

“Rung it Never can be Until All Women are Free”: Katharine Wentworth  
Ruschenberger and the Justice Bell

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**“RUNG IT NEVER CAN BE UNTIL  
ALL WOMEN ARE FREE”**

KATHARINE WENTWORTH RUSCHENBERGER  
AND THE JUSTICE BELL

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**ABSTRACT:** This article traces the origin, creation, and use of the Justice Bell, a replica of the Liberty Bell that was cast for a statewide tour in support of the 1915 Pennsylvania referendum on woman's suffrage. Suffragists used the image of the Liberty Bell well before 1915, connecting its symbolism of freedom to the suffrage cause. After the unsuccessful 1915 campaign, the bell was used for national suffrage events, patriotic fundraising, and get-out-the-vote campaigns. Katharine Wentworth Ruschenberger commissioned and paid for the bell and retained ownership of it until her death. The post-1915 use of the bell reflects the shift in her suffrage affiliation from the more traditional National American Woman Suffrage Association to the radical National Woman's Party.

**KEYWORDS:** Pennsylvania, women, suffrage, referendum, Katharine Wentworth Ruschenberger

The standard history of the Justice Bell, a replica Liberty Bell with a chained clapper symbolizing the silencing of women's political voices, is centered squarely on its creation for and use in the 1915 Pennsylvania referendum campaign for a state constitutional amendment permitting woman's suffrage. While Katharine Wentworth Ruschenberger did indeed have the Justice Bell cast for that purpose, the idea for a muted replica of the Liberty Bell predates 1915 and was not first proposed by her. The Justice Bell was used to promote

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the federal suffrage amendment after 1915 and in voter campaigns post-1920. Ruschenberger retained ownership of the bell until her death in 1943. How she exercised her personal control of this symbol reflects her shifting allegiances within the suffrage movement and her political views in the years following the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment.

#### PENNSYLVANIA SUFFRAGE WORK AND ORGANIZATIONS

The Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association (PWSA) was established in 1869. Its activities and tactics were typical of late nineteenth-century suffrage work. Members met in each other's homes and discussed suffrage and other women's issues, in addition to current events. Often the women would play or listen to music. There was a social club aspect to the movement.<sup>1</sup> A July 1896 meeting of the Oxford, Pennsylvania Equal Suffrage Society illustrates this approach, as the topic of discussion was the Turkish government's treatment of Armenians. One member read a poem entitled "Armenia," and eighteen dollars was collected for Armenian relief efforts. They also sang "My Mother's Beautiful Hands."<sup>2</sup> The PWSA became an affiliate of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Established in 1890 NAWSA merged the National Woman Suffrage Association (founded by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony) and American Woman Suffrage Association (founded by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell).

Suffragists began to change their tactics as little progress had been made outside of the western states. Pennsylvania women followed suit, and the trajectory of the state's suffrage movement in adopting more militant and public means mirrored that of the New York movement as described by Ellen Carol DuBois. They, like the New York suffragists, took "suffrage out of the parlors and into the streets."<sup>3</sup> The PWSA formalized this new approach at the end of 1910 by forming a Suffrage Party. Organized by legislative district, the Suffrage Party signaled a new, political approach to suffrage work. It aimed to get a woman suffrage amendment to the state constitution approved by referendum.<sup>4</sup> The referendum had to be passed by two successive sessions in the Pennsylvania legislature, a feat that necessitated much cultivation of legislators and last-minute political maneuvering.<sup>5</sup>

KATHARINE WENTWORTH RUSCHENBERGER

The Justice Bell was the brainchild of Katharine Wentworth Ruschenberger of Strafford, Chester County, Pennsylvania. Katharine Wentworth was born November 2, 1853, in Philadelphia to John Langdon Wentworth and the former Martha Emlen. The oldest of four surviving children, she had one brother, Charles Chancellor Wentworth, and two sisters, Martha and Mary Cecelia Wentworth. An older brother, Thomas, died at the age of four. By 1860 the family had moved to Tredyffrin Township in Chester County, Pennsylvania. The land on which the family lived was purchased by Katharine's mother. John Wentworth, Katharine's father, was a merchant whose earlier career was in carpet manufacturing.<sup>6</sup> Katharine Wentworth married naval officer Charles Wister Ruschenberger in 1888. The couple had no children and resided in Strafford, where they participated in social and charity events. Like her mother had done before her, it was Katharine who purchased the couple's house.<sup>7</sup> Charles Wister Ruschenberger died in 1908.<sup>8</sup> Like many suffragists, Ruschenberger possessed relative wealth and independence as well as social standing, all of which aided her in her suffrage work (fig. 1).



FIGURE 1. Tintype of Wentworth sisters, circa 1880 (left to right: Mary Cecelia, Katharine, Martha). Gift of Alexandra Tatnall, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

Ruschenberger's active support for suffrage predated her widowhood. As early as 1896 she was a member of the Woman Suffrage Society of the County of Philadelphia; that year she was appointed a member of the organization committee.<sup>9</sup> Two years later she became chairman of its press committee and one of sixteen women appointed as delegates to the PWSA convention.<sup>10</sup> In addition to being a life member of this organization, she was also a member of the Equal Franchise Society of Philadelphia.<sup>11</sup>

#### THE IDEA OF THE JUSTICE BELL

The Justice Bell was the "best and main publicity feature" of the 1915 campaign for woman suffrage in Pennsylvania.<sup>12</sup> A replica of the Liberty Bell without the crack, the bell had the words "Establish Justice" added to the motto. Ruschenberger paid for the bell and escorted it on its statewide tour in the months leading up to Election Day 1915. With its chained clapper symbolizing women's silent political voices, the bell was a focal point of 1915 suffrage activities. While Ruschenberger's Justice Bell became the symbol of the referendum campaign, it was certainly not the first time that American suffragists, like other reformers before them, used the symbolism of the Liberty Bell to convey the legitimacy of their cause. The use of this patriotic emblem connected suffrage to the ideals on which the nation was founded.<sup>13</sup> In 1876 Susan B. Anthony was unsuccessful in gaining a place on the July Fourth Centennial Exposition program in Philadelphia. Undaunted, Anthony took the stage in Independence Square, with the Centennial Liberty Bell above her, and pressed a copy of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's "Women's Declaration of Rights and Articles of Impeachment Against the United States" into the hands of a surprised Vice President Thomas Ferry. Stanton modeled the "Women's Declaration," written for the 1848 Seneca Falls convention, on Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, explicitly tying women's rights to the goals of the American Revolution.<sup>14</sup>

The idea of linking the Liberty Bell with suffrage appeared in publications as well. The magazine *Puck* alluded to the above event with a July 4, 1894 cartoon "'Independence Day' of the Future," which shows determined suffragists pulling on a bell inscribed "Equal Rights." In a June 1911 edition of *Puck*, a photomechanical print by Udo J. Keppler appeared entitled "Which Clapper?" It showed woman's suffrage as just one of many causes vying to attach their clapper for the Liberty Bell impeded by a large man symbolizing

monopolies. Pennsylvania suffragists used the image of the Liberty Bell as well; the program cover illustration for suffrage plays performed at Philadelphia's Broad Street Theatre in February 1911 depicted a woman standing in front of the Liberty Bell, her arms outstretched. Later cartoonists would use the term “Liberty Belle” in their pro-suffrage drawings.<sup>15</sup>

The most striking connection between the message of the Liberty Bell and the Justice Bell is an 1893 article in the *Woman's Journal*, twenty-two years before the Justice Bell was cast (the weekly was founded by suffragists Lucy Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell). The article, written by “L.S.” (Lucy Stone), described how Americans had donated money to have a replica Liberty Bell cast and sent to the World's Columbian Exposition. This bell, like the later 1915 Justice Bell, was cast in Troy, New York. The article discussed the Columbian Liberty Bell Committee's meeting in Philadelphia, noting that a committeeman spoke of this new bell representing a much larger country than the thirteen colonies represented by the original Liberty Bell. Stone saw the speech as a wasted opportunity to draw attention to the fact that, with the exception of women in Wyoming, American women could not vote, making them comparable to the colonists under George III. Stone supplied an alternative speech, calling for this new bell to be silent until suffrage was achieved: “Now let the new Liberty Bell be silent until its first peal can proclaim that the civil and political rights of women are as secure as are the same rights for men.”<sup>16</sup> It is quite possible that this bell, and Stone's commentary, inspired Katharine Wentworth Ruschenberger's idea for a muted replica Liberty Bell dedicated specifically to the suffrage cause.

#### JUSTICE BELL PRECURSORS

Using a replica Liberty Bell in suffrage parades to gain attention and create a positive association for suffrage predates the 1915 Justice Bell, as did adding the word “Justice” to the bell's message of liberty. The first identified use of the Liberty Bell in a suffrage march was in the March 1913 Washington, DC, parade. Alice Paul, then still affiliated with the NAWSA, masterminded the first major suffrage parade held in the capital and scheduled it for the eve of Woodrow Wilson's inauguration. Pennsylvania suffragists marched in the parade behind a float that carried “an exact replica of old Liberty Bell suspended above the tree tops and the people” bearing “on a banner the words, ‘We claim the Bell's last message, Justice.’” Katharine Wentworth

Ruschenberger provided the float, based on the idea that the “Liberty Bell has two messages—Liberty and Justice.”<sup>17</sup> Paul had not wanted the float, preferring that instead the money be donated toward the tableau at the Treasury building, which was to feature “Liberty” and “Justice” as characters.<sup>18</sup>

The parade became chaotic. Thousands of suffragists were engulfed by the surging crowd, as policemen refused to assist the women, even as they were being mauled by taunting men. As noted in the *Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News*, “Washington has been disgraced. Equal suffrage has scored a great victory.”<sup>19</sup> The Pennsylvania women were not spared the abuse of the crowd, although a *Philadelphia Inquirer* correspondent claimed that the wagon on which the Liberty Bell replica rode “acted as an unusual sort of a snow-plow. Its wheels forced the crowd back, and the women had passed before it pressed forward again.” In spite of their “plow,” Pennsylvania women were indeed subject to abuse and one woman testified in the Senate hearings on the matter that a man tried to pull her from the float.<sup>20</sup> While Ruschenberger provided the Liberty Bell float, there is no evidence that she herself participated in the parade. A few months later, the bell from the Washington parade was later part of a Perry Centennial parade in Erie, Pennsylvania. The *Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News* claimed that it was the first suffrage parade in Pennsylvania and described the bell’s presentation:

The plaster replica of the Liberty Bell will be sent to Erie by Mrs. C. H. [*sic*] Ruschenberger of Strafford, Pa., who will arrive in the city on Saturday to superintend the hanging of the bell and the decoration of the float. Four beautiful young women, bearing garlands of flowers, will ride on the float, which will be drawn by 60–100 Erie Suffragists.<sup>21</sup>

After the event, a photo of the float appeared on the front page of the following week’s issue.<sup>22</sup> President Wilson would likely not have been pleased to learn that another newspaper account identified the float as being from the “Wilson inaugural parade.”<sup>23</sup>

Ruschenberger contributed a short essay on the Liberty Bell for the *Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News*, explaining that the bell, when it rang in 1776, “fell vacant on the ears of many slaves—so making liberty not a final message. The freest people on God’s earth are not yet free.” After repeating the traditional story of the bell cracking in 1835 while tolling for the funeral of Chief Justice John Marshall, she pointed out that the bell’s silence was due to

liberty being unable to survive without justice, and that these two concepts were the full message of the bell: “Liberty is egoistic—masculine; Justice is altruistic—feminine. The cry, ‘Give me liberty,’ has secured for humanity its supreme achievement. Yet it is written, ‘Justice is the only worship’—the level balance of the Golden Rule.”<sup>24</sup> Ruschenberger, while basing her argument for suffrage on justice and not on the more traditionalist argument of women using their votes to improve society, still claimed certain character traits were masculine or feminine. Masculine liberty or freedom cannot survive without feminine justice, making justice the prevailing virtue. The fairness embodied in the Golden Rule can only exist if there is justice.

Later that year, in November 1913, an “exact copy of the Liberty Bell” was part of a suffrage parade in Brooklyn, New York. This bell, like the future Justice Bell, could not ring, and it led the parade: “Headed by an exact copy of the famous Liberty Bell, whose tongue is tied and will not be released til women’s suffrage has become general throughout the United States.” The bell was lent to the Brooklyn parade by Ruschenberger.<sup>25</sup> It is very probable that she had a personal connection to this parade, as Brooklyn resident and suffragist Martha W. Suffren was her sister.

The bell used in Brooklyn was likely the “imitation” Liberty Bell included in the May 2, 1914, woman suffrage demonstration in Philadelphia, a day on which many suffrage parades were held across the country.<sup>26</sup> The details of this earlier bell, such as size, material, creator, and eventual disposition, are unknown. That it was not sufficient for Ruschenberger’s plans is borne out by this entry in a fall 1913 report to the officers of the PWSA from Caroline Katzenstein, executive secretary of the Headquarters of the Eastern District:

Mrs. Charles W. Ruschenberger has started a campaign to arouse nation-wide interest in an exact copy of the Liberty Bell which can be sent out to all parts of the country upon request. The replica will be called the “Justice Bell.” She has made many visits to Headquarters and has asked our aid in the publicity of her scheme. Together we went to see a number of the City Editors and succeeded in getting a good place for the story.<sup>27</sup>

This brilliant idea, developed specifically for the 1915 referendum campaign, had its origins in earlier versions of a replica Liberty Bell, and Ruschenberger’s original intent for the bell was for the nation, not just for Pennsylvania. Further evidence of her support for the federal amendment campaign is a



1914 donation to the Congressional Union before its split from NAWSA, while plans for the Pennsylvania referendum campaign were underway.<sup>28</sup> She may have modeled the Justice Bell tour on the tour of the original Liberty Bell, which, after several years of much public debate in the press, was sent across the country to the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco.<sup>29</sup> It was also a way to build publicity against the backdrop of the news coverage of the Liberty Bell and its tour.

#### THE 1915 REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN

Jennie Bradley Roessing, the president of the PWSA, announced Ruschenberger's plans for the bell at the PWSA's November 1914 convention in Scranton:

This symbol, chained and mute, typifies the appeal which the women of Pennsylvania are making to their men. Not that we ask privilege, but liberty; the same passionate desire that stirred men's hearts a century ago is throbbing in our breasts today and for the same reasons. We, too, would be free to develop the finest race under the best conditions for the greatest good of all. Will you do your share to unchain the clapper in 1915?<sup>30</sup>

The plaster Liberty Bell replica, likely the same bell used in the earlier parades, was suspended in the rotunda of the convention hotel. The bell tour was the only unusual tactic approved by the convention. Roessing and her allies insisted on avoiding "sensationalism." Large suffrage parades were seen as damaging to the movement's image, so a suggested parade in Harrisburg during the legislative session was roundly dismissed, as was a proposal to keep suffrage speakers from promoting prohibition. It was deemed acceptable to hold parades in large cities, such as Philadelphia.<sup>31</sup> That same month Roessing published an article, "The Equal Suffrage Campaign in Pennsylvania," which reinforced the tone of the convention. The referendum campaign was to be educational and dignified in nature. She regretted that the American newspapers had covered the militant English suffragists so extensively that the public had the impression that American suffragists would follow suit. Rather, Roessing emphasized that Pennsylvania suffragists were committed to

a campaign “in keeping with the dignity of the movement and the character of the women engaged in it,” quoting a 1913 statement from the PWSA.<sup>32</sup>

The advance cultivation of newspapers by Ruschenberger and Katzenstein paid off, as the casting of the Justice Bell was a widely publicized event. Katzenstein had extensive experience as a suffrage publicist, while Ruschenberger was in charge of “propaganda” for the Woman Suffrage Party of Chester County.<sup>33</sup> A northwestern Pennsylvania newspaper in Greenville, Mercer County, ran a release that featured a large photo of Ruschenberger and an explanation behind the upcoming casting:

For years Mrs. Ruschenberger has been an ardent suffragist, working always with the firm conviction that the desire of woman for the ballot was a just one, and for that reason alone, must prevail. How to visualize that conviction was another matter, but when the idea of the Women’s Liberty Bell came to her she felt that the problem was good as solved. That was a year ago. . . . In addition to the inscription on the old bell it will carry the words, “Establish Justice.” Mrs. Ruschenberger has ordered that clause added because, in her opinion, “justice is the basic principle upon which women, as sharers in the burden of democracy, finally rest their claim to enfranchisement.”<sup>34</sup>

The account also described Ruschenberger as “one of Strafford’s most prominent women.” The release, datelined Strafford March 27, explicitly ties the origin of the bell to the Pennsylvania campaign, ignoring the earlier versions used in the 1913 and 1914 parades.

Before casting the bell, the Pennsylvania suffragists staged a publicity event closer to home, with speeches at the original Liberty Bell. As the *Evening Public Ledger* put it in a headline, “Delegation, Accompanied by Many Followers, Worships at Shrine in Independence Hall Before Departing on Novel Mission.” Ruschenberger addressed the crowd:

As suffragists, we meet today in Independence Hall, the birthplace of our nation—now the world’s greatest democracy—where, in 1776, the Liberty Bell rang “to proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.” As believers in equality of citizenship for men and women, we go from this sacred spot to cast a new national liberty bell, a woman’s “Justice Bell,” which shall ring to proclaim

the completion of democracy throughout the enfranchisement of American women. As this old Liberty Bell of 1776, which we all cherish and venerate, was first a Pennsylvania bell, and later rang out our national freedom, may the new justice bell ring first, in November, 1915, for political justice in our own State, and Pennsylvania lead the 13 original States in the triumphant progress of woman's emancipation.<sup>35</sup>

PWSA officer Lida Stokes Adams, who followed Ruschenberger, spoke of the bells' symbolism. Not only did freedom require justice as Ruschenberger claimed, peace did as well:

Bells and banners are simply symbols of great and beautiful ideals and realities, but they help to keep these ideals and realities ever present. The old bell we all love symbolizes freedom, without which there is no growth. The new bell, which will be equally loved in the years to come is to symbolize justice without which there is no freedom, and no peace.<sup>36</sup>

The women drew a direct comparison between the Liberty Bell and the Justice Bell; the former symbolized the promise of independence and the latter expanded on that promise to include freedom for Pennsylvania women. They saw the two bells as equivalent symbols of their respective eras, both conveying a message of liberty, equality, and justice.

After speaking at Independence Hall, the suffragists left Pennsylvania for Troy, New York. The Justice Bell was cast at the Meneely Bell Co. in Troy at a cost of \$1,200.<sup>37</sup> The event was choreographed with publicity in mind, with the inclusion of white-clad young girls and national and international suffrage leader Carrie Chapman Catt. Newspapers as far west as Nebraska and Oklahoma carried stories on the casting. Some articles were accompanied by a photo of Katharine Wentworth, Ruschenberger's twelve-year-old niece, who pulled the lever to release the molten metal. The *Harrisburg Telegraph* framed Wentworth's photo with an outline of the bell.<sup>38</sup> Other papers ran the photo from the casting ceremony itself. Catt, soon to return to the presidency of the NAWSA, and Ruschenberger were joined by suffragists from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New York; all three states had suffrage referenda on the ballot in 1915 (fig. 2).

The statewide tour of the Justice Bell began on June 23, 1915, in Sayre, Bradford County, just along the Pennsylvania–New York boundary. Over



FIGURE 2. “Casting the Suffrage ‘Liberty Bell’ at Troy.” March 1915. Bain News Service Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

the next 130 days the bell visited every county in Pennsylvania. Local suffragists met it at the county line and escorted the bell as it went from town to town, drawing local onlookers and supporters. The bell was accompanied by a small group of paid staff and volunteers. Ruschenberger herself participated in the tour, which was originally under the direction of Louise Hall, a Vassar graduate and organizing secretary of the PWSA. Hannah Patterson, a close ally of PWSA president Jennie Bradley Roessing, also participated in the tour, as did Elizabeth McShane. A native of Fayette County, McShane was, like Hall, a graduate of Vassar. Other women joined at times, such as Rose Winslow.<sup>39</sup> A native of Poland, Winslow was a former mill worker and a labor organizer; her inclusion on the tour is an example of the messaging strategy used by the PWSA. This targeted approach was used in other aspects of the 1915 campaign, such as the PWSA’s appeal to African American men to support the amendment. The PWSA brought in Mary Church Terrell (head of the National Association of Colored Women) and Alice Moore Dunbar (poet, journalist and part of the Harlem Renaissance) to speak on behalf of woman suffrage, not always just to Black audiences.<sup>40</sup> Roessing, unlike

Ruschenberger, did not base her argument for suffrage on the idea of equality or justice. She believed that the way to gain support for woman suffrage was to answer the concerns of different groups by illustrating how the franchise would benefit society and protect women. Her arguments for suffrage were pragmatic, such as women who inherited family farms needed the vote to protect their interests, and mothers needed the vote to protect children's health and education.<sup>41</sup>

The bell formed the centerpiece of suffrage rallies and celebrations, often featuring local children dressed in white and yellow. The tour drew large crowds, such as the more than 1,500 people who went to a Chautauqua tent in Greensburg, Westmoreland County, to see the bell and hear suffrage speakers (fig. 3).<sup>42</sup> The tour stops were typically well attended, although the *Philadelphia Inquirer* took pleasure in pointing out that in Bethlehem the bell tour was markedly less popular than the spectacle of watching a man scale a skyscraper, titling the article "3000 See 'Human Fly'; 400 Hear Suffragist."<sup>43</sup>

Elizabeth B. Passmore, one of the early suffrage leaders in Ruschenberger's Chester County, described her ride in the parade when the chained bell entered her hometown of Oxford:

We went with about a dozen decorated automobiles and came into town stopping at the fountain in centre square, where addresses were made. . . . The speakers explained the bell's message and asked the help of the men of Chester Co. . . . The men's help [support for referendum] is needed because the chains are not to be removed from the bell until the women of Penna. are granted the right to vote.<sup>44</sup>

In Philadelphia the Justice Bell was at the beginning of a large, theatrical parade and "Festival of Light" extravaganza on October 22 that culminated in an evening of speakers at the Academy of Music. The route took the marchers, many carrying lanterns or electric torches, around City Hall. The area's suffrage organizations were joined by trade union and Socialist Party members, the latter led by Eugene V. Debs, illustrating the range of support for suffrage across socioeconomic classes.<sup>45</sup> The parade was estimated to include 5,000 marchers and 150 automobiles. Another estimate put the number at 7,000. The Justice Bell float was drawn by 100 women dressed in white and yellow, "each bearing a flower-shaped torch with an electric bulb in it."<sup>46</sup> While the parade was large, an earlier one held May 1 in Philadelphia had been even larger, with an estimated 10,000 marchers (fig. 4).<sup>47</sup>



**FIGURE 3.** Katharine Wentworth Ruschenberger with the Justice Bell, 1915. Courtesy: League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania records (Collection 2095), Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

# Woman Suffrage Parade

PHILADELPHIA

**On Friday Evening, October 22nd, 1915**

Thousands of earnest Men and Women marching in a

## GRAND FESTIVAL OF LIGHT

Forming on South Broad Street, at Mifflin, march up Broad Street, around  
City Hall, to

## ACADEMY OF MUSIC

where a great Mass Meeting will be held.

Men and Women, get into line, four abreast, at 6.45 o'clock sharp,

## RAIN OR SHINE

*March for your convictions*

*Bring your friends, men and women*

*March for justice to women*

*Women wear white (not essential)*

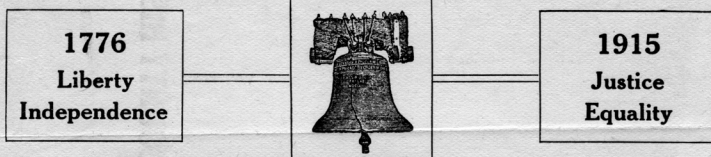
*Watch your step—keep in step with the music*

*Carry torch or lantern (if possible)*

*Carry an American Flag (if you have one)*

## WOMAN'S JUSTICE BELL

(Silent until Women have the Vote)



A duplicate of the old Liberty Bell, which is to ring for the first time on the day that the women of Pennsylvania are granted the right to vote.

The Liberty Bell of 1776 rang to proclaim Liberty and Independence—to create a nation; the Woman's Justice Bell will ring to establish Justice and Equality—to complete and perfect a nation.

Let every just man help break the chain that holds the clapper silent.

## THE WOMAN'S JUSTICE BELL

soon to become famous, will be in the great Parade.

**SHOW YOUR COLORS. MARCH WITH US ON OCTOBER 22ND**  
**GIVE THE WOMEN A SQUARE DEAL BY VOTING "YES" ON NOVEMBER 2ND**

Send word that you will march, to ANNA H. SNYDER, Secretary Parade Committee,  
1723 Chestnut Street, or to any Suffrage Headquarters.



FIGURE 4. Philadelphia suffrage parade notice, 1915. Courtesy: Suffrage Collection, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

The tour ended on October 30, 1915, in West Chester, Chester County. Ruschenberger thought that it was only appropriate that West Chester was the Justice Bell's final stop on its statewide tour, as it was the site of the first woman's rights convention in Pennsylvania:

It is here that we rest our case. The bell comes back to its own home after making a complete tour of the State and standing in front of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, only a few yards from the Liberty Bell, of which it is a counterpart. It has been a great success, a leading feature, in the campaign. This is the home of the Bell because in June 1852, the first Woman Suffrage meeting in Pennsylvania was held in West Chester. . . . We have made our plea over the State and now our case rests upon these two principles which are the basic principles upon which the United States is founded. "No taxation without representation," and "All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."<sup>48</sup>

At the bell's last appearance before Election Day, Ruschenberger once again tied the Justice Bell to the meaning of the Liberty Bell and its evocation of the ideals of the American Revolution.

The Justice Bell tour was a publicity success; it drew crowds and positive news coverage and engaged local audiences in suffrage events. It was the most popular attraction of the referendum campaign.<sup>49</sup> The image of the bell was used on suffrage flyers and memorabilia, including watch fobs, while the tour itself provided a unique public spectacle.<sup>50</sup> Ruschenberger's bell tour was a brilliant idea that generated the crowds and publicity that the suffrage movement needed, without crossing over into the "sensationalism" and militancy that the PWSA leadership feared.

Despite the well-orchestrated press coverage, the success of the Justice Bell tour, the Philadelphia parade, speaker tours, and the popular suffrage gardens that featured yellow flowers, the amendment went down to defeat, as did the suffrage campaigns in Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey.<sup>51</sup> Statewide, the adverse margin was 55,686, of which 45,272 came from Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania Men's League for Woman Suffrage noted "the majority against Woman Suffrage outside of Philadelphia was 10,414. The majority against Woman Suffrage in nine semi-German counties was 41,153." Wilmer Atkinson, president of the Men's League, was among many who pointed to the Republican machine in Philadelphia as the cause of the defeat, as the



sample ballots that were distributed showed other referenda marked “yes,” with the suffrage amendment marked “no.”<sup>52</sup> The role of Philadelphia’s political machine was targeted by a cartoon on the cover of *Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News* titled “He Can’t Hold On Much Longer,” which depicted an antisuffrage politician clinging desperately to the clapper of the bell. The caption noted that “thirty counties untrammelled by political machines were ready for the Bell to voice the new democracy. Only the anti-suffrage boss of Philadelphia prevented the State from leading the East in giving justice to women” (fig. 5).<sup>53</sup>

The constant pairing of suffrage with prohibition likely contributed to the defeat of the referendum. Twenty-six years earlier, Pennsylvania men had defeated a prohibition amendment to the state constitution. The results of that campaign show a notable overlap in support for or opposition to the

## A Square Deal for Women

**Sign this Membership Blank; No Dues.**

The undersigned, a lover of Fair Play, a voter of the State of Pennsylvania, believing that Women, having equal responsibility with men for the Public Welfare, should have equal opportunity and Power for Public Service, which the ballot gives, will vote accordingly at the election next November; and also wishes to become a member of the **Pennsylvania Men’s League for Woman Suffrage** (with the understanding that there are no dues).


Name .....

Street and City .....

or P. O. or R. F. D. .... State

---

Please sign the above and mail to WILMER ATKINSON, President, WASHINGTON SQUARE, PHILADELPHIA. I want you with us.—W. A.



**Paupers  
Criminals  
Idiots  
and  
Women  
are  
disfranchised in  
Pennsylvania**

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Let us take our mothers, wives, sisters and daughters out of such company.




FIGURE 5. Pennsylvania Men’s League for Woman Suffrage membership form. Courtesy: Suffrage Collection, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

two amendments.<sup>54</sup> Of Pennsylvania's sixty-seven counties, twenty-four supported prohibition in 1889 and suffrage in 1915, and twenty-nine opposed both prohibition and suffrage. Fourteen counties "split" their votes. While a 1985 combined analysis of the Pennsylvania and New York referenda defeats by Eileen L. McDonagh and H. Douglas Price did not find the tie between prohibition and suffrage significant, the county vote comparison argues against this conclusion. McDonagh and Price downplayed ethnicity as a factor in the results, but it is apparent from the reference to "semi-German counties" that the suffragists thought that it was. The Philadelphia opposition was concentrated in the wards between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers, south of Lehigh Avenue.<sup>55</sup> South Philadelphia would soon take another jab at suffrage with the 1916 Mummers' New Year's Day parade, when three of the clubs in the comic division took aim at woman suffrage; one club featured a Liberty Bell float.<sup>56</sup>

#### THE JUSTICE BELL IN THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT CAMPAIGN

The end of the referendum campaign marked a shift in the use of the Justice Bell from the state level to the national stage, as Ruschenberger had originally envisioned. In December 1915, shortly after the Pennsylvania defeat, she sent the Justice Bell to Washington, DC, for the first national convention of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. This was Alice Paul's more militant group, which had broken from the NAWSA in 1913. It focused solely on a federal constitutional amendment. This convention was scheduled to coincide with the opening day of the US Congress. Accompanying the bell were former employees of the Pennsylvania tour: Elizabeth McShane, who had departed the tour and who would later be imprisoned for participating in the National Woman's Party White House protests, and Louise Hall, who had been dismissed from the Justice Bell tour by Jennie Bradley Roessing for insubordination.<sup>57</sup> Not only was Louise Hall there with the bell, it was driven to Washington, DC, by her brother Oliver Hall, who had also been let go by the PWSA after serving as a driver and photographer on the 1915 tour.<sup>58</sup> This suggests that the internal problems on the Pennsylvania tour can at least partially be attributed to the growing division within the national suffrage movement over tactics and militancy. The bell belonged to Ruschenberger, not the PWSA, and she seemed to have had no difficulties with McShane or the Halls. Her sympathies and support now aligned with Alice Paul's

organization. Certainly many of her fellow members of the Equal Franchise Society had “transferred their allegiance whole-heartedly to the Congressional Union.”<sup>59</sup> Her focus on suffrage as a matter of justice, instead of the societal benefits that were emphasized by some traditional suffragists, is consistent with this shift as well. Ruschenberger’s support of the Congressional Union was also practical, as Pennsylvania suffragists would have had to wait five years before a full suffrage referendum could be considered again.<sup>60</sup>

Just as they had done before in the 1913 suffrage parade, members of the Congressional Union planned a dramatic procession to draw attention to the cause in the nation’s capital:

The women’s Liberty Bell, of which Mrs. Catharine [*sic*] Wentworth Ruschenberger is national custodian, will appear on its gaily decorated truck. This picturesque bell, which has played so prominent a part in the Pennsylvania campaign, has just returned to Philadelphia, and Mrs. Ruschenberger has generously permitted it to come again to Washington, for it was here that it started on its career. . . . After the procession the bell will be taken to the convention headquarters of the Union, the “Little White House,” on Madison Place, and be hung in the charming old doorway. It is the hope of the Unionists that it may stay there until a sort of test tap may be given it when the amendment goes through Congress. Rung it never can be until all American women are free.

This Congressional Union account, in referencing the Liberty Bell replica that Ruschenberger provided for the 1913 parade, does not acknowledge that the earlier version had been replaced with the bell cast in 1915.<sup>61</sup>

After the Washington, DC, convention the Justice Bell was next used in Chicago for what became known as the “rainy day suffrage parade” in June 1916. This event, part of the Congressional Union’s meeting that established the National Woman’s Party (NWP), was held at the same time as the national Republican convention. The bell, by then kept at Ruschenberger’s home in Strafford, left for Chicago on what was described as a “special car.”<sup>62</sup>

Ruschenberger returned to Washington, DC, in early March 1918, accompanied by Mary Ingham, the Pennsylvania chair of the National Woman’s Party, and Ella Riegel, a member of the NWP Advisory Council. Their visit coincided with the upcoming Senate vote on the federal suffrage amendment. The women gave each senator a framed photo of the Justice Bell, along with

a letter from Ruschenberger. Her letter asked: "will you not help to unchain the Justice Bell by voting for the Federal Amendment . . . that our bell may ring, and the world may know that to 'Liberty' America has added 'Justice?'" According to the account of the presentation, "the idea for the bell came to Mrs. Ruschenberger when she looked at the Liberty Bell. It occurred to her that the reason it had cracked was that Liberty could not survive the injustice that existed so long as only half of the citizens of the country were free."<sup>63</sup> While this proposed and fanciful narrative fit Ruschenberger's purpose, her explanation of the crack does not align with her earlier essay from 1913 in which she acknowledged the Liberty Bell failing to represent the enslaved. Now, in 1918, she only focused on its failure to represent women. Although the suffrage amendment passed in the House of Representatives, it failed in the Senate that year. The next year, the Senate joined the House in passing the amendment, finally sending it on to the states for ratification.

Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were the first to ratify, and were quickly followed by Kansas, Ohio, and New York. Pennsylvania was the seventh state to ratify the suffrage amendment on June 24, 1919. Suffragists came to Harrisburg to witness the vote and celebrate. After the amendment's successful passage in the legislature, Lucy Kennedy Miller, the president of the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, became the first woman to speak to the state house from the speaker's chair. Afterwards, members of the PWSA called on Governor William Sproul to thank him for his support. The Pennsylvania members of the National Woman's Party made a separate visit to the governor later that same day, following a parade that featured the Justice Bell. Because the parade was of the "more militant wing" of the movement, the PWSA did not participate in it.<sup>64</sup>

After the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, the Justice Bell's clapper was unchained in a ceremony on September 25, 1920, at Independence Square in Philadelphia. Featured speakers included Pennsylvania governor Sproul, NAWSA president Carrie Chapman Catt, as well as Ruschenberger, who spoke on the history of the Justice Bell. A wide range of women's organizations and local clubs were represented, among them the new League of Women Voters, Daughters of the American Revolution, Bureau for Protecting Colored Women, New Century Guild, National Woman's Party, Jewish Women's Club, Women's Trade Union League, Women's Christian Temperance Union, and Daughters of the Confederacy. Ringing the bell was Ruschenberger's niece, Katharine Wentworth, five years after she had pulled the lever to cast the bell. The ringing of the bell was the culmination of an

elaborate pageant that featured other members of Ruschenberger's family. Edith Pitts, the daughter of Ruschenberger's sister Martha Suffren, portrayed "Justice." Pitts's two young daughters carried scales and a sword of justice for their mother. During the rehearsal, the two girls had climbed on top of the Justice Bell to have their photograph taken, but Ruschenberger "appeared on the scene and asked them all to come down. It wasn't dignified, she thought." As the owner of the bell, she continued to direct and control its use and presentation.<sup>65</sup>

After the ceremony, the Justice Bell stayed on display near Independence Hall, but city officials eventually insisted on moving it to League Island Park, citing the confused public's assumption that it was the actual Liberty Bell. In spite of this opposition, Ruschenberger still hoped to permanently install the Justice Bell in a suffragist-funded tower near Independence Hall. The bell's temporary stay at League Island Park dragged on; it was stored in a stable that served as a "combination storage and slaughter house" until the city of Philadelphia insisted that it be removed or it would be thrown out.<sup>66</sup>

Thwarted in her plans to keep the bell at Independence Square as a symbol of freedom and justice for all, Ruschenberger looked for an appropriate permanent home for it, finally deciding on Washington Memorial Chapel in Valley Forge. The bell was at the chapel by 1938, when during a suffrage commemoration Ruschenberger stated that it "belongs to all women" and "signifies justice, and justice is the most important thing in the world today. We have won our liberty; now we must fight to preserve justice. The Nation should recognize the importance of this bell, and help its maintenance." She left it in trust to Washington Memorial Chapel, where it now hangs within the bell tower.<sup>67</sup>

#### **NONSUFFRAGE AND POST-1920 USE OF THE JUSTICE BELL**

The Justice Bell was used for causes other than woman suffrage, even before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. With the entrance of the United States into World War I, many suffragists, especially those affiliated with NAWSA, turned their attention to supporting the war effort. In September 1918 efforts were underway in Philadelphia for an extensive Liberty Loan drive that would be kicked off by an elaborate pageant. The Justice Bell, now referred to as the "Victory Bell," was featured in the now notorious September 28 parade that contributed to the rapid spread of

influenza in Philadelphia.<sup>68</sup> Prior to this event, the bell had been used successfully in a Liberty Loan campaign in Washington, DC.<sup>69</sup>

Following the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, the Justice Bell, still owned by Ruschenberger, was used by the League of Women Voters. The League was formed out of NAWSA after suffrage to educate women about their new political rights. The 1924 “Get Out the Vote” caravan of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters featured a state tour of the Justice Bell that would “virtually repeat its historic tour of Pennsylvania in 1915” and “sound the patriotic alarm of citizenship.” Lucy Kennedy Miller, now president of the Pennsylvania League, announced the tour.<sup>70</sup> In June 1919, when Pennsylvania ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, Miller and Ruschenberger participated in separate ratification celebrations, as they were then affiliated with very different suffrage organizations. Ruschenberger’s work with the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters indicates that her support of the Congressional Union and the National Woman’s Party did not translate into an ongoing rejection of NAWSA and its successor organization.

After helping to secure women the franchise, Ruschenberger turned her attention to local politics, working to elect Republican candidates. Just as she had done within suffrage organizations, she was not afraid to make her voice heard. An example of this is a 1925 dispute over the nomination for Chester County Clerk of Courts. When Ruschenberger threw her support behind Leilah King in the primary, it made the newspaper: “the significance of this is that Mrs. Ruschenberger is assistant secretary of the Republican County Committee, which is controlled by Senator Eyre and his chief lieutenant, County Chairman Clark. . . . [This] shows that the fight of the women is not the usual revolt of irregulars.” In this effort, she joined forces with E. Page Allinson, the committee’s vice chair. Ruschenberger, the paper noted, “whose political sympathies have always been conservative, is ‘keen to put Miss King over.’” Ruschenberger and Allinson organized and addressed meetings across the county in support of King, while the county Republican machine pushed for a man, Washington I. Smith. A photo of Ruschenberger also ran in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* under the caption “Chester Co. Campaigner.” The battle over King’s nomination was seen as a test of the local Republican Party’s commitment to their women members and drew interest from Republican women outside Chester County.<sup>71</sup> King had served as Deputy Clerk of Courts for many years. Her campaign stickers bore the message “Republican women ask your vote for one woman on the Republican ticket.” King won the nomination, defeating both Smith and another man, Warren S.

Henderson, who had refused to drop out of the race. King's victory was seen as a major blow against the machine of state senator Eyre and a repudiation of his refusal to include a woman on the Chester County Republican ticket. King was elected Clerk of Courts that November and was the first woman elected to a courthouse "row office" in Chester County.<sup>72</sup>

Ruschenberger was also active in nonpartisan activities, serving as a volunteer "assistant hostess" at the Pennsylvania building for the Sesquicentennial celebration held in Philadelphia in 1926. The primary host for Pennsylvania was Martha Gibbons Thomas from Chester County. Thomas, a fellow Republican and member of the League of Women Voters, was one of six women elected to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in 1922 and served two terms.<sup>73</sup>

#### RUSCHENBERGER AND THE SUFFRAGE COMMUNITY

Katharine Wentworth Ruschenberger was an active participant in the suffrage movement at the local, state, and national levels. Like many wealthier suffragists in the city's suburbs, she was a member of the Equal Franchise Society of Philadelphia. Her money gave her independence and power. While her wealth was nowhere near the means of influential suffragists such as Alva Belmont or Katharine McCormick, her approach to suffrage work was similar to the women profiled by Joan Marie Johnson in her study of money's impact on the feminist movement. Suffragist women of means often directed how their donations should be used and based their support of suffrage on the arguments of justice and equality, not on moral expediency or maternalism.<sup>74</sup> While Ruschenberger supported the Congressional Union, she was unwilling to give up the idea of her bell float in the 1913 parade, even though Alice Paul wanted to direct the money elsewhere. It was Ruschenberger who proposed the Justice Bell to the PWSA, paid for the bell, and accompanied it on its tour. It is likely that she financed the tour as well, at least in part, given Louise Hall's gratitude and description of her as "Fairy Godmother." By maintaining personal ownership of the Justice Bell and not giving it to the PWSA, she was able to send it where and when she wished, including events sponsored by the NAWSA's rival, the Congressional Union/National Woman's Party.

Katharine Wentworth Ruschenberger's idea—to replicate a revered symbol of American independence in the service of woman suffrage—inspired

and galvanized the movement in Pennsylvania. She correctly saw that the Justice Bell tour would be an effective means to bring the message of suffrage as justice to the small towns and rural communities of traditional Pennsylvania, while also serving as a focal point for large, urban suffrage parades. Ruschenberger took a much-used symbol and made it into something new. That achievement should never be forgotten.

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#### NOTES

The article is based on a paper presented at the 2015 Pennsylvania Historical Association annual conference, which greatly benefited from the research and editorial assistance of the author's late husband, Patrick Wellman VanderVeen. This article is dedicated to him.

1. For an overview of the Pennsylvania woman suffrage movement, see Henrietta Louise Krone, “Dauntless Women; The Story of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Pennsylvania, 1890–1920” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1946), and Ida Husted Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 6, 1900–1920 (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), 550–64. For a discussion of typical suffrage activities at the local level, see Laurie A. Rofini, “Elizabeth B. Passmore: Chester County Reformer” (Master's Thesis, West Chester University, 1986).
2. Diary of Elizabeth B. Passmore, July 13, 1896, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA (hereafter CCHS).
3. Ellen Carol DuBois, “Working Women, Class Relations, and Suffrage Militance: Harriot Stanton Blatch and the New York Woman Suffrage Movement, 1894–1909,” *Journal of American History* 74, no. 1 (June 1987): 34–58, esp. 56.
4. Caroline Katzenstein, “Memorandum to Officers and Members of the Executive Board of the PA Woman Suffrage Association, approved December 16, 1910,” Box 1, Folder 5, Caroline Katzenstein Papers (Am.8996), Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Katzenstein Papers). See also Jennie Bradley Roessing, “The Equal Suffrage Campaign in Pennsylvania,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 56, Women in Public Life (November 1914): 154–56.



5. Roberta J. Leach, "Jennie Bradley Roessing and the Fight for Woman Suffrage in Pennsylvania," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 67 (July 1984): 197–99.
6. John Wentworth, *Wentworth Genealogy* 2 (New York: Little, Brown, 1878), 636; Chester County Deed Book O–6, 136: 340, Chester County Archives and Records Services, West Chester, PA (hereafter CCARS); 1860 Federal Census, Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, Roll M653\_1092, p. 869; *McElroy's Philadelphia City Directory* (Philadelphia: A. McElroy & Co., 1853–59).
7. Chester County Deed Book E–11, 252: 267, CCARS. Ruschenberger would purchase additional land in 1911 and 1918. The latter purchase was from her sister, Mary C. W. Foote, and was land that had previously belonged to their mother. The settlement of their mother's considerable estate was at times contentious, leading executor Foote to complain about Ruschenberger's "needless litigation." Chester County Orphans' Court Estates, Martha Wentworth #6653, CCARS.
8. Will file of Charles Wister Ruschenberger, #31673, Wills and Administrations, CCARS.
9. *Woman's Journal* 27, no. 45 (November 7, 1896): 360, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (hereafter Schlesinger Library), <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:RAD.SCHL:12639120?n=366>.
10. *Woman's Journal* 29, no. 19 (May 7, 1898): 152, Schlesinger Library, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:RAD.SCHL:16143354?n=168>, and *Woman's Journal* 29, no. 51 (December 24, 1898): 416, Schlesinger Library, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:RAD.SCHL:16143354?n=432>.
11. Established in 1910, the Equal Franchise Society of Philadelphia worked closely with the PWSA on the amendment campaign. Caroline Katzenstein, *Lifting the Curtain; The State and National Woman Suffrage Campaigns in Pennsylvania as I Saw Them* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Co., 1955), 132–36.
12. Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage*, 6:556.
13. Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 167.
14. Charlene Mires, *Independence Hall in American Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 133–34.
15. C. J. Taylor, "'Independence Day' of the Future," Keppler and Schwarzmann, New York, July 4, 1894, Library of Congress LC-DIG-ppmsca-29119; Udo J. Keppler, "Which Clapper?" illustration in *Puck* 69, no. 1791 (June 28, 1911): centerfold, Library of Congress LC-DIG\_ppmsca-27749; theater program, February 1911, League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania Records (Collection 2095), Box 40, Suffrage 1911–1912, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage*, 168.
16. *Woman's Journal* 24, no. 24 (June 17, 1893): 188, Schlesinger Library, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:RAD.SCHL:13053296?n=196>.

17. “Women’s Parade Tops Inaugural,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 2, 1913.
18. Mary Walton, *A Woman’s Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2010), 66.
19. “Parade Struggles to Victory Despite Disgraceful Scenes,” *Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News* 44, no. 10 (March 8, 1913): 74.
20. “Pennsylvania Women Played Big Part in Suffrage Pageant,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 4, 1913. “Charge Police Insulted Women,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 7, 1913, also *Friends’ Intelligencer*, Fourth month 5, (1913): 222–23.
21. *Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News* 44, no. 26 (July 5, 1913): 216, Schlesinger Library <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:RAD.SCHL:26341961?n=224>.
22. *Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News*, 44, no. 29 (July 19, 1913): 225, Schlesinger Library, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:RAD.SCHL:26341961?n=233>.
23. “Erie Parade Honors Perry,” *New York Sun*, July 9, 1913.
24. *Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News* 44, no. 16 (April 19, 1913): 126, Schlesinger Library, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:RAD.SCHL:26341961?n=130>. In saying “Justice is the only worship” Ruschenberger was quoting the humanist Robert G. Ingersoll.
25. “Suffrage Parade To-Day,” *New York Times*, November 1, 1913; “‘Liberty’ Bell Leads Suffragettes,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 2, 1913; “Will Carry Bell,” *Grand Forks (ND) Evening Times*, October 30, 1913.
26. “Fair Marchers in Suffrage Pageant,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 3, 1914; Box 1, Folder 6, Katzenstein Papers.
27. Report for September 16–October 24, 1913, Box 1, Folder 6, Katzenstein Papers.
28. “Contribution Toward \$50,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of a Federal Suffrage Amendment,” *The Suffragist*, April 25, 1914, 2. The Congressional Union grew out of NAWSA’s Congressional Committee, whose purpose was to campaign for a federal suffrage amendment. Alice Paul, the CU’s leader, broke with NAWSA over differences on tactics and funding.
29. Gary B. Nash, *The Liberty Bell* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 108–15.
30. “Suffragists Fill Hall as Scranton Convention Opens,” *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, November 20, 1914.
31. “Suffrage Leaders Plan Campaign to Enlist Men in Fight for Ballot,” *Scranton (PA) Truth*, November 19, 1914, 3; Krone, “Dauntless Women,” 85–87.
32. Jennie Bradley Roessing, “The Equal Suffrage Campaign in Pennsylvania,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 56 (1914): 153–60, esp. 155, [www.jstor.org/stable/1011990](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1011990).
33. For an overview of Katzenstein’s life and suffrage work see the biographical sketch in the finding aid to her papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. [http://hsp.org/sites/default/files/legacy\\_files/migrated/findingaidam8996katzenstein.pdf](http://hsp.org/sites/default/files/legacy_files/migrated/findingaidam8996katzenstein.pdf). For Ruschenberger’s position, see letterhead of Woman Suffrage Party of Chester County (1915), Suffrage Collection, CCHS.

34. "Establish Justice!' Message of Women's Liberty Bell," *Greenville (PA) Record-Argus*, March 27, 1915, 2.
35. "Suffragists Leave City to See 'Justice Bill' [sic] Cast in Tray [sic]," *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, March 30, 1915.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Spreadsheet from Meneely Bell Co., via Chester County League of Women Voters. Newspaper accounts typically gave the cost as \$2,000, but this may include the truck used to transport the bell.
38. Catt had served as president of NAWSA 1900–1904 and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance 1904–23. She would resume the presidency of NAWSA later in 1915. *Omaha (NE) Daily Bee*, March 28, 1915; "12-Year-Old Girl to Cast Liberty Bell," *Tulsa Daily World* (Indian Territory [OK]), April 4, 1915; "Little Suffragist to Cast the Women's Liberty Bell," *Harrisburg (PA) Telegraph*, March 31, 1915.
39. Leach, "Jennie Bradley Roessing," 189–211; "The Justice Bell" album, League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania and "Liberty Bell Tour" album, Ethel Bret Harte Papers, Schlesinger Library. Winslow would later be imprisoned with Alice Paul as a member of the National Woman's Party.
40. For Terrell, see Jennie Bradley Roessing, "The Equal Suffrage Campaign in Pennsylvania," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 56, "Women in Public Life" (November 1914): 157. For Dunbar see Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Alice Moore Dunbar-Nelson's Suffrage Work: The View from Her Scrapbook," *Legacy* 33, no. 2 (2016): 310–35. Dunbar was typically identified as the widow of the poet Paul Laurence Dunbar in the press coverage of her suffrage appearances.
41. Leach, "Jennie Bradley Roessing," 202.
42. "Greensburg Greets Suffragists' Bell," *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, July 14, 1915.
43. "3000 See 'Human Fly'; 400 Hear Suffragist," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 29, 1915.
44. *Ibid.*, October 29, 1915.
45. "Bell Will Lead Suffrage Parade," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 22, 1915.
46. "Suffragists Hold Colorful Parade and Mass Meeting," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 23, 1915; "Mighty Suffrage Army Marches in a Blaze of Light," *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, October 23, 1915.
47. "Women in Mighty Pageant Give Splendid Impulse to the Cause of Suffrage," *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, May 1, 1915. The *Philadelphia Tribune* also noted the inclusion of African American woman suffragists in the May 1 parade. See "The Suffrage Parade," *Philadelphia Tribune*, May 8, 1915, 2.
48. "Suffrage Bell Ends Long Tour," *West Chester (PA) Daily Local News*, November 1, 1915.
49. Leach, "Jennie Bradley Roessing," 207.

50. Kenneth Florey, *Women's Suffrage Memorabilia; An Illustrated Historical Study* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2013), 112. For an overview of the suffrage movement's selling campaign materials as well as the deployment of spectacle, see Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage; Consumer Culture and Votes for Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), esp. chap. 2, "So Much Color and Dash."
51. See "Stunts and Sensationalism: The Pennsylvania Progressive-Era Campaign for Women's Suffrage" by Michelle Moravec, Katherine Pettine, and Hope Smalley elsewhere in this issue.
52. Untitled map of counties showing 1915 referendum results [Pennsylvania Men's League for Woman Suffrage], Suffrage Collection, CCHS; Krone, "Dauntless Women," 115–16.
53. *Woman's Journal and Suffrage News* 46, no. 46 (November 13, 1915): 359, Schlesinger Library, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:RAD.SCHL:26312859?n=405/>.
54. Eileen L. McDonagh and H. Douglas Price, "Woman Suffrage in the Progressive Era: Patterns of Opposition and Support in Referenda Voting, 1910–1918," *American Political Science Review* 79, no. 2 (June 1985): 415–35. "How the Counties of Pennsylvania Voted," (Pittsburgh, PA: Pennsylvania WCTU [1889]), Suffrage Collection, CCHS.
55. Untitled map of Philadelphia voting results in the 1915 suffrage referendum campaign, [Pennsylvania Men's League for Woman Suffrage], Suffrage Collection, CCHS.
56. "Hits of Comic Division Cover World's Affairs," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 2, 1916.
57. "Who's Who and Why at Congressional Union Woman Suffrage Convention," *Washington (DC) Herald*, December 10, 1915. Letter from Jennie Bradley Roessing, Harrisburg, PA, to Board Member, PWSA, October 23, 1915; letter from "Heaslip," "The Mansion of Aching Hearts" to "Exile," undated, both copied in "The Justice Bell" album, League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania. The National Woman's Party (NWP), like its predecessor the Congressional Union, was headed by Alice Paul. The disagreement between the Halls and the PWSA was not truly explained; it was likely a combination of a personality clash coupled with disagreements over tactics. Louise Hall remained active in NAWSA, working in New York and New England.
58. Letter from Oliver C. Hall, Charlottesville, VA, to Mrs. Haner, League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, PA, May 31, 1964. Hall states that he drove the bell to DC for the "National Women's Suffrage [*sic*] Association," but this event was clearly for the Congressional Union. League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania records (Collection 2095), Box 40, National Historical Material, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
59. Katzenstein, *Lifting the Curtain*, 161. Katzenstein, who worked with Ruschenberger in the Equal Franchise Society, became a member of the Congressional Union and National Woman's Party. In addition to

- Ruschenberger sending the Justice Bell to DC with McShane and the Halls, the tour album belonging to Louise Hall and her partner Ethel Bret Harte conveys warm regards for Ruschenberger. The album begins with a photo of Ruschenberger with the bell, captioned "KATHARINE WENTWORTH RUSCHENBERGER to whose Originality, Generosity, and Unselfishness is due the Tour of the JUSTICE BELL." Another photo of Ruschenberger is captioned "Fairy Godmother." Both photos in the "Liberty Bell Tour" album, Ethel Bret Harte Papers, Schlesinger Library.
60. Katzenstein, *Lifting the Curtain*, 156. Pennsylvania suffragists considered a campaign for presidential suffrage. Letter from Helen C. Clark, Secretary of PWSA, Harrisburg, PA, undated, to members of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, Suffrage Collection, CCHS.
  61. "First National Convention," *The Suffragist* 3, no. 49 (1915): 6.
  62. "Justice Bell Goes West," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 19, 1916.
  63. "Woman's Liberty Bell; Photograph of It Presented by Suffragists to Every United States Senator," *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Record*, March 7, 1918, 12.
  64. "Penna. Ratifies Woman Suffrage," *Tyrone (PA) Daily Herald*, June 25, 1919, 1. See "Pennsylvania's Ratification Documents for the Nineteenth Amendment" by Richard C. Saylor in *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 87, no. 3 (Summer 2020): 532–38.
  65. "Huge Celebration Planned by Women to Honor Suffrage," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 19, 1920; "Women Rehearse in Bell Ringing," *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, September 24, 1920, 2.
  66. "To House Justice Bell; Suffrage Leaders Plan Tower for Independence Square," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 3, 1921, 3; "Big Suffrage Bell Fallen from Grace," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 26, 1921, 3.
  67. "'Justice Bell' Seeks a Shrine," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 23, 1938, 8; Mires, *Independence Hall in American Memory*, 171; will of Katharine Wentworth Ruschenberger, Will Book 58, 335–38, Chester County Register of Wills, West Chester, PA.
  68. "Women Prepare for Loan March," *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, September 28, 1918.
  69. "Liberty Loan Army Trains for Drive," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 24, 1918.
  70. Miller had been president of the PWSA. "Liberty Bell Replica with Caravan Coming Here in October," *Brookville (PA) American*, September 11, 1924, 1.
  71. "Eyre Machine Must Reckon with Women," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 12, 1925. "'Who Is Smith?' Is Chester County Cry" and "Chester Co. Campaigner," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 26, 1925; "Women Lead Fight in Chester County," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 30, 1925.
  72. "Women See Victory in Chester County," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 13, 1925; "Eyre Machine Hit by Women Voters," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September

- 17, 1925. The first woman elected to a countywide office was Florence B. Cloud, as Director of the Poor in 1923. General Elections Returns, CCARS.
73. Erastus Long Austin, ed., "The Sesqui-centennial International Exposition: A Record Based on Official Data and Departmental Reports," *Current Publications* (1929), 147.
74. Joan Marie Johnson, *Funding Feminism; Monied Women, Philanthropy, and Women's Movement, 1870-1967* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), chaps. 1-2.