloniser and colonised.[5] Biological theories of race stressed racial hierarchy as well as racial difference in colonial and scientific discourse.[6] Based on such ideas about racial inferiority, colonial officials and missionaries routinely condemned what they perceived as the sexual enslavement of colonised and Indigenous women within their own cultures.[7]

Feminist historians have increasingly problematised the influence of analogies grounded in race and gender, particularly the 'bonds of womanhood' metaphor that Grimké and so many other nineteenth-century women's rights reformers embraced. Its invocation of a 'sisterhood' obscured the significance of heterogeneity among women. These contradictions have become increasingly apparent in intersectional feminist scholarship that recognise the degree to which the woman-slave analogy worked to prioritise the experiences of privileged white women over enslaved, non-white or working-class women.[8] As Carla L. Peterson emphasises, African American women rejected the manner in which so many of their white contemporaries envisaged 'woman' as a homogenous category; seldom did they invoke chattel slavery as an analogy but rather as a lived experience.[9] Although historians have explored these tensions within transatlantic social movements, greater emphasis has often been placed on word than image.[10] This article refocuses attention to how the woman-slave analogy and its later iterations manifest not only rhetorically but also through suffrage visual culture across the transpacific world.

Consequently, this article responds to entreaties to pay greater attention to the suffrage movement's 'creative tactics', including 'feminist art and graphic propaganda' such as cartoons.[11] Suffragists' visual culture extended the allegorical and literal meanings that had long been associated with the figure of the woman. Eighteenth-century American art represented the neoclassical goddess Columbia 'as an active self-liberated young woman' who breaks her fetters while triumphantly trampling upon the chains and crowns symbolic of tyranny; 'this American Liberty was defined both positively by her pole and cap and negatively by the broken symbols of her erstwhile oppressor'.[12] For late-nineteenth-century American suffragists, Columbia represented the nation; the female form was also used to personify abstract principles such as liberty, justice and democracy.[13] Other common images approached the lived experiences of women and children: the 'crusader, amazon, mother, suffragist, young girl, and slum child'.[14] In response, anti-suffragists' visual culture often retorted by satirising suffragists themselves.[15]

This article will examine how suffrage visual culture on both sides of the Pacific reinterpreted an artistic tradition centred around the figure of the bound woman. Nineteenth-century European art routinely portrayed physically restrained women to engender pathos. At the turn of the twentieth century, white suffragists and anti-suffragists in Australia, New Zealand and the USA adopted this figure and adapted its iconography according to their own settler colonial contexts. Suffragists appropriated imperial visions of colonial subjugation to criticise the oppression of disenfranchised women. In contrast, anti-suffragists continued to glorify women's physical restraint. Quite varied allusions to unfree labour and convict transportation influenced suffrage visual culture in Australia and New Zealand, whereas a specific analogy between women's oppression and chattel slavery remained more prevalent in the USA.

As historians and philosophers grapple with the legacies of the colonial past in the present, it is pertinent to consider the influence of these legacies within that past.[16] This sometimes occurred through clear sites of memory but also more intangibly. Philosopher Jacques Derrida speculates upon spectres of the past as haunting the present: *hauntology* is thus an ontological positioning that challenges

'the sharp distinction between the real and the unreal, the actual and the inactual, the living and the non-living, being and non-being … in the opposition between what is present and what is not'.[17] A hauntological approach to the visual emphasises the 'in-between status' of images: these spectres and shadows of the past can disrupt linear temporalities.[18] Feminist hauntologies also identify a need to examine the spectral legacies of colonialism, chattel slavery and racial oppression.[19] Historical spectres offer a prism through which to conceptualise how the figure of the bound woman spanned settler colonial contexts to reveal deep connections between pasts across the transpacific world.

Andromeda enchained: The bound woman in European art and visual culture

Late-nineteenth-century suffrage visual culture reflected an artistic tradition centred on the figure of a bound, encaged and physically restrained woman. For centuries, male artists had used mythology to establish allegorical meaning from an androcentric worldview.[20] The classical Greek myth of Andromeda and Perseus became an important site for the expression of this imagery. Andromeda was the child of the Ethiopian king Cepheus and his wife Cassiopheia (or Cassiope). Her mother, the myth told, boasted of her daughter's beauty; in consequence, Poseidon, at the behest of Hades, sent the sea monster Cetus to cast divine punishment on Ethiopia. When Andromeda is stripped and chained, naked, to a rock in sacrifice to the sea monster (Figure 2), Perseus falls in love with her and saves her from death.[21]

This final rendering inspired many artists, novelists and poets to interpret and reinterpret this myth. Andromeda was often depicted naked and luminescent in her whiteness, surrounded by heavy chains that bound her to a rock, often with heavy bonds around her wrists. This scene appeared in works by artists such as Titian, Rembrandt, Rubens, Eugène Delacroix and Paul Gustave Doré. The myth appealed particularly to Victorian men who feared female vitality and desired to represent traditional gendered power dynamics; for example, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood celebrated the maiden's passivity, especially her need to be rescued.[22] Neoclassical art depicting women's entrapment would feature in the celebration, but also the criticism, of women's dependency.[23]

While the spectre of Andromeda's chains endured, other nineteenth-century artists looked beyond Greek mythology and towards contemporary history to inscribe their masculinist visions. During the Greek War of Independence (1821−23), many Europeans and Americans travelled through Ottoman lands. According to Birgül Koçak Oksev, this facilitated increased Anglo-American knowledge about Greek captivity and Turkish slave markets, inspiring literary and journalistic accounts that focused on the restoration of Greek 'liberty' and detailed the 'barbarity' of the Turks.[24] Twenty years later, American sculptor Hiram Powers was inspired to approach these events in terms of what Margaret M. R. Kellow describes as 'an historical study'.[25] Embracing the popular artistic genre of ideal sculpture, Powers wrought *The Greek Slave*, a statue depicting a Hellenic woman captured during the Greek War of Independence. Enmeshed in a cultural and literary tradition of Orientalism, *The Greek Slave* was originally modelled as a life-sized clay figure in Florence, Italy, during 1843 and then in multiple marble statues between 1844 and 1866.[26]

After the 1845 unveiling of *The Greek Slave* in London, and especially during its American tour of 1847–49, art reviews and handbooks offered spectators an interpretative guide for this ideal sculpture.[27] Its likeness appeared as an illustration in many such publications (Figure 3). Accordingly, *The Greek Slave* became the 'icon of an enchained female' who would come to signify that the 'appropriate womanly response to tyranny is resignation'.[28] As Powers himself wrote:

> The Slave has been taken from one of the Greek Islands by the Turks, in the time of the Greek revolution, the history of which is familiar to all. Her father and mother … have been destroyed by her foes, and she alone preserved as a treasure too valuable to be thrown away. She is now among barbarian strangers … she stands exposed to the gaze of

FIGURE 2 The mythical Andromeda chained to a rock in sacrifice to the sea monster. Hendrik Golzius, *Perseus en Andromeda* (1601), Rijksmuseum, Netherlands. Image courtesy of Europeana Collections, https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/90402/RP_P_OB_10_601.html?q=Perseus+en+Andromeda#dcId=1569576431315&p=1. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

> the people she abhors, and awaits her fate with intense anxiety, tempered indeed by the support of her reliance upon the goodness of God.[29]

Although recent history, not mythology, held the greatest appeal for Powers, this ideal sculpture depicted a woman whose lack of freedom was symbolised by her chains and whose appeal was characterised by her marbled whiteness.

Historian Jean Fagan Yellin suggests that at least some abolitionists interpreted what would become the century's 'most popular American sculpture' through the lens of chattel slavery in the American South. *The Greek Slave* incorporated the chains and nudity of the famous 1830s 'AM I NOT A WOMAN AND A SISTER?' antislavery emblem (Figure 4), yet the woman it depicted remained 'not

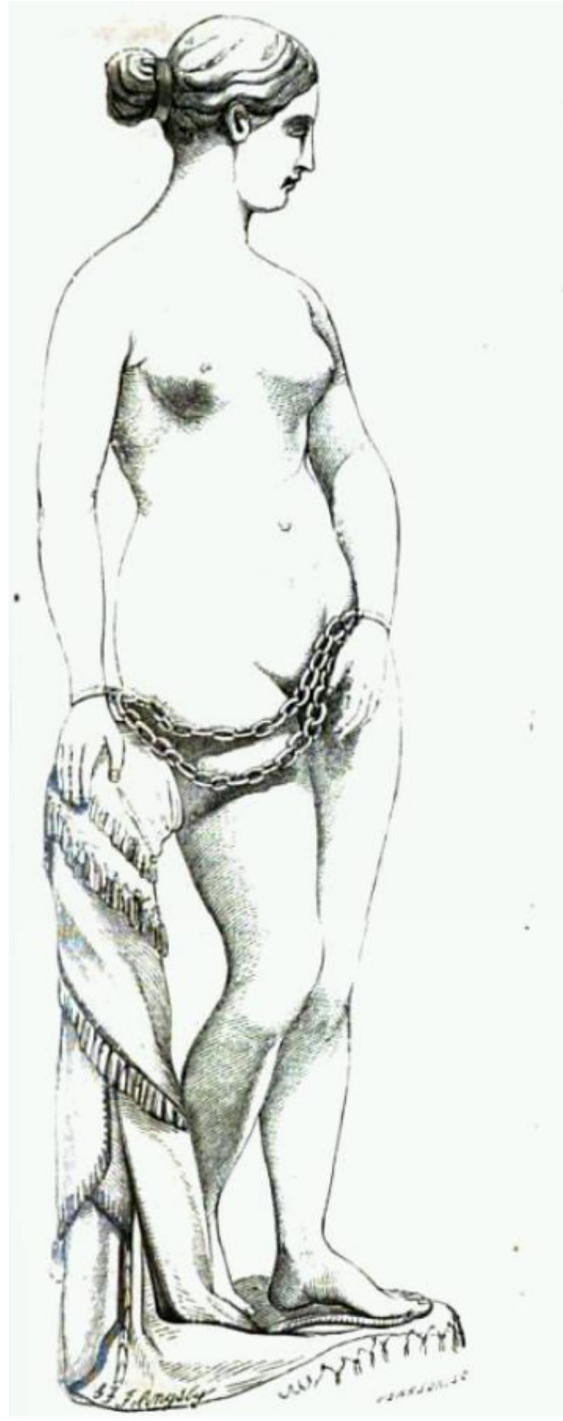


FIGURE 3 Illustrations of Hiram Powers's *The Greek Slave* appeared in art reviews and handbooks. 'The Greek Slave, by Hiram Powers', *The Illustrated Magazine of Art 3*, no. 15 (1854): 213. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d5/The_Greek_Slave_-_Hiram_Powers.png. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

AUTHENTIC ANECDOTES

OF

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

By MRS. L. M. CHILD,

AUTHOR OF "AN APPEAL IN FAVOR OF THAT CLASS OF AMERICANS CALLED AFRICANS," "ANTI-SLAVERY CATECHISM," "EVILS AND CURE OF SLAVERY," "THE FOUNTAIN," "THE OASIS," ETC.

Second Edition, enlarged.

NEWBURYPORT:
PUBLISHED BY CHARLES WHIPPLE.
1838.

FIGURE 4 The 'Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?' antislavery emblem. Frontispiece to Lydia Maria Child, *Authentic Anecdotes of American Slavery* (Newburyport: Charles Whipple, 1838). Image courtesy of From Slavery to Freedom: The African-American Pamphlet Collection, 1824–1909, Library of Congress, http://rs6.loc.gov:8081/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=rbaapc&fileName=05000/rbaapc05000.db&recNum=0.

black but dazzlingly white, not an African sold in America but a Greek exposed in a Turkish slave market half a world away from American slavery'.[30] When the sculpture was displayed in London's Crystal Palace for the Great Exhibition of 1851, the formerly enslaved abolitionists William Wells Brown and William and Ellen Craft staged an antislavery protest in its midst.[31] London's *Punch* responded by publishing 'The Virginian Slave', a satirical cartoon featuring an enslaved woman of African descent.[32] Explicit references to chattel slavery in the Americas occurred infrequently, however, as even this *Punch* cartoon evoked little concern towards the plight of enslaved people of African descent.[33] Many Americans remained reluctant to make such connections, and only the most dedicated abolitionists did so with any regularity.[34]

Across the nineteenth century, European men also developed an Orientalist artistic and literary aesthetic tradition towards women in the Middle Eastern and North Africa.[35] French artists Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres and Jean-Léon Gérôme often featured paintings with dazzlingly white and sometimes enchained naked women, understood to be sexually enslaved in harems across the Ottoman empire.[36] Some artists also presented historical scenes; for example, Gérôme frequently depicted slave markets in ancient Rome. Always from the perspective of a European's masculinist gaze, artwork in this tradition produced meanings that reflected colonialist power over both women and non-white races.[37]

While Andromeda's chains did not directly invoke ancient or modern slavery, *The Greek Slave* revealed the possibility that these images could be read through the spectre of coercive labour regimes and nineteenth-century transatlantic reform cultures. Equally, Orientalist artwork had the potential to be familiar to a transatlantic readership schooled in slave narratives that recounted enslaved women of African descent being sold at slave markets in the American South, anticipating the late-nineteenth-century panic about an international 'white slave' trade.[38] The masculinist gaze envisioned through the figure of the bound woman would haunt suffrage visual culture, from pro-suffragists' rejection of women's oppression to anti-suffragists' lamentations about the waning of women's subservience.

Transpacific settler colonialism: The iconography of violent and coercive labour regimes

Settler colonialism institutionalised violent, coercive and unfree labour regimes across the British world. Historians debate the degrees of similarity and difference between labour regimes across different geographies, societies and eras, including chattel slavery, indentured servitude, convict transportation and apprenticeship.[39] Increasingly, historians are tracing significant continuities between chattel slavery in North America and the Caribbean and colonisation following abolition across the British empire in 1834.[40] The associated iconography had a significant influence upon reformist visual culture; indeed, as Anne McClintock observes, the '[textual] power of guns, whips and shackles' was as 'implicated in [colonial] discourse and representation' as the state-sanctioned violence enacted through the legal establishment, the penitentiary and the military.[41] Haunted by this iconography, historical ambiguity about degrees of subjugation across the British world led later generations of reformers to connect the legacies of these violent settler colonial institutions to women's oppression.

The colonisation of North America and the Caribbean was achieved through the transatlantic slave trade and enslaved labour.[42] Humanitarian opposition to coercive labour regimes, especially chattel slavery, focused on the exploitation of enslaved people of African descent and Indigenous peoples alongside the ramifications of colonial expansion.[43] The thousands of convicts transported to the North American colonies across the eighteenth century constituted the next largest forced diaspora following the transatlantic slave trade.[44] The Transportation Act of 1718 allowed for whipping or imprisonment rather than capital punishment in the case of lesser felonies, offering courts the discretion to transport prisoners for seven years or more. This linked convict transportation to indenture insofar as it allowed free North American colonists to benefit from the labour of convicts and indentured servants.[45]

William Blake offered perhaps the first visualisation of these contradictions that featured the figure of the bound woman. His 1796 engraving in John Gabriel Stedman's South American travel diary, 'Europe Supported by Africa and America' (Figure 5), illustrated the connections between colonial expansion and imperial power.[46] Explorers had long envisioned women as representing the 'boundary markers of empire': as wooden figureheads on sailing ships, as mythical illustrations on maps of unknown lands described as '"virgin" territory' and as analogues for the nation.[47] Yet, by personifying each continent as a woman, Blake alluded to the possibility of a connection between racial exploitation, Indigenous dispossession and gendered oppression. The figure of the bound woman was present in this engraving insofar as a plant-based cord bound all three together. As Anne K. Mellor notes, however, 'the women of colour support the white woman, not vice versa'. Blake implied that the labour of 'Africa' and 'America' sustained 'Europe' just as the labours of African and Native American women sustained European women. The Native American woman alone is cuffed by 'arm bands reminiscent of the fetters of the slave'.[48] Blake's engraving would remain a singular visual example of the bound woman, as it envisioned women of colour within its contemplation of gendered, racial and imperial subjection.[49] It offered a sympathetic rather than a satirical analysis of this subjugation, however ambiguously.

After the American Revolution (1775–84) and the loss of the thirteen colonies, Britain transformed its imperial penal system. Established as a penal colony in 1788, Australia became the primary new destination for convict transportation.[50] Following the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807, many thousands of British and Irish convicts continued to be transported to New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Western Australia until 1868. Historians question whether colonial New South Wales, for example, was a free society, penal colony, slave society or prison: convicts routinely erected public works and could be assigned to masters for labour on the land violently wrested from Aboriginal people.[51] Although New Zealand separated from New South Wales in 1841 following the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, some individuals convicted of crimes across the Tasman Sea were sent as convicts to Van Diemen's Land.[52] Geographical proximity meant that both escaped and ex-convicts could settle in New Zealand following their assigned years in Australia's penal system.[53]

Many white antipodean colonists' ideas about labour were derived from their knowledge and experience of unfree labour systems across the British empire.[54] Britain's Whig government of the 1830s was increasingly aware that the convict assignment system in the Australian colonies contradicted the 'principles of the penitentiary' and its ideal of non-physical punishment.[55] The Molesworth Committee, an anti-transportation body in Britain, habitually described convict transportation as a form of slavery.[56] 'As the lot of a slave depends upon the character of his master, so the condition of a convict depends upon the temper and disposition of the settler, to whom he is assigned', the Committee reasoned in its 1838 report. Since 'convicts were assigned to settlers as slaves', the report concluded, colonial New South Wales was based on 'the economical history of a slave colony'.[57] This extended to anti-transportation cartoons that mirrored the abolitionist iconography of Josiah Wedgewood's 'Am I Not a Man and a Brother?' antislavery emblem of the 1780s.[58]

The frequency with which convict transportation was compared to chattel slavery, especially among humanitarians who sought to reform or abolish the penitentiary system, meant the convict-slave analogy gained rhetorical force.[59] Historians Fiona Paisley and Jane Lydon further outline that 'accusations of "slavery" have [also] been utilised in settler colonial contexts' to challenge and eradicate coercive labour practices towards people of colour by 'invoking human decency and exciting public opinion'. Antislavery discourse, they argue, would often be used to 'define limits of settler colonial rule within an international context and thus to bring about a comparison between the abuses of Aboriginal peoples as well as a range of systemic injustices experienced by others living under imperial and colonial rule'.[60]

Among reformers in the USA, the 1830s witnessed the expansion of the antislavery movement. Since some of the men who dedicated themselves to the new doctrine of immediate abolitionism questioned the extent to which women should engage in social reform, some abolitionist women became arrested by a growing awareness of their own oppression.[61] As Grimké emphasised, man had long

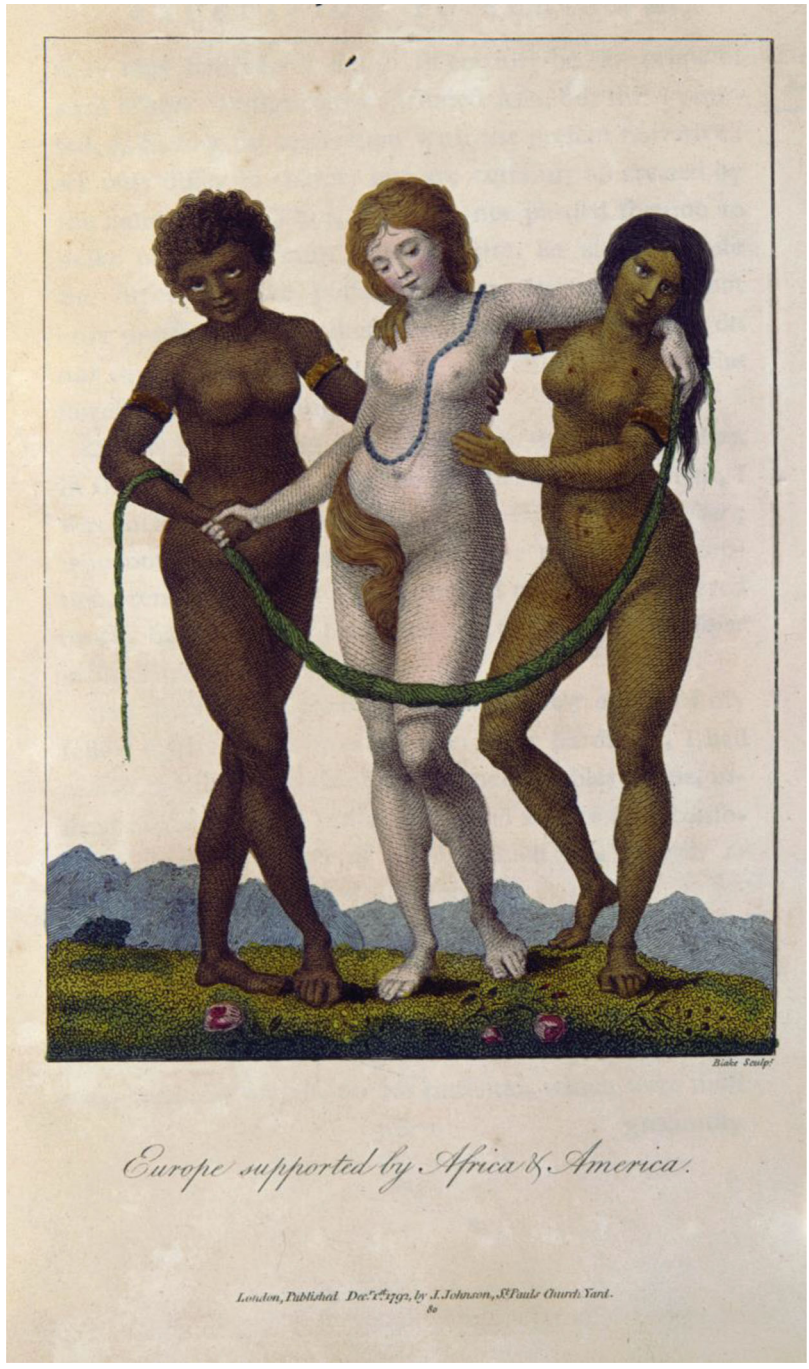


FIGURE 5 William Blake used a vine and arm bands to visualise connections between colonial expansion, imperial power and gender hierarchy through physical restraint. William Blake, 'Europe Supported by Africa and America', in John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam in Guiana on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772 to 1777* (London: J. Johnson, St Pauls Church Yard; J. Edwards, Pall Mall, 1796). Image courtesy of William Blake Archive, Library of Congress, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/84/Blake_after_John_Gabriel_Stedman_Narrative_of_a_Five_Years_copy_2_object_16.jpg. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

'asserted and assumed authority over [woman]', an authority which placed women 'much in the situation of the slave'.[62] Although abolitionist women routinely embraced the woman-slave analogy, this rhetoric often effected a greater focus on the experiences of white women than it did the plight of enslaved people.[63] As the 'AM I NOT A WOMAN AND A SISTER?' antislavery emblem illustrated in reflection of the Wedgewood original, the abolitionist sisterhood reinscribed racial hierarchy even while critiquing gender hierarchy.[64]

Antislavery and women's rights iconography must therefore be juxtaposed alongside what Saidiya V. Hartman describes as 'scenes of subjection': the abuses of power that took place under chattel slavery and in its aftermath to ensure the abjection of enslaved people of African descent. Scenes of subjection featured prominently in transatlantic literary and visual culture, including slave narratives. Antebellum slaveholders, together with other commentators and white observers, believed that enslaved people faced their fate – whether at the auction block or enchained in the slave coffle – with indifference or even enjoyment. In contrast, formerly enslaved people remembered these very same scenes of subjection with pain, sorrow and resistance.[65] Although antislavery visual culture challenged the proslavery racism of transatlantic visual culture, its iconography often still reified racial hierarchy.[66] African American visual culture instead sought to picture freedom for enslaved and freed people of African descent.[67]

Humanitarians and reformers embraced discourses of slavery to develop criticisms of violent and coercive settler colonial institutions. After the 1860s, a decade during which the USA abolished chattel slavery and the remnants of the penal system were phased out in Van Diemen's Land and Western Australia, the iconography of these violent settler colonial institutions would haunt suffragists and anti-suffragists. Building upon artistic traditions that had centred around the figure of the bound woman, transpacific suffrage visual culture imagined a future in which women experienced freedom through the inverse iconographic use of bonds, chains and whips.[68]

Suffrage visual culture: Women's voting rights between word and image

The extension of the elective franchise in white settler societies must be connected to what historian Angela Woollacott describes as the 'contingent construction of whiteness as the superordinate racial category'.[69] Efforts to enfranchise women were enmeshed in considerations about exactly which citizens should be included in the electorate. In the USA, the Dunning School exemplified a cultural moment focused on the failure of reconstruction. Led by historian William A. Dunning, its proponents viewed African American manhood suffrage as a grave error and justified policies of disenfranchisement.[70] This coincided with the era of European and American imperialism in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific; these projects were linked, both logically and discursively, as an expression of racial ideology and white supremacy.[71] Suffrage visual culture also began to connect the figure of the bound woman to the spectres of the violent and coercive labour regimes that had been institutionalised alongside settler colonialism.

Since the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution would not be ratified until 1920, countless American suffragists were inspired by women's enfranchisement in New Zealand in 1893 and Australia in 1902.[72] As African American suffragist Adella Hunt Logan reflected in 1905, anti-suffragists described 'the Australian system of voting [a]s complicated', and yet: 'A few women once mastered as difficult problems!'.[73] White suffragists, however, actively disregarded the efforts of African American suffragists by excluding most Black women from the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), condoning racism and segregation and advocating social Darwinism and eugenics.[74] As Laura Clay, co-founder of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, expressed in 1901, the 'common stock' could be improved if society broke the 'shackles which bound' women: 'The world is not more called upon to rejoice in the triumphs of his genius in freedom than to mourn over the wasted possibilities of hers in bonds'.[75] In contrast, African American suffragists promoted the democratic principles of universal suffrage for both Black men and women.[76]

The racial exclusivity of suffrage legislation reflected the dominant trends in late-nineteenth-century suffrage visual culture. The beliefs that NAWSA and its leadership espoused manifest in suffrage art which seldom featured women of colour.[77] Some white suffragists mobilised the figure of the Native American woman to illustrate women's natural rights and power in pre-colonial societies, as well as to allude to the 'civilising' qualities often attributed to women and deemed necessary for both social reform and American expansionism.[78] A large-scale digital analysis of early-twentieth-century British and American suffrage postcards suggests that, while ethnic and racial stereotypes were periodically evident, people of colour were very rarely depicted.[79] While African American suffragists and organisations contributed to suffrage visual culture and countered racist stereotypes, this did not occur at the same rate as NAWSA.[80] Ultimately, the racism of white suffragists – together with anti-suffragists' preoccupation with satirising the mainstream suffrage movement – contributed to the general absence of people of colour in suffrage visual culture.

The differing historical moments at which women were enfranchised also influenced the volume of suffrage visual culture in each national context. There were simply fewer suffrage cartoons in the antipodes because women's enfranchisement occurred decades earlier in New Zealand and Australia, whereas the prolonged transatlantic campaign engendered a rich visual culture that engaged with new technologies, including cartoons, postcards and posters.[81] Alice Sheppard argues that suffrage cartoons in the USA espoused a blatantly propagandistic political and social consciousness that paralleled suffragists' rhetoric.[82] Lisa Tickner also finds that the British suffrage movement's 'verbal arguments' were both distinctive from and complementary to its visual culture.[83] Art historians describe similar connections between word, image and experience. 'An image can coexist in unconscious and conscious parts of the mind', Claire Pajaczkowska suggests; 'imagery is [so] close to "mood" and affect' that it is 'readily transformed into the synaesthesia of "inspirational" experience'. Accordingly, 'visual culture becomes a privileged site for the production and deciphering of the unconscious in culture'.[84] While transatlantic suffrage visual culture was more vibrant, connections between word and image would become equally evident across the transpacific suffrage movement.

Between the 1890s and 1920s, the histories of white settler societies haunted the visualisation of women's disenfranchisement in Australia, New Zealand and the USA. Pro-suffrage cartoons embraced the figure of the bound woman to encourage spectators to be appalled about the oppression of women. Anti-suffragists, however, would suggest that women should be resigned to their subjugation.

Tearing off the irons: Transpacific suffrage visual culture in Australia and New Zealand

As early as the 1890s, the figure of the bound woman emerged in antipodean suffrage visual culture to circulate within what James Keating describes as a fledgling trans-Tasman suffrage 'mediasphere'.[85] Cartoonists in Australia and New Zealand began to appropriate the iconography of bonds, chains and whips to alternately reject or reiterate women's subjugation as celebrated in European artwork. While not as ubiquitous as in the USA or even Britain, antipodean suffrage visual culture pioneered iconography that would become commonplace in the USA by the early twentieth century.

A transnational exchange between word and image mediated commentary about the extension of liberal democratic rights to women. Following the American Civil War (1861–65) and the abolition of chattel slavery, the antipodean press reported upon mid-century suffrage debates in the USA. An 1867 *London Review* article, republished in Dunedin's *Otago Witness*, demonstrated to New Zealanders how American suffragists were coming to conceptualise both their movement and their use of the woman-slave analogy after the Civil War.[86] 'It is certain that the faith in woman suffrage has gone on hand-in-hand with the anti-slavery movement, and it is very doubtful whether its triumph can be long delayed after that of negro [sic] emancipation', the London-based journalist concluded. While these speculations about the prospect of women's enfranchisement proved inaccurate, the article did anticipate that African American manhood suffrage would soon be achieved through the Fourteenth and

FIGURE 6 Some Australian cartoonists used the iconography of the convict's chains to reimagine the figure of the bound woman for pro-suffrage journals. B.E. Minns, 1864–1937, 'Just Out of Reach', *Woman's Suffrage Journal* 1, no. 7 (December 1891). Image courtesy of the State Library of New South Wales, Australia, http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110312649. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Fifteenth Amendments of 1868 and 1870. The journalist also referred to Margaret Fuller, the influential transcendentalist of Boston, Massachusetts, and author of *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845) who had died under tragic circumstances in 1850. Fuller, the journalist asserted, had 'undoubtedly showed to her [American] sisters how closely their "rights" were bound up with those of the slave'.[87]

In the coming decades, similar rhetorical strategies appeared in Louisa Lawson's *Dawn: A Journal of Australian Women*. This Sydney-based women's rights newspaper was pioneering in Australia, although major suffrage newspapers had been established in the USA two decades earlier.[88] These included the *Revolution* and the *Woman's Journal*, published by the former abolitionists and current suffragists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in New York City and Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell in Boston, respectively. As one *Dawn* contributor wrote in 1890, man kept his 'industrious, economical wife in a state no better than slavery'.[89] Women's rights reformers in the USA habitually used comparisons with chattel slavery to describe marriage and the laws of coverture.[90] Similarly, conceptualising marriage as a kind of feudal bondage accelerated in Australia across the subsequent decades.[91] The *Dawn*'s masthead was even more grounded in the woman-slave analogy than that of either of its American counterparts. The *Revolution*'s masthead read: 'PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY; JUSTICE, NOT FAVOURS—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE; WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS'.[92] In contrast, between 1900 and 1905, the *Dawn*'s masthead offered a feminist inflection to a Joseph Addison epigraph: 'A day, an hour of virtuous liberty | Is worth a whole eternity of bondage'.[93]

Alongside the spectre of chattel slavery, antipodean suffrage cartoons were haunted by convict transportation. B. E. Minns' 'Just Out of Reach' (Figure 6) was published in Sydney's *Woman's Suffrage Journal* in December 1891 and also circulated in New Zealand.[94] This cartoon envisioned a woman bound to the wall by a chain ('WOMAN'S SPHERE'), who could not reach the truncheon ('THE BALLOT') right before her. As a result, the woman could not bludgeon the serpents that appear before boxes – each notably controlled by men – labelled 'WHISKEY', 'SEDUCTION', 'GAMBLING' and

FIGURE 7 Australian anti-suffrage cartoons anticipated the arguments later cultivated in transpacific suffrage visual culture. 'Woman's Rights – By A Malicious Man,' *Bulletin*, 19 December 1891. Image courtesy of Trove, National Library of Australia, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-488979849/view?partId=nla.obj-488992225#page/n21/mode/1up. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

'CRUELTY', which paralleled the concerns of the temperance and anti-vice movements.[95] As Jo Aitken argues, this pro-suffrage cartoon envisaged the vote as unleashing and empowering women. The accompanying editorial, she notes, read: 'Until we have broken the chain and armed the undefended, we have not seen fair play, nor can we honestly call women the "Guardians of Home and Childhood", until they have the wherewithal to execute their guardianship'.[96] The spectre of the chained, incarcerated convict would mediate women's enfranchisement by haunting the figure of the bound woman.

Anti-suffrage cartoons, political scientist Marian Sawer suggests, instead expressed a masculinist lament at the prospect of the enfranchised woman's lack of helplessness and subservience. Many professional cartoonists offered what Sawer describes as 'hostile' depictions of suffragists. This revealed the degree to which male artists reacted emotionally to any challenge to their political and social authority, responding to the prospect of the voting woman with a fear of total emasculation.[97] This was evident in Sydney's *Bulletin*, an anti-suffrage newspaper. Historians suggest that Lawson's *Dawn* constituted a response to the nationalistic, masculinist culture that such newspapers embraced.[98] In 1887, for example, the *Bulletin*'s article about women's enfranchisement and their entry into the labour market concluded: 'Woman's enfranchisement just now means man's enslavement'.[99] Also published in December 1891 was a centrefold cartoon entitled 'Woman's Rights—By A Malicious Man' (Figure 7). A woman and a legislator stood together, the former caricatured as a spinster with chains around her wrist and ankles. The surrounding text and illustrations suggested that enfranchised women would fail to fulfil their domestic duties, thus anticipating the arguments later circulated on transatlantic anti-suffrage postcards. This cartoon mockingly depicted the legislator using a knife to cut the manacles from the woman's wrists. Under her feet appeared the phrase, 'EMANCIPATION AT LAST!!!' The woman's chains were conceptually – but also literally – linked to the possibility of women's enfranchisement.

Other cartoons revealed a sense of ambiguity towards the prospect of women's enfranchisement. Just weeks after the women of New Zealand were enfranchised, a September 1893 cartoon by Ashley Hunter appeared in Auckland's *New Zealand Graphic*. Historian Patricia Grimshaw suggests that this ladies' journal 'upheld women's suffrage as a basic principle' for its middle-class readership.[100] Hunter, however, expressed righteousness as well as a certain resignation towards these recent political developments. His cartoon illustrated a towering woman holding a whip, with lashes that rendered the words 'WOMEN'S VOTE' (Figure 8). This distinctive cartoon featured an unbound woman wielding the symbol of her enfranchisement. The whip's six lashes evoked the infamous cat o' nine tails: 'a terrible instrument of flagellation' used for harsh floggings in the Royal Navy and Army of the United Kingdom as well as under chattel slavery and in Australia's penal colonies.[101] Draped in neoclassical garb and marching across the globe, beginning in New Zealand, the woman was surrounded by the words 'SHE THAT IS TO BE OBEYED'. Whereas Minns' 'Just Out of Reach' depicted a woman unable to bludgeon hazardous social questions, this cartoon suggested that the vote had indeed empowered New Zealand's women politically. Angered, with lines of consternation on her brow, the woman sought to crush the men who represented 'BRIBERY', 'CRIME', 'HUMBUG', 'LARRIKINISM', 'CORRUPTION', 'IRREVERENCE' and 'DRINK'. This cartoon also used discourses of slavery to describe the situation of men, even if ironically. Underneath appeared an epigraph from Sir Thomas Moore: 'Disguise our bondage as we will, / 'Tis woman, woman, rules us still'.[102]

Auckland's *New Zealand Observer and Free Lance* also featured suffrage-related cartoons, many by William Blomfield.[103] In February 1894, a cartoon series joked about the colony's women being afraid of mice in spite of their recent enfranchisement. Satirising social movements, it read: 'Mary Jane prepares her speech on the emancipation of women from the thraldom of men'. But when a mouse appears, her husband responds: 'Well, Mary Jane, you've got your vote and your women's rights: now kill your own blooming mice'.[104] Then, in November 1894, the newspaper illustrated the political travails of Elizabeth Yates, who would soon become the first female mayor in the British empire. Blomfield's cartoon, 'Mayoral Contest at Onehunga' (Figure 9), depicted a woman being physically restrained by the men around her. Carried on a chair emblazoned with the words 'BE JUST AND FEAR NOT', the figure of Yates herself was bound by the men's arms – arms which took the place of the chains from other suffrage cartoons.

In 1902, the new Commonwealth of Australia extended federal voting rights to white women. Some states, however, continued to disenfranchise white women until separate state-based legislation was passed in the years thereafter. One such state was Victoria, where suffragist Vida Goldstein published Melbourne's *Australian Woman's Sphere*. In April 1903, its cover featured a cartoon depicting a woman who could not vote and the many classes of men that could. The cartoon, 'Thou Shall Not

FIGURE 8 New Zealand suffrage cartoons used the iconography of whips to approach the prospect of women's enfranchisement with ambiguity. Ashley Hunter, 'Women's Vote,' *New Zealand Graphic*, 30 September 1893. Image courtesy of the Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, NZG-18930930-249-1, https://digitalnz.org/records/38083442. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

FIGURE 9 Mayor Elizabeth Yates was envisaged in terms of the figure of the bound woman, physically restrained by men's arms. William Blomfield, 1866–1938: 'Mayoral Contest at Onehunga', *New Zealand Observer and Free Lance*, 24 November 1894. Ref: H-713-126. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Image courtesy of the National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22726754.

Vote: Womanhood Madness Criminality' (Figure 10), was centred around an upright young white woman. Standing above the masses, she is nonetheless chained at the wrists to a convict, while an Aboriginal man appears before her feet. The journal of the Australian Women's National League, *Woman*, similarly claimed in 1911 that many women had been incensed to find themselves classified alongside 'children, lunatics, and criminals' prior to their enfranchisement.[105]

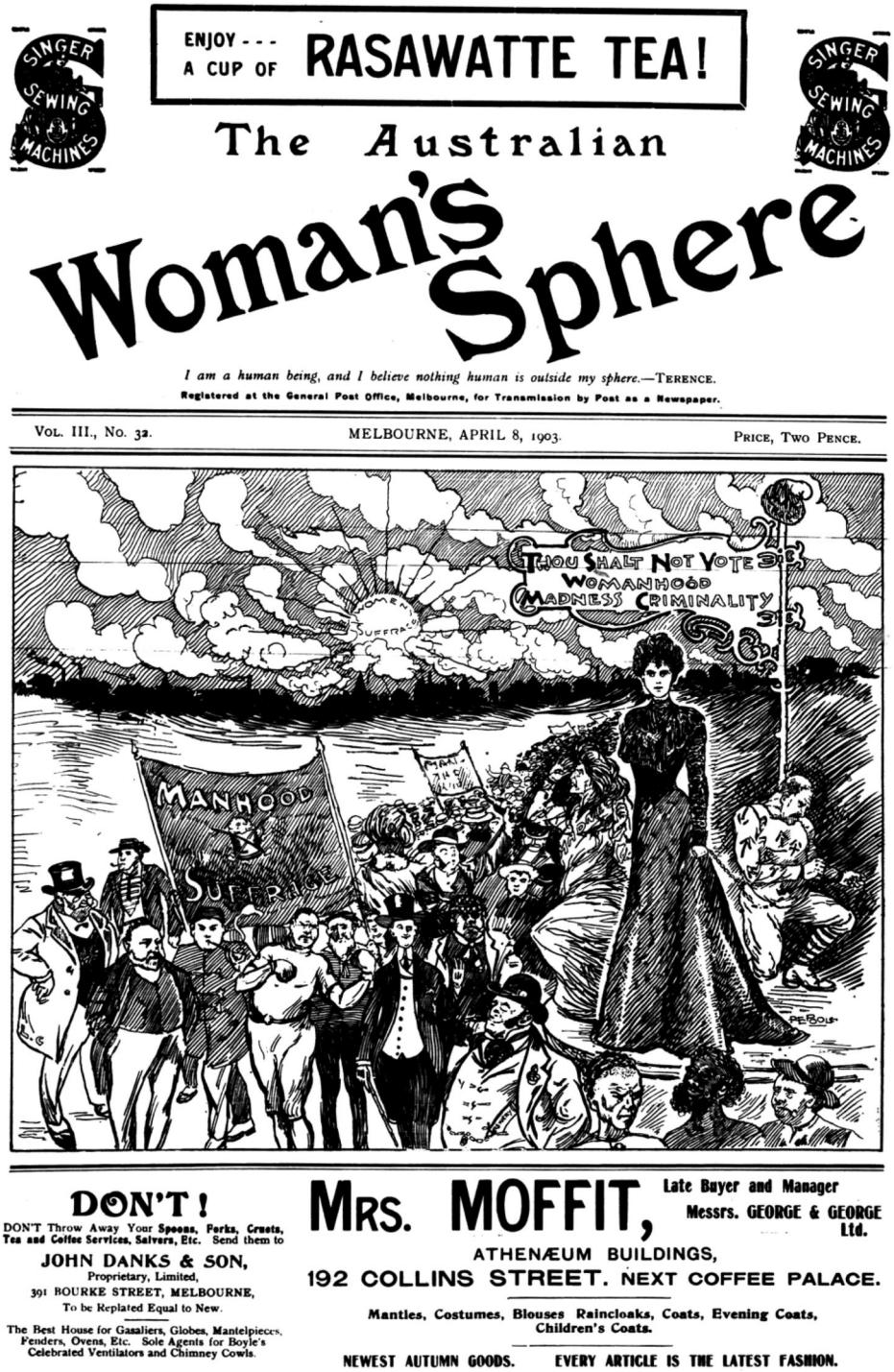


FIGURE 10 Vida Goldstein's suffrage journal used the figure of the bound woman to distinguish privileged white women from convicts and Aboriginal men. 'Thou Shalt Not Vote: Womanhood Madness Criminality', *Australian Woman's Sphere*, 8 April 1903. Image courtesy of the State Library of Victoria, http://ergo.slv.vic.gov.au/image/australian-womans-sphere-8-april-1903.

The antipodean cartoons featuring the figure of the bound woman predated its far wider mobilisation in the coming decades. Minns' 'Just Out of Reach' and Hunter's 'Women's Vote' presaged Rogers's 'Tearing off the Bonds' by approximately twenty years. The spectre of convict transportation and the iconography of bonds, chains and whips haunted these suffrage cartoons while obscuring the role that free white women played in colonisation and the dispossession of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.[106] After extending the vote to some women in 1893 and 1902, neither New Zealand nor Australia contributed in any significant way to suffrage visual culture, which was at its zenith across the 1910s.

Tearing off the chains: Suffrage visual culture in the USA

During the 1910s, the spectre of chattel slavery began to interweave more clearly with suffrage visual culture in the USA. One scholar suggests that early-twentieth-century suffragists 'abandoned most visual images', including the iconography epitomised in the 'AM I NOT A WOMAN AND A SISTER?' emblem (Figure 4).[107] Yet, as this article suggests, transpacific suffragists neither abandoned visual culture nor antislavery iconography. Most American pro-suffrage cartoons were illustrated by a new wave of women artists, who challenged the mindset of the profession itself. Rogers' 1912 cartoon, 'Tearing off the Bonds' (Figure 1), was just one of many produced by women who were affiliated with the NAWSA and the National Woman's Party (NWP). These white suffragists reimagined an earlier generation of reformers' reliance on the woman-slave analogy and then integrated this iconography into their own experiences of incarceration between 1917 and 1919.

Prior to the 1910s, pro-suffrage newspapers in the USA usually only incorporated cartoons and illustrations into advertisements. As Allison K. Lange outlines, most early images in NAWSA's *Woman's Journal* were photographic portraits of leading suffragists.[108] During the 1890s, this suffrage visual culture had nonetheless explored similar comparisons to those that would later appear in Melbourne's *Australian Woman's Sphere*. These ideas would also persist in NAWSA cartoons.

Henrietta Briggs-Wall's 'American Woman and Her Political Peers' (Figure 11) had been displayed and sold as a cabinet card at the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition. This illustration centred around Frances Willard, a famous suffragist and president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Briggs-Wall placed Willard, as representative of all women, alongside 'an idiot', 'a convict in his prison garb', 'an American Indian' and 'an insane man' to personify all the disenfranchised classes.[109] Of these five figures, she believed that women alone should be enfranchised. Briggs-Wall exploited vicious stereotypes to elevate white women and dehumanise others; indeed, industrial imperialism made abject figures of 'slaves, prostitutes, the colonised, domestic workers, the insane, the unemployed' and all others considered to be dispensable.[110] Between July and December 1893, NAWSA's *Woman's Journal* discussed and promoted Briggs-Wall's illustration approvingly, later describing it as a postcard available for purchase.[111] In 1912, the *Woman's Journal* again published a cartoon, 'They Alone Cannot Vote', that similarly featured 'IMBECILES, CHILDREN, WOMEN, CRIMINALS—THESE ARE THE DISFRANCHISED'.[112] Transpacific suffragists thus predicated their appeals for the enfranchisement of privileged white women on their difference from enslaved, colonised and incarcerated men, as well as from the pompous, corrupt businessmen that Rogers would later denounce as 'The Highbrow'.[113]

Sheppard suggests that Annie Lucaster 'Lou' Rogers was the 'earliest American woman to produce a series of suffrage cartoons'. Born in the 1870s, she was among the first generation of women cartoonists. By 1908, Rogers became affiliated with *Judge Magazine*. Although her earliest work did not embrace a social message, she soon submitted her first suffrage cartoons to the *New York Call* and the *Woman's Journal*.[114] Her cartoons depicted physically strong, wise and determined women, some of whom were bedecked in neoclassical attire reminiscent of Greek goddesses and mythological figures. Since Rogers 'interpreted democracy to imply freedom, justice, and equality—ideals which men had

FIGURE 11 Henrietta Briggs-Wall differentiated privileged white women from enslaved, colonised and incarcerated men. Henrietta Briggs-Wall, 'American Woman and Her Political Peers', cabinet card photograph, 1893. Image courtesy of Kansas Memory: Kansas Historical Society, https://www.kshs.org/index.php?url=km/items/view/208011. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

subverted for their use alone', her common motifs included 'women's oppression, the meaning of democracy, and civic corruption'.[115]

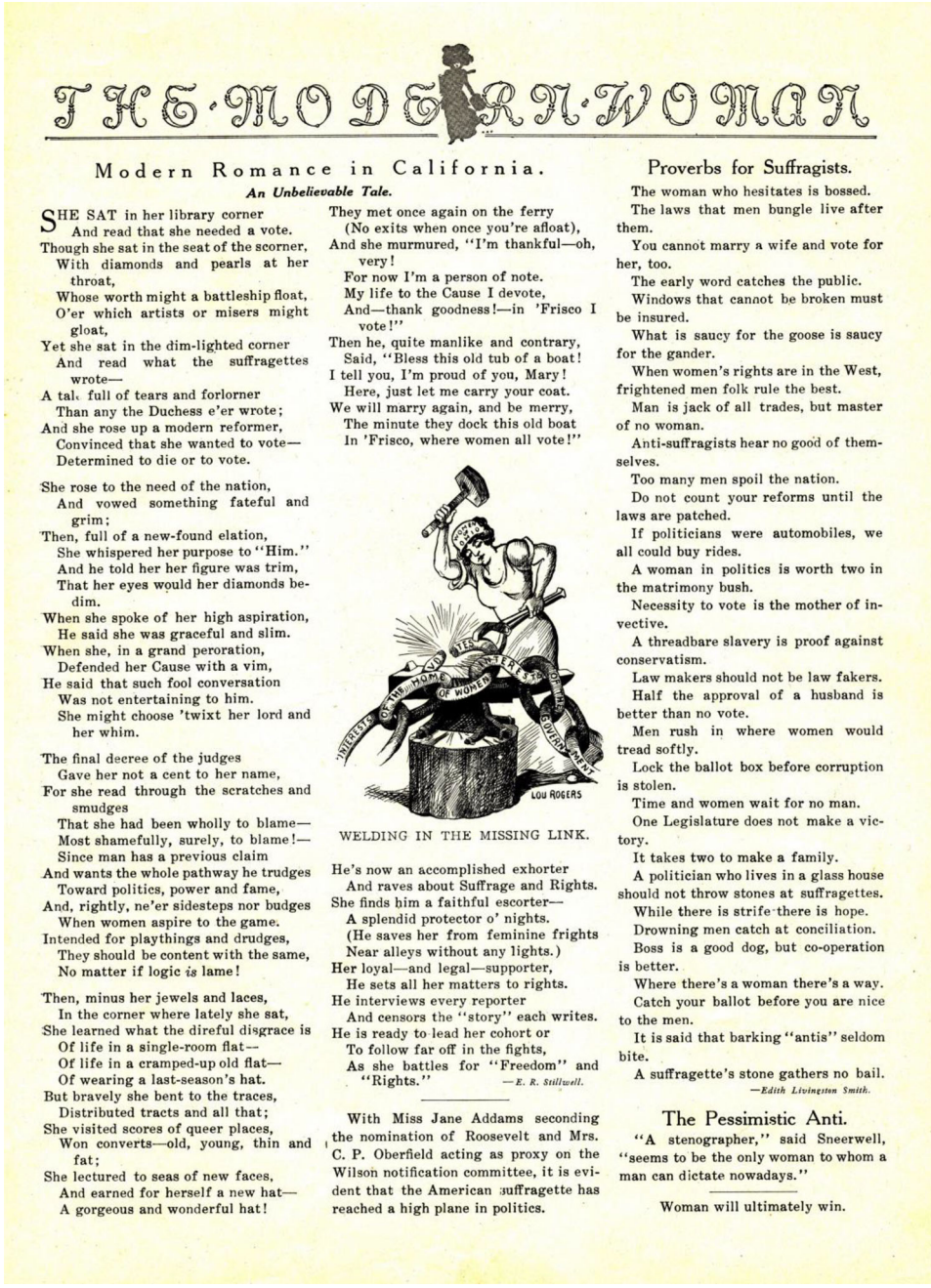
Judge Magazine was a satirical publication. Inspired to address women's subjugation through humour, Rogers attacked the source of this oppression so as to edify women.[116] Her cartoons in *Judge Magazine* used the same visual themes to embrace women's enfranchisement as those who refuted it. 'Humour, irony, or satire allow the release of laughter', Sheppard writes, and so can appeal to those who accept or reject an idea, while '[e]vocative images of oppression or cruelty arouse feelings of pity or outrage that can galvanise the passive into action'. This twofold mission, which was both 'communicative and inspirational', was evident across suffrage visual culture.[117]

Rogers' pro-suffrage cartoons featured the figure of the bound woman, invoking the spectre of chattel slavery alongside mythological, classical and historical themes. Her cartoons repeatedly inscribed political messages on chains which symbolised women's disenfranchisement. The woman in 'Tearing off the Bonds' (Figure 1) also sported a liberty cap, a piece of headwear that first appeared during the colonial era. Art historian Yvonne Korshak describes the cap as a republican symbol that illustrated the colonists' freedom from the British crown. Its popularity as a symbol of national consciousness later waned, however, amid regional tensions about chattel slavery.[118] In reinvigorating the liberty cap, which she emblazoned with the phrase 'SPIRIT OF 1000,000 WOMEN VOTERS', Rogers reclaimed the eighteenth-century republicanism that had developed alongside the expansion of chattel slavery. Another Rogers cartoon, 'Welding in the Missing Link' (Figure 12), also appeared in *Judge Magazine* in 1912. It depicted a chain being welded together by a woman with powerful, masculine arms. One side of the chain read 'INTERESTS OF THE HOME' while the other read 'INTERESTS OF THE GOVERNMENT'; the so-called 'missing link' was 'Votes for Women'. Thus, Rogers centralised her advocacy of women's enfranchisement around chains in such a manner that was both distinct from and connected to the spectre of chattel slavery and its legacy.

In 1913, a similar pro-suffrage cartoon, Rogers' 'The Unfair Taunt of the Highbrow', appeared in NAWSA's *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News* (the name of the *Woman's Journal* between 1912 and 1916).[119] Her cartoon depicted a woman in bindings (rather than chains) wrapped up so tightly that she cannot move. Each binding featured a message, including: 'WOMEN MUST NOT HEAR', 'WOMEN MUST NOT SEE', 'WOMAN'S SPHERE IS INSIDE 4 WALLS', 'OBEY IS A DIVINE COMMAND FOR WOMAN' and 'TOO MUCH EDUCATION SPOILS WOMAN'. Beside her, a pompous male figure named 'The Highbrow' sported a variety of medals on his chest, identifying all the achievements in which men were considered to be 'NO. 1' – including literature, music and art. 'The Highbrow' taunted the woman, asking: 'If you are my mental equal why have you no medals?' Without the vote or any hope for social equality, the cartoon implied, the modern woman could not reach her potential.

The *Woman's Journal* published other Rogers cartoons to explore what suffragists imagined to be the longer history of women's slavery. 'Enthroned', a neoclassical cartoon featuring a crowned goddess, appeared in 1911. Sitting on a throne, the woman's wrists and ankles are chained with tags marked 'DISENFRANCHISEMENT' and 'ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE'.[120] Rogers combined 'an allegorical meaning (oppression of women) with socially constructed shackles' to make an emotional appeal through the figure's 'despondent pose'.[121] Her 1914 illustration 'Travail' imagined the prehistoric beginnings of slavery by envisioning a harrowing primeval woman chained to a primeval man.[122] In her portrayal of the 'universal woman', Rogers depicted a figure who was 'chained to man's side, her back bowed by the strain of her heavy burden'.[123] Later feminist historians would reconceive such ideas by describing how the earliest forms of slavery had been institutionalised through the subjection of women.[124]

Just as multiple social reform platforms appeared in Australian and New Zealand suffrage cartoons, American pro-suffrage cartoons also highlighted other reform questions, especially labour. A 1915 *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News* cartoon, Rollin Kirby's 'Until Women Vote' (Figure 13), invoked the figure of the factory overseer. This cartoon's whip-wielding figure could be connected to the antebellum slave overseer. Nineteenth-century labour reformers had also mobilised 'wage slavery' and 'white slavery' to describe the exploitation of factory workers, including women.[125] Kirby



THE·MODERN·WOMAN

Modern Romance in California.

An Unbelievable Tale.

SHE SAT in her library corner
And read that she needed a vote.
Though she sat in the seat of the scorner,
With diamonds and pearls at her throat,
Whose worth might a battleship float,
O'er which artists or misers might gloat,
Yet she sat in the dim-lighted corner
And read what the suffragettes wrote—
A tale full of tears and forlorner
Than any the Duchess e'er wrote;
And she rose up a modern reformer,
Convinced that she wanted to vote—
Determined to die or to vote.

She rose to the need of the nation,
And vowed something fateful and grim;
Then, full of a new-found elation,
She whispered her purpose to "Him."
And he told her her figure was trim,
That her eyes would her diamonds bedim.
When she spoke of her high aspiration,
He said she was graceful and slim.
When she, in a grand peroration,
Defended her Cause with a vim,
He said that such fool conversation
Was not entertaining to him.
She might choose 'twixt her lord and her whim.

The final decree of the judges
Gave her not a cent to her name,
For she read through the scratches and smudges
That she had been wholly to blame—
Most shamefully, surely, to blame!—
Since man has a previous claim
And wants the whole pathway he trudges
Toward politics, power and fame,
And, rightly, ne'er sidesteps nor budges
When women aspire to the game.
Intended for playthings and drudges,
They should be content with the same,
No matter if logic *is* lame!

Then, minus her jewels and laces,
In the corner where lately she sat,
She learned what the direful disgrace is
Of life in a single-room flat—
Of life in a cramped-up old flat—
Of wearing a last-season's hat.
But bravely she bent to the traces,
Distributed tracts and all that;
She visited scores of queer places,
Won converts—old, young, thin and fat;
She lectured to seas of new faces,
And earned for herself a new hat—
A gorgeous and wonderful hat!

They met once again on the ferry
(No exits when once you're afloat),
And she murmured, "I'm thankful—oh, very!
For now I'm a person of note.
My life to the Cause I devote,
And—thank goodness!—in 'Frisco I vote!"
Then he, quite manlike and contrary,
Said, "Bless this old tub of a boat!
I tell you, I'm proud of you, Mary!
Here, just let me carry your coat.
We will marry again, and be merry,
The minute they dock this old boat
In 'Frisco, where women all vote!"

WELDING IN THE MISSING LINK.

He's now an accomplished exhorter
And raves about Suffrage and Rights.
She finds him a faithful escorter—
A splendid protector o' nights.
(He saves her from feminine frights
Near alleys without any lights.)
Her loyal—and legal—supporter,
He sets all her matters to rights.
He interviews every reporter
And censors the "story" each writes.
He is ready to lead her cohort or
To follow far off in the fights,
As she battles for "Freedom" and "Rights."

—*E. R. Stillwell.*

With Miss Jane Addams seconding the nomination of Roosevelt and Mrs. C. P. Oberfield acting as proxy on the Wilson notification committee, it is evident that the American suffragette has reached a high plane in politics.

Proverbs for Suffragists.

The woman who hesitates is bossed.

The laws that men bungle live after them.

You cannot marry a wife and vote for her, too.

The early word catches the public.

Windows that cannot be broken must be insured.

What is saucy for the goose is saucy for the gander.

When women's rights are in the West, frightened men folk rule the best.

Man is jack of all trades, but master of no woman.

Anti-suffragists hear no good of themselves.

Too many men spoil the nation.

Do not count your reforms until the laws are patched.

If politicians were automobiles, we all could buy rides.

A woman in politics is worth two in the matrimony bush.

Necessity to vote is the mother of invective.

A threadbare slavery is proof against conservatism.

Law makers should not be law fakers.

Half the approval of a husband is better than no vote.

Men rush in where women would tread softly.

Lock the ballot box before corruption is stolen.

Time and women wait for no man.

One Legislature does not make a victory.

It takes two to make a family.

A politician who lives in a glass house should not throw stones at suffragettes.

While there is strife there is hope.

Drowning men catch at conciliation.

Boss is a good dog, but co-operation is better.

Where there's a woman there's a way.

Catch your ballot before you are nice to the men.

It is said that barking "antis" seldom bite.

A suffragette's stone gathers no bail.

—*Edith Livingston Smith.*

The Pessimistic Anti.

"A stenographer," said Sneerwell, "seems to be the only woman to whom a man can dictate nowadays."

Woman will ultimately win.

FIGURE 12 Lou Rogers depicted the iconography of chains in ways that were both distinct from and connected to the spectre of chattel slavery and its legacy. Lou Rogers, 'Welding in the Missing Link,' *Judge Magazine*, 24 August, 1912. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/25/Rogers_Welding_the_Link_1912.jpg. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

FIGURE 13 Pro-suffrage cartoons often used the iconography of whips to engage with myriad social questions, including labour reform. Rollin Kirby, 'Until Women Vote', *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*, 17 April 1915. Image courtesy of Alamy, https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-womens-rights-1915-nuntil-women-vote-american-cartoon-1915-by-rollin-95474710.html.

personified the New York State Legislature 'as a factory boss with bullwhip in hand, driving women workers into his cannery' to directly condemn the proposal to remove many of the restrictions protecting women from being required to work longer hours.[126] The lettering in the whip's tail, reading '12 HOURS A WEEK', recalled the cat o' nine tails in *New Zealand Graphic*'s 1893 cartoon.

Throughout 1915, pro-suffrage cartoons directly embraced spectres of settler colonialism, including corporal punishment and chattel slavery. 'Set Her Free', for example, recalled the colonial era by placing a woman in the stocks, representing 'PREJUDICE' and 'INJUSTICE'.[127] A 'Votes for Women' pin depicted a young woman, being set free from prison bars and surrounded by free birds, treading on broken chains.[128] Fredrikke S. Palmer's cartoons also used congressional themes to mediate the figure of the bound woman. 'Waiting for the President' showed a New Jersey woman with her wrists bound in chains.[129] 'Will Congress Heed?' pictured a woman, holding a baby, whose hand was chained to a ball entitled 'DISENFRANCHISEMENT'.[130] While the stocks and the convict's ball and chain condemned the nation's lack of progress towards women's rights, this could be audaciously contrasted with what some perceived as the greater – and less deserved – progress of African American rights. The NWP's

Suffragist published Nina Allender's 'Great Statues of History' (Figure 14), which implied that President Woodrow Wilson should extend the franchise to women, just as President Abraham Lincoln had contributed to the abolition of chattel slavery.[131]

In 1916, the *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News* personified the figure of the bound woman as a house, representing domesticity. Ropes, chains and even men's arms, as in *New Zealand Observer and Free Lance*'s 1894 cartoon, had featured as bindings signifying women's oppression or disenfranchisement. The cartoon 'Woman's Place' instead portrayed 'THE HOME' (a literal house) as hampered by restrictive bindings from 'TOWN HALL', representing the 'MILK INSPECTOR', 'DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH', 'BUREAU OF SANITARY INSPECTION' and 'SCHOOL BOARD'.[132] These political concerns influenced women, but disenfranchised women could not influence them directly.[133] This cartoon visualised white suffragists' use of home economics, especially the pure milk campaign of the 1910s, to advocate for enfranchised women's positive influence upon the home and politics.[134]

Beginning in January 1917, members of the NWP picketed the White House in Washington, D.C., with pro-suffrage placards.[135] Some read 'MR. PRESIDENT HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR LIBERTY' and 'MR. PRESIDENT WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE'.[136] More than 500 women were arrested between 1917 and 1919, 168 of whom served jail sentences at Washington City Jail or the Occoquan Workhouse, Virginia. Although their incarceration followed that of many British suffragettes, this was the first example of suffragists being imprisoned in the USA. The *Suffragist* exposed these events and published cartoons which echoed the women's placards.[137] One Allender cartoon depicted NWP suffragists behind bars. It asked, 'MR. PRESIDENT WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE?' (Figure 15).

Two years later, some formerly incarcerated suffragists undertook the 'Prison Special' speaking tour of 1919. This occasion enabled the NWP to transform the 'shame of prison into public performance' for the cause.[138] As Katherine Feo Kelly argues, NWP suffragists made claims to being political prisoners so as to divorce themselves from the spectre of common criminality. During the 'Prison Special' tour, these women dressed in replicas of the uniforms they had worn in prison. As a result, the NWP conceptualised dress as 'a costume for the public performance of suffrage rights and as a performance of absurdist hypocrisy, in which coarse dress on the white, elite suffrage body was self-consciously used as visual evidence of what was shocking about disenfranchisement'.[139] This had been equally evident in the Australian and American pro-suffrage cartoons that aimed to illustrate the hypocrisy of middle-class white women being disenfranchised alongside 'convicts', 'Indians' and the 'insane'. Such an approach did not seek to draw an alliance between suffragists and other causes – anti-transportation or prison reform, for example – but rather to create a greater distance between respectable white suffragists and disrespectable convicts or prisoners.

Artwork from the private collection of a Miss Gladys Burleson similarly juxtaposed imprisonment against the promise of democracy, as envisaged through the symbol of the American eagle. In a sketch illustrated sometime between 1915 and 1920, Burleson imbued her eagle's wings with 'NOBLE IDEALS' and 'STRONG CHARACTER'. By imprisoning the American eagle behind bars entitled 'FEMININE IGNORANCE', 'CONSERVATISM', 'MASCULINE SELFISHNESS' and 'MASCULINE CONCEIT', the illustration suggested that women, too, were unfree. Burleson entitled her work 'Feminism, a cartoon' (Figure 16). Historian Karen Offen finds that the word 'feminism' was barely in use prior to the twentieth century and remained controversial thereafter. While *féminisme* had gained currency in France as early as the 1890s, it remained relatively uncommon in the USA until around 1910.[140] That an individual in Tennessee could envision 'feminism' through this illustration of unfreedom – potentially as early as 1915 – reveals just how pervasive this pro-suffrage visual culture had become.

A deep connection between word and image persisted even after the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. When NWP suffragist Doris Stevens published her autobiography, *Jailed for Freedom* (1920), she drew on the movement's legacy. Stevens recalled her foremothers, including the celebrated nineteenth-century abolitionists and suffrage leaders Anthony and Stone. Using her heroine's words, Stevens quoted a letter from Anthony to Stone: 'So long as you and I and all women are political slaves, it ill becomes us to meddle with the weightier discussions of our sovereign masters'.[141] *Jailed for Freedom* went on to describe when Anthony illegally cast a ballot in her home city of Rochester,

FIGURE 14 The National Woman's Party implied that President Woodrow Wilson should enfranchise women, just as President Abraham Lincoln had abolished chattel slavery. Nina Allender, 'Great Statues of History', *Suffragist*, 23 January 1915. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c9/Allender_Great_Statues_1915.jpg.

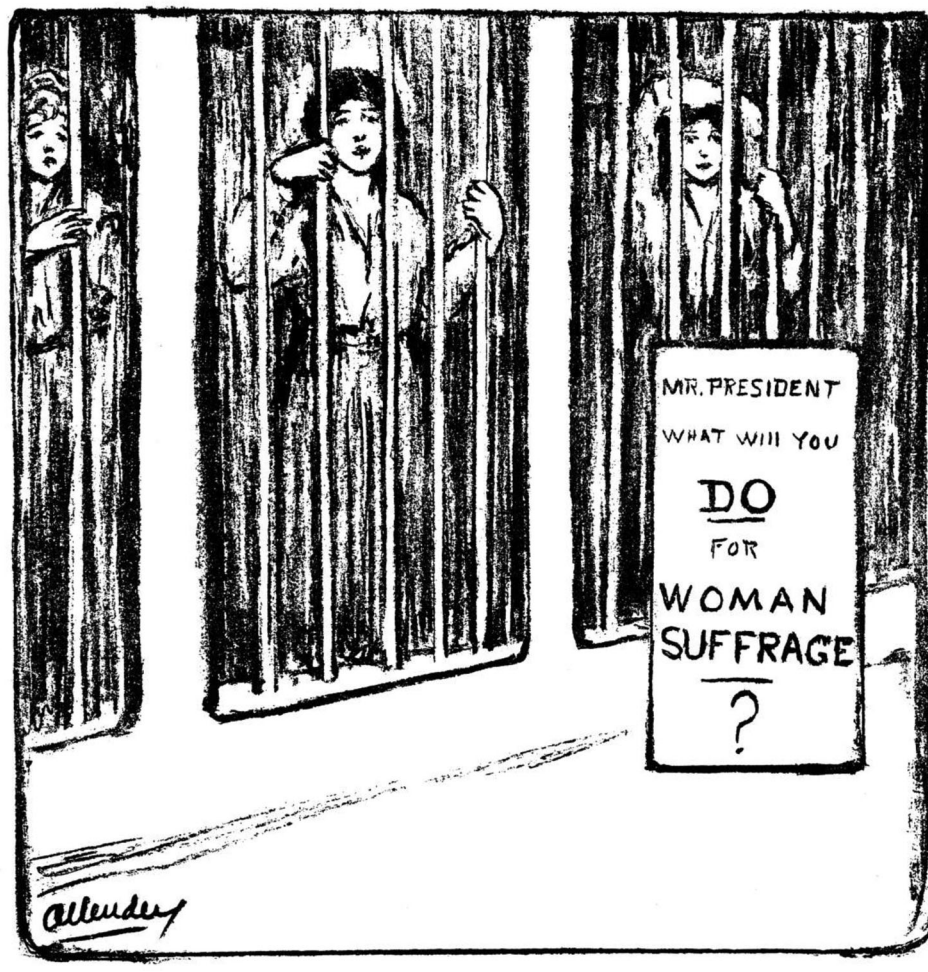


FIGURE 15 Nina Allender depicted imprisoned suffragists to evoke a sense of hypocrisy toward white women's disenfranchisement. Nina Allender, 'President Wilson Says, "Godspeed to the Cause",' *Suffragist*, 3 October 1917. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c0/Allender_President_Wilson_says_1917.jpg.

New York, in the 1872 presidential election.[142] In doing so, Stevens reiterated what she and other suffragists viewed as the flawed legal and political correlation between prisoner and slave on the one hand and upright womanhood on the other. Finally, reflecting on her own experience of incarceration at the Occoquan Workhouse, Stevens wrote: 'Our thoughts turn to the outside world. Will the women care? Will enough women believe that through such humiliation all may win freedom? Will they believe that through our imprisonment their slavery will be lifted the sooner?'[143]

Political slaves? A reflection

Haunted by the violent legacies of settler colonialism, suffragists in Australia, New Zealand and the USA collectively reimagined European artistic traditions that had centred around the figure of the

FIGURE 16 Rank-and-file suffragists embraced the same allegorical themes that dominated word and image in suffrage visual culture. Gladys Burleson, 'Feminism, a cartoon' (*c*. 1915–1920), The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, *Volunteer Voices: The Growth of Democracy in Tennessee*, https://digital.lib.utk.edu/collections/islandora/object/volvoices%3A3693. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

bound woman. Across the transpacific world, suffrage cartoons directly and obliquely evoked the spectre of chattel slavery, convict transportation and incarceration alongside the elusive ideals of humanitarian reform. The neoclassical artistic legacy never fully disappeared, as anti-suffrage cartoons routinely lamented the prospect of women's enfranchisement. Following the abolition of chattel slavery and the demise of convict transportation, however, pro-suffrage cartoons began to appropriate the iconography of bonds, chains and whips primarily for the benefit of white women.[144]

This is where Cott's paradox about the dual meaning of the word 'bonds' remains important. The figure of the bound woman contributed to a deeply exclusionary suffrage visual culture, in which the possibility of enslaved and colonised peoples' enfranchisement was rarely contemplated. Only a small minority of suffragists in the USA ever experienced incarceration, yet generations of women of colour were subject to the violence of chattel slavery, Indigenous removal and institutionalised racism. White suffragists became less concerned with the question of how 'womanhood bound women together', despite differences of race and class; instead, the women of this privileged elite became ever more concerned about how womanhood 'bound them down'.[145] Ultimately, pro-suffrage cartoons reiterated

the degree to which white suffragists privileged their own oppression over that of either enslaved or Indigenous peoples.

A hauntological approach to transpacific suffrage visual culture reveals which pasts haunted whose futures, and to what ends. Coercive labour regimes were not a spectre of the past for Indigenous peoples and African Americans, who continued to experience colonisation and the legacies of the transatlantic slave trade. Instead, the iconography of chattel slavery, convict transportation and incarceration became central to the way white suffragists across the transpacific world conceptualised their own oppression. Suffrage visual culture in Australia, New Zealand and the USA thus mobilised the spectre of violent settler colonial institutions to rehearse and reiterate the racial exclusivity of the mainstream suffrage movement and the legislation it galvanised to enfranchise women.

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[96] 'Our Cartoon', *Woman's Suffrage Journal* 1 (1891), pp. 4–5. Editorial quoted in: Jo Aitken, '"The Horrors of Matrimony among the Masses": Feminist Representations of Wife Beating in England and Australia, 1870–1914', *Journal of Women's History* 19 (2007), pp. 107–31, here p. 120.

[97] Sawer, 'Cartoons for the Cause', pp. 101–03. See also Florey, *American Woman Suffrage Postcards*, p. 186; Lange, *Picturing Political Power*, pp. 5, 149–50.

[98] Marilyn Lake, 'Historical Reconsiderations IV: The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculinist Context', *Australian Historical Studies* 22 (1986), pp. 116–31; Sheridan, 'Louisa Lawson', pp. 30–35.

[99] 'The Great Woman Question', *Bulletin*, 1 October 1887. For further analysis, see Sheridan, 'Louisa Lawson', p. 34.

[100] Patricia Grimshaw, *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand* (1972; repr. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013), p. 68.

[101] George Ryley Scott, *The History of Corporal Punishment: A Survey of Flagellation in its Historical Anthropological and Sociological Aspects* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1938), p. 83. For a reference to the cat o' nine tails in an abolitionist speech, see Susan B. Anthony, 'Make the Slave's Case our Own', Speech for Tour for American Anti-Slavery Society, *c.*1857, 9, Susan B. Anthony Papers, Schlesinger Library.

[102] The woman-slave analogy often featured in epigraphs to reform publications. Stevenson, *The Woman as Slave*, pp. 55–6.
[103] Grimshaw, *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand*, pp. 182–83.
[104] William Blomfield, 'The Big Franchise Woman and the Little Mouse', *New Zealand Observer and Free Lance*, 17 February 1894.
[105] *Woman*, 1 February 1911, in Sharon Crozier-De Rosa, *Shame and the Anti-Feminist Backlash: Britain, Ireland and Australia, 1890–1920* (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 50.
[106] Curthoys, 'Identity Crisis', pp. 172–74.
[107] Yellin, *Women and Sisters*, pp. 171–72.
[108] Lange, *Picturing Political Power*, pp. 111–23, 144–45, 177–80.
[109] 'A Strong Argument' (verso), Kansas Memory: Kansas Historical Society, https://www.kshs.org/index.php?url=km/items/view/208011, accessed 18 November 2022.
[110] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p. 72.
[111] Lange, *Picturing Political Power*, pp. 131–35; Florey, *American Woman Suffrage Postcards*, p. 21. See 'American Woman and Her Political Peers', *Woman's Journal*, 6 July 1912.
[112] Fredrikke S. Palmer, 'They Alone Cannot Vote', *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*, 13 March 1915.
[113] Lou Rogers, 'The Unfair Taunt of the Highbrow', *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*, 7 June 1913.
[114] Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage*, pp. 99, 104, 106.
[115] Sheppard, 'Political and Social Consciousness', p. 44.
[116] Sheppard, 'Suffrage Art and Feminism', p. 122.
[117] Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage*, p. 6.
[118] Yvonne Korshak, 'The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France', *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 1 (1987), pp. 53–69, 53. My thanks to the peer reviewers for observing the liberty cap.
[119] Lou Rogers, 'The Unfair Taunt of the Highbrow', *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*, 7 June 1913.
[120] Lou Rogers, 'Enthroned', *Woman's Journal*, 28 October 1911.
[121] Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage*, p. 31.
[122] Lou Rogers, 'Travail', *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*, 3 January 1914.
[123] Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage*, pp. 31–2.
[124] Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). See Stevenson, *The Woman as Slave*, pp. 27–8.
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[126] Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage*, p. 171.
[127] 'Set Her Free – By courtesy Boston American', *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*, 26 June 1915.
[128] Yellin, *Women and Sisters*, pp. 171–72.
[129] Fredrikke S. Palmer, 'Waiting for the President', *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*, 4 September 1915.
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[131] Stevenson, *The Woman as Slave*, pp. 252–56.
[132] Winner, 'Woman's Place', *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News*, 15 January 1916.
[133] Lange, *Picturing Political Power*, pp. 161–62.
[134] Jessica Derleth, '"Kneading Politics": Cookery and the American Woman Suffrage Movement', *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 17, no. 3 (2018), pp. 450–74.
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[142] Lange, *Picturing Political Power*, pp. 83–7.
[143] Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom*, p. 110.
[144] Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, p. 1.
[145] Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, p. 1.

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