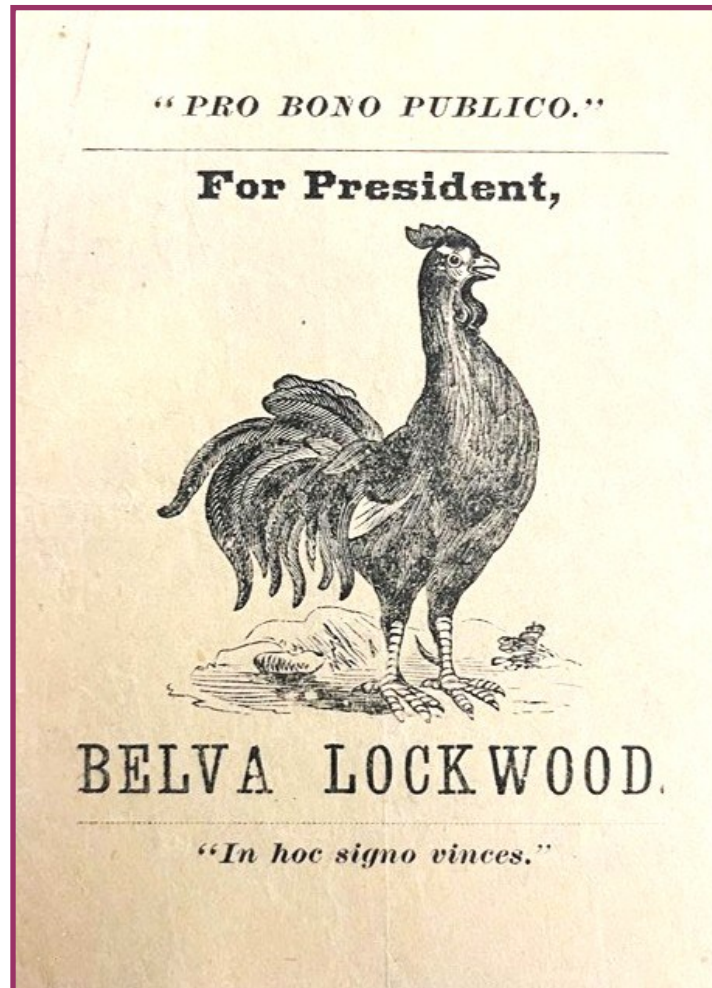


Issue # 62

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THE CLARION



The Woman's Suffrage and Political Issues Chapter of the American Political Items Conservators

A non profit organization dedicated to the preservation of political memorabilia
www.apic.us

Kenneth Florey, Editor
Emilia van Beugen, Associate Editor
Collaborative Contributors:
Robert Fratkin Germaine Broussard

Editor's Notes

Our cover illustration comes to us from Cecily Dyer, the Special Collections Librarian at Pequot Library in Southport, Connecticut, who has very kindly given us permission to reproduce it. The Lockwood piece, which measures 3 ¾" x 5", came from a folder at the Library that contained approximately 37 Connecticut ballots, mostly from the 1870's and 80's, but a few from the 1860's as well. The folder does not have a clear provenance. To the best of our knowledge, this example of Lockwood memorabilia has never surfaced previously. Our assumption, given the nature of the surrounding material, is that this piece, too, is a ballot even though it does not list other candidates, such as either a vice-presidential running mate or presidential electors. There is a possibility that it is a satiric piece since much of the known Lockwood presidential memorabilia consisted of a derisive swipe at her candidacy. In October 1884, there was a mock rally and parade held in Mystic, Connecticut in which men, attired in dresses, carried torches and rag babies while marching to Williams and Dudley's square, where a hand-drawn banner bearing Lockwood's portrait was raised upon which the words "For President Belva Lockwood" was inscribed. There a speech was given by "Anna Dickinson," a caricature of the labor and suffrage activist portrayed by Oliver Hewitt, who may have been the editor of the local newspaper. A poem to Lockwood was read and later distributed to the laughing crowd by an anonymous "Sweet Singer of Lyme." There is no evidence that the ballot in question had anything at all to do with the Mystic spectacle, but it is intriguing to think that it might have. If any of you has any information about this piece, please get in touch and I will forward it to the Pequot Library.

Some suffrage scholars have bemoaned the fact that, with the major attention given to Eastern suffragists such as Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucy Stone, Western suffragists have often been ignored. Bob Fratkin recently forwarded to us an article from the *Los Angeles Times*, which, while discussing the successful California campaign of 1911, also focusses on some local women who deserve recognition. The first was Ella Lovell Tibbets, a committed abolitionist, a social utopian, a spiritualist, and a tireless suffragist, who was twice divorced at a time when "proper women" seldom allowed a divorcee into their society. Tibbets and her third husband, Luther Tibbets, joined other progressive families and moved West to Riverside, founded by the activist John Wesley North.

A second woman deserving recognition, as pointed out by UCLA suffrage scholar Ellen Dubois, is Maria Guadalupe Evangelina de Lopez, a native of Los Angeles and future instructor at UCLA. She gave suffrage speeches around Southern California and translated suffrage leaflets into Spanish and had 50,000 of them distributed at the L.A. Plaza prior to election day. She went to France during WWI, drove an ambulance, learned to fly, and was honored by the French Government.

Other women mentioned in the *Times* article include Naomi Bowman Anderson, Lydia Flood Jackson, and Katherine Edson. Anderson was a Black woman who had moved to San Francisco in the 1890's. A committed suffragist, she died in 1899 before either the State or the National Amendment came to pass. Lydia Flood Jackson, another Bay area Black woman, campaigned for both civil rights and for suffrage. She once said, "suffrage stands out as one of the component factors of democracy—suffrage is one of the most powerful levers by which we hope to elevate our women to the highest planes of life." Jackson died at 101, a year before the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became enacted. Katherine Edson was a major figure in the suffrage movement in Los Angeles. In her later years she fought for the minimum wage and for better working conditions for women. At this point, we have not seen suffrage memorabilia connected with any of the above, not even Maria Lopez's Spanish translations of suffrage leaflets. If you have any examples, please get in touch. We would love to publish images in a future issue of *The Clarion*.

... Editor's Notes, cont'd.

We are grateful to Cecily Dyer, Bruce DeMay, Robert Fratkin, Phoebe Knepley, Wendy Chmielewski, and John Koster for providing us with material for this issue. Please consider us if you have articles, images, or news that you would like to contribute. We always appreciate your thoughts and insights.

New Hampshire School Ballot

The image below comes via the courtesy of Bruce DeMay. It is a satirical ballot from Concord, New Hampshire, undated but probably from the late 1870's or early 1880's. On the left are the fractured names of three women candidates for school board along with that of Joseph H. Gallinger, who at the time was a state representative, then later a congressman, and finally a U. S. Senator.

Women in New Hampshire became eligible to serve on school committees in 1871 even before earning the right to vote in school elections in 1878. Thus a woman could serve but could not vote for herself. A bill was introduced in the legislature in 1887 to extend that franchise to municipal elections in general, but it was defeated. In 1902, during a State Constitutional Convention, suffragists campaigned to remove the word "male" from the state's voter qualification clause. The measure passed the convention but was defeated by New Hampshire voters in 1903.

Even though the piece is satirical, it does represent one of the earliest instances of women's names appearing on an electoral ballot in any form. Bruce does not know if Hutchinson, Fagan, and McLaughlin ever really ran for school board. Wendy Chmielewski, one of the main researchers for the on-line site *Her Hat Was In the Ring* that attempts to identify every woman who ran for public office from 1850-1920 contributes the following information: "I've done a little searching around but not found any of these names as potential candidates for the Concord school board.

There are some annual reports online from the Concord, NH board of education, but the latest one for this period is 1880, and doesn't contain any of these family names. I couldn't find any of the women listed in NH digital newspapers for the 1870s through 1880s. Nor did I find these names in the 1880 census for Concord. The ballot is likely to be 1878 or later as you say, as women in NH were then able to vote in school elections, and thus actually be elected to school boards. We have found 16 women who ran successfully for school boards in the state before 1878."



Women's Suffrage Stove Polish

One of the earliest products, if not the earliest, to have a brand name with linkage to the emerging woman's rights movement in America was *Woman's Suffrage Stove Polish*, made by the Phoenix Manufacturing Company of Taunton, Massachusetts. Taunton was famous during the late nineteenth century for its iron works and for its silversmiths, suggesting a reason why they would also be involved in manufacturing stove polish.

The polish appears to have been distributed nationally in the late 1870s, early 1880s. The first known ad for the product appeared six times in the *Davenport Democrat* (Davenport, Iowa) in March of 1876, and similar copy was published in *The Rock Island Argus* (Rock Island, Illinois) on January 20, 1879. Each of these ads was text only and focused on "Twelve Good Reasons Why *Woman's Suffrage Stove Polish* is preferred to all others." An ad for the product appeared in 1883 in *The New England Business Directory*, where it was pictured for the first time alongside of several other Phoenix products.

ESTABLISHED 1844.

Phoenix Manufacturing Co.

TAUNTON, MASS.
U. S. A.



PHOENIX MFG CO
TAUNTON MASS
MANUFACTURERS
OF
SUPERIOR
PATENTED
BLACK LEAD
CRUCIBLES



UNRIVALLED
MANUFACTURERS OF
PURE CEYLON PLUMBAGO.



**THE
WOMAN'S
SUFFRAGE
STOVE POLISH**

CORRESPONDENCE SOLICITED.

CRUCIBLES, STOVE POLISH,

And every known article in our line of business. For Illustrated and Descriptive Circulars and Prices, address
PHOENIX MANUFACTURING COMPANY, - - - - - TAUNTON, MASS., U. S. A.

1706
NEW ENGLAND BUSINESS DIRECTORY.

The naming of the product is curious. Phoenix did not appear to be a necessarily progressive firm, as the racist image in the left portion of the above ad indicates. There is nothing in the twelve good reasons for purchasing the product alluded to earlier that would suggest a specific appeal to the activist woman. In fact, the product seems embedded in the concept of woman as someone whose true function is in the house, not in the world of politics. In later years, other companies that manufactured face cream, overalls, nerve tonic, shredded wheat, corn flakes, and automobiles would also target the woman with suffragist sympathies, but Phoenix was ahead of its times. While the naming of the polish may have developed out of possible social concerns, it was more probably a cynical attempt to devise a sales gimmick to appeal to women who now had purchasing power.

... Stove Polish, cont'd.

Collectors of trade or advertising cards are quite familiar with the product as at least six varieties of such cards were published in the 1880's. Trade cards were small pieces of thin cardboard upon which a merchant or manufacturer advertised his or her services or products, generally through the use of highly graphic illustrations, sometimes depicting generic scenes, sometimes illustrating the product itself. Pictured below are representative examples of trade cards advertising the polish. On the back of each is a listing of the twelve reasons alluded to earlier.






Although these trade cards are relatively common, no surviving examples of the product, curiously enough, are known today among collectors.

Latest Bonhams Auction of Suffrage Memorabilia

Bonhams Auction House of Knightsbridge, London recently concluded on December 4 an on-line auction of Books, Manuscripts, and Historical Photographs. Included among the 125 lots in the sale were a variety of suffrage items of note, some of which are described below. All images in this article are © Bonhams and cannot be reproduced without their permission. All prices listed include buyer's premium in U.S.D.

... Bonhams, cont'd.

		
<p>Motoring Scarf</p>	<p>Bound Volume of <i>Votes for Women</i></p>	<p>Pin, Cloth, and Papers</p>

One of the highlights of the auction was a tri-colored scarf with “Votes for Women” printed at each end on cream Japanese silk. It was produced for the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1908 in their official colors of purple, green, and white. It is similar to that scarf taken to the Derby by martyred suffragist Emily Wilding Davison. Period photographs show its multiple uses. It could be worn over a hat to keep it in place while motoring, draped over the chest as a makeshift sash, or around the neck as a scarf. It was sold for 2s 11d and first advertised as a “motoring scarf” in the WSPU journal *Votes for Women* in June, 1908. Despite its apparent popularity, it rarely appears on the market, and this is the first example that we can recall seeing in auction. It was gaveled off (with BP) at an eye-opening \$12,201.21, reflecting today the popularity of suffrage items in cloth.

The item appearing in the middle above is a bound copy of the first volume of *Votes for Women*, October 1907 to September 1908, the official publication of the WSPU, edited by Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence. On the cover is an image of “The Trumpeter,” designed by Sylvia Pankhurst. The WSPU bound and sold the first four years of this

publication. A fifth volume was put together by the Lawrences after they parted ways with the WSPU in 1912. These volumes are indispensable for any scholar of the English suffrage movement. This particular volume contains news about WSPU meetings and events, planned protests and demonstrations, including the famous Hyde Park Protest of June 21, 1908, and biographies of noteworthy suffragists. It went for \$894.91, which was a bargain for someone.

Lot three above is a bit of a mystery. It contained a common comic postcard, 15 issues of *Votes for Women*, 5 damaged issues of *The Suffragette*, and a brooch in the form of a five-bar gate with the words “Only for One” picked out in purple enamel. The brooch was pinned to a home-made bow in the colors of green, purple, and white and attached to a purple armband. At present, no other examples of this piece are known, nor does the slogan appear on any other WSPU memorabilia. It is possible, albeit speculative, that the brooch was not intended originally to be connected to the suffrage movement at all and was simply added at one time to the bow because it resembled the Holloway gate design that former WSPU prison inmates wore. In any event, the piece drew a final bid with BP of \$1,301.28.

... Bonhams, cont'd.

		
<p>Official WSPU sash</p>	<p>Home-Made WSPU sash</p>	<p>Women's Rights in 100 Years</p>

The auction featured three sashes, two of which were similar official WSPU pieces, the third was a home-made sash with the lettering carefully designed to resemble the original. The original sash was designed by Sylvia Pankhurst and probably worn during the major WSPU rally of June 21, 1908. They were manufactured by Toye and Company of Birmingham, who had a large female workforce and who also produced other types of memorabilia for the WSPU, including buttons and badges. While supporters could purchase these sashes through the WSPU, they were also probably retailed at various independent shops as well as through department stores such as Selfridges, which opened the same year as the rally. While WSPU sashes are scarce to find, several of them have appeared in Bonhams auctions during the last few years. It is unusual to find two such pieces in the same auction competing against one another. The two went for an identical \$3,578.72.

There is some speculation about why the hand-made copy of the official sash was made. Presumably such artifacts were constructed by women who could not afford the originals or lacked access to the versions

made by Toye. In her study *Suffrage and the Sewing Machine*, Nicola Minnery argues that the practical necessity of women turning out their own pieces transformed sewing from what was seen as a traditional female occupation and a sign of femininity into a political statement; now needlework and embroidery could be used as signs of power and strength. This fascinating piece of what might be considered by some to be “folk art” realized a final price of \$3,060.21, fairly close to the price obtained by the two manufactured sashes in the auction.

The satirical handkerchief depicted on the upper right and entitled “Women’s Rights and What Became of It ‘1981’” depicts the consequences of what will happen in 100 years should women achieve equality. There would be a topsy-turvy world in which women would take over traditional male roles in politics, science, the law, the Army, the Navy, and the Police force. Men, on the other hand, would now be reduced to doing the laundry. This handkerchief has become a popular auction item as of late. Here the final price was \$975.95.

Towards a Definition of Canon

The button and ribbon pictured on the following page were issued for the Democratic Women’s State Convention held in Oklahoma City on January 27, 1920. The Convention was actually called by a man, Ben F. Lafayette, Chair of the Democratic State Committee, for the purpose of perfecting a State organization of Democratic women who would then have a role in local party politics. Women of Oklahoma had been granted the franchise on November 5, 1918 when voters ratified by a 25,428 majority a universal woman suffrage

... Definition of Canon, cont'd.

amendment to the State Constitution. Oklahoma thus became the 21st State to grant women the right to vote. Mrs. George [Elizabeth Merrill] Bass, pictured in the button below and a veteran of political women's clubs from out-of-state, was one of several speakers to address the Convention that night on the part that Democratic women could and should play in Oklahoma elections. The piece does raise an interesting question as to what are the parameters of a true suffrage item.



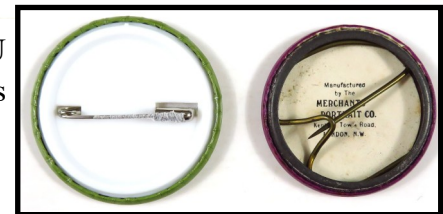
Taking advantage of the fact that Illinois had given women full voting rights in 1913, Merrill Bass ran for County Commissioner in 1914 and became a rising star in the Democratic Party. In 1916, she became the first woman to be appointed as manager in a National Political Organization, directing the women's campaign for Woodrow Wilson in the 12 states where women could then vote. In 1920 she travelled to Louisiana in a futile attempt to urge the legislature there to make the State the 36th [and final] State to ratify the National Suffrage Amendment. She had previously worked for ratification in Delaware, Alabama, and Illinois where her contributions were more successful. She was as well a passionate progressive and pacifist, supporting President Wilson's plan to form a League of Nations.

The item pictured above brings up an interesting question regarding definition. Among collectors, what constitutes a suffrage item? Beyond memorabilia that contain an obvious suffrage reference such as "Votes for Women" or those that promote a specific suffrage organization such as the National Woman's Party, what other factors might determine the parameters of a suffrage item? Is the Oklahoma ribbon a bed-rock suffrage piece? On the surface one might say "no!" The Conference was held not to promote suffrage but to assist women in participating in a political process in the State that they had been granted access to roughly two years earlier. And that was Miller Bass' intention, to discuss her experiences in forming an organization that would promote the interests and rights of women. Still, she was an active suffragist whose current political role involved not only promoting the National Democratic Party but also in seeking general ratification of the 19th amendment throughout the country. Ultimately, the decision as to what to include or not to include in a suffrage collection is up to an individual, and one can either be as restrictive or as expansive as one wishes. Whatever the case, bed rock suffrage or not, the piece does have relevancy in the emergence of women as a political force in this country.

Suffrage Reproductions from the U.K.

Robert Fratkin forwarded to us several reproductions of suffrage memorabilia that he had purchased from museums during his recent trip to London. These pieces are all carefully packaged and marked as memorabilia on the cards to which they are either attached or packaged. They were produced as souvenirs with no intent to deceive. However, if unpackaged and artificially aged, they could present problems to some collectors who are not familiar with the originals.

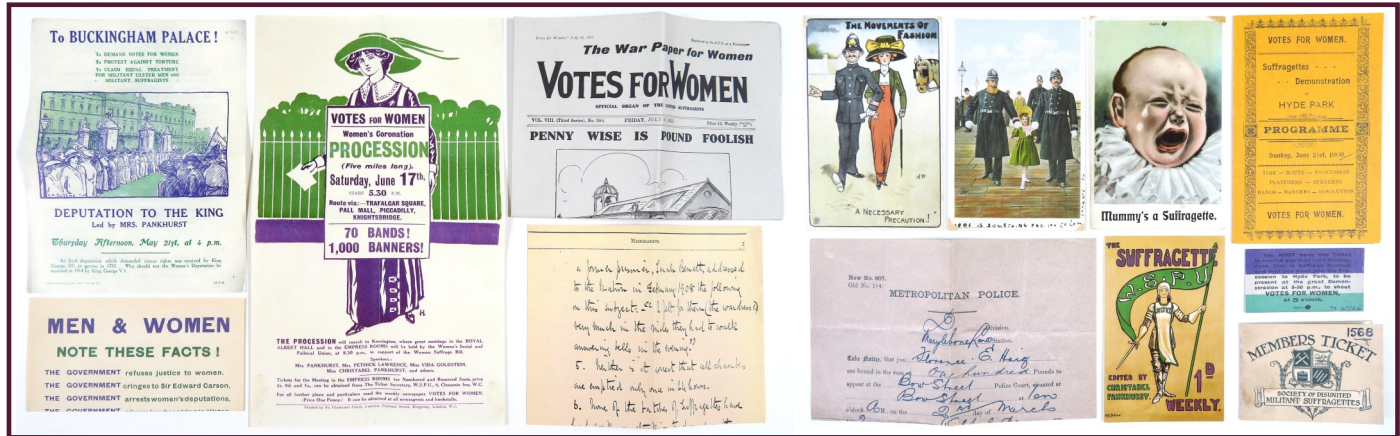
The first example that is pictured to the right is a card with four different pins. Produced by Custom Works from images provided by the Museum of London, three of the four are true to their original size, while the fourth, the replica of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies badge, is slightly larger than its prototype. The entire collection can be recognized as reproductions by the fact that each button contains a white filled back with a safety pin clasp. White filled backs were never produced during the suffrage period, and three of the original four items (not including the NUWSS enamel) were manufactured with straight pins, not safety pin clasps. The plastic used to cover these reproductions is also not of the period. What is interesting is that when Custom Works sought to reproduce the green, gold, and white WFL pin, they used a foxed pin to copy. The original of this pin was especially subject to foxing, and I have seen very few examples that are totally clean. Several of these buttons have appeared individually on eBay with the sellers somewhat evasive about whether they are original or modern reproductions. Pictured to the right is the back of the reproduction WSPU pin where you can see its white filled back which clearly indicates that it is a reproduction. To the right of it is the back of the authentic WSPU pin.



The next item, also produced by Custom Works, is a green, white, and purple pin that was originally distributed by Emmeline Pankhurst's Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). This replica is slightly larger than the original and has a pinched clasp in the rear instead of a safety pin arrangement. The lettering is slightly different and is set in a silver color instead of the original purple. Moreover, the original, unlike the replica, is set in true silver and not in a silverish metal.

The final grouping, designed and produced by the Memorabilia Pack Company of Edinburgh, consists of a pack of 14 different paper items, including suffrage postcards, a suffrage paper, a ticket to a Hyde Park rally, a poster, several leaflets, and a program. Most of these are readily recognizable as modern reproductions—the paper used is too slick, the size of most of the items has been reduced, and two of the postcards have other postcards printed on their reverse. Memorabilia Pack Company has been careful to identify their efforts as reproductions. The grouping comes in a cellophane pack that has a sticker marked “replica” attached. In addition, each item is marked “replica” in small letters somewhere on the piece. It is unfortunate that other producers of reproductions are not as careful in identifying the nature of their products.

... UK Reproductions, cont'd.



All of this leaves a question that has bothered critics of reproductions of any type over the years. Awhile back, executors of Nelson Rockefeller's estate were severely criticized for reproducing art works from his wonderful collection of antiques. Their response to the outcry was that they were giving people a chance to display and appreciate a magnificent work of art, albeit a reproduction, in their own home. Why should they have to travel to a museum to see artistic creations? I suppose that the same type of discussion could be applied to reproduced suffrage memorabilia. Suffrage memorabilia can be expensive, and, as long as items are clearly marked for what they are, should not the general public have direct access to these reflections of history? Clearly, they are popular with the general public. Is it not collector elitism that is responsible for the antipathy towards reproductions? While we at *The Clarion* are sympathetic to such an argument, we have seen too many reproductions later passed off as originals to be entirely comfortable with their presence.

Spiritualism and Suffrage - Another Ribbon

In a previous issue of *The Clarion* we pictured a 1903 Woman's Day ribbon, shown again below, from the City of Light Assembly (Lily Dale), an event where Susan B. Anthony and Anna Howard Shaw were featured speakers. Lily Dale, originally incorporated in 1879 near Cassadaga Lake in New York, is a Spiritualist Community composed of people who believe that it is possible to communicate with dead spirits. Each year they host about 22,000 visitors who come for its classes, workshops, demonstrations, and private meetings with mediums. At one time there were numerous other such communities throughout the country, but, with the decline of Spiritualism, most folded with Lily Dale being one of the few noteworthy exceptions.

In his 2010 book, *The Spirits of Lily Dale*, Ron Nagy, writing with Joyce LaJustice, includes a brief account of this 1903 event. Paraphrasing from *The Sunflower*, the official paper of the Lily Dale Association:

"The evening of the 4th of August the [Lily Dale] band went to the depot and escorted Miss Susan B. Anthony to the Leolyn Hotel where she was to be the guest of Mrs. Pettengill. The next morning the first meeting of the day was a symposium which a number of prominent workers took part. Some of the women on the platform were Mrs. A. LO. Pettengill, President of the City of Light Assembly, Susan B. Anthony, Rochester, N. Y., Honorary President of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, Rev. Anna H. Shaw, Philadelphia, Penna., Vice President of the National Suffrage Association; Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman [author of "The Yellow Wallpaper" and *Herland*], New York City, writer and lecturer.

"Mrs. Gilman's work is principally with the family, mothers and children, and her lectures are principally concerned with home life. Miss Anthony is pledged to universal suffrage, while Miss Shaw covers the entire field of human rights—woman in particular."

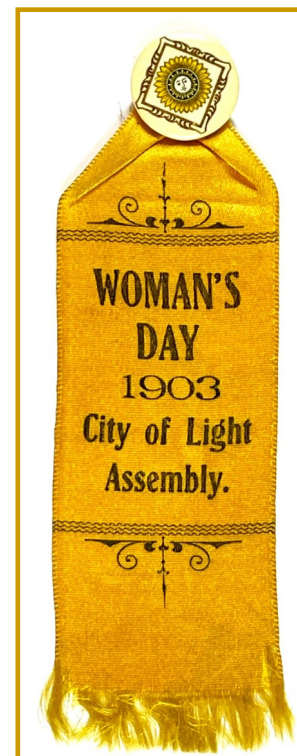
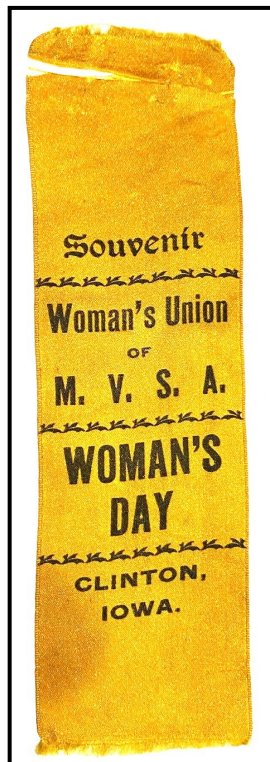
... Spiritualism, cont'd.

Lily Dale, however, may not have been the only Spiritualist Community that had ties with Women's Rights and/or the Suffrage movement. Recently, John Koster came upon the ribbon on the left below.

The initials M.V. S. A. stand for the Mississippi Valley Spiritualists Association that established a camp in 1885 at Mt. Pleasant Park in Clinton, Iowa. Over the years, the camp became prosperous, and several permanent dwellings including a hotel were constructed. Hundreds of people attended events there—seances were popular. Mediums practiced healing, channeling, premonitions, spirit rappings and other clairvoyant acts. Never as large and prominent as Lily Dale, the Park, nevertheless, became quite a local attraction, and the Association built the first outdoor pool in the area. With the decline in interest in Spiritualism, fewer families remained in the camp and the hotel began to deteriorate. When the National Association of Churches failed to pay taxes and penalties of more than \$19,000 for 2010-2013, Clinton County

took possession and turned it over to the city in 2018. The City, looking to extend its tax base, offered the property for sale to a developer, provided he build housing units for the retired and elderly as well as tear down all existing structures.

It is not known what year the ribbon on the left was issued, but it, like its Lily Dale counterpart, was probably produced in the early 20th century during the period of suffrage activism. What else is not known is what the program for "Woman's Day" consisted of. It very well may have involved topics other than suffrage. Few records survive from the camp, so it is not known if any suffragist of note ever attended its camp meetings. Still, suffrage item or not, the ribbon does reinforce the strong connection between Spiritualism and feminist thought. An excellent book that drives home the relation is Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).



Suffrage Memorabilia from the 1909 A-Y-P Exposition



The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (AYP) was held in Seattle, Washington from June 1 to October 16, 1909. One of the purposes of this World's Fair was to publicize the development of the Pacific Northwest. But it also celebrated the achievements of the region's women. One of the major exhibits of the Expo was the Women's Building, which emphasized the role of women in pioneering the American West along with their current charity work. The building survives today and is located on the campus of the University of Washington, where it now is called Cunningham Hall (after Imogen Cunningham—the famous American woman photographer) and houses various educational and other exhibits related to women.

Suffragists saw the A-Y-P as a wonderful way to not only publicize the movement but also to advance its political goals. The last state to grant women full suffrage had been Idaho in 1896, and suffragists across the country were becoming increasingly anxious about the possibility of ever adding a fifth star to the suffrage flag. Washington seemed like a golden opportunity. The West had hitherto been more receptive to the franchise for women than the East, and the Washington legislature had in 1909 authorized a referendum on the question for November 1910. Prior to the Legislature's action, the National American Woman Suffrage Association had scheduled its annual convention at Plymouth Church in Seattle on July 1-6, 1909, and the Washington Equal Suffrage Association planned to hold its one-day-meeting the day prior.

The planning committee of the Exposition was quite hospitable to the concept of suffrage at the fair. The Washington Equal Suffrage Association was allowed to maintain a permanent suffrage exhibit on the grounds during the entire run of the Exposition. And the committee assisted NAWSA in scheduling a Woman Suffrage Day on July 7, the day after the closing of its own suffrage convention in Seattle.

National leaders made big plans for Suffrage Day. They rented a special train from the Northern Pacific Railway that carried them to the Exposition. They added members to their party as the train wound its way West. By the time the train reached Seattle's King Station on June 29, 1909 it had carried more than 250 suffragists.

Among those aboard were Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Harriet Taylor Upton, the leader of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, Alice Stone Blackwell, daughter of Lucy Stone, her father, Henry Blackwell, Lucy Anthony, niece of the late Susan B. Anthony, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, author of the feminist short story, "The Yellow Wallpaper," and Pauline Perlmutter Steinem, first woman elected to public office in Toledo, Ohio and grandmother of the modern activist Gloria Steinem. On Suffrage Day, these women appeared at a free morning public meeting at the Exposition Auditorium where a large crowd had gathered to hear what they had to say.

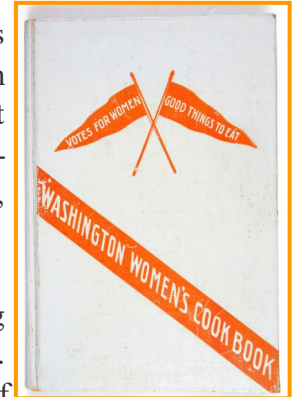
An ecstatic Alice Stone Blackwell reported: "In the morning after arriving at the Exposition, we found above the gate a big banner with the inscription 'Woman Suffrage Day.' Every person entering the fairgrounds was presented with a special button and a green ribbon badge representing the Equal Suffrage Association of Washington, the Evergreen



... AYP Expo, cont'd.

State. High in the air over the grounds floated a large 'Votes for Women' kite. All the toy balloons that day were stamped with the words 'Votes for Women' and many of the delegates went around hovering them over their heads like Japanese lanterns—yellow, red, white or green, but predominantly green.”

In late 1908, the Washington Equal Suffrage Association had published 3,000 copies of the *Washington Women's Cook Book*. This book followed the pattern of other such suffrage compilations by printing recipes donated by suffragists around the state. It served both as a fund-raiser and as a way to implant the suffrage message in a non-threatening way. While the book was sold throughout Washington prior to the Expo, enough copies were still available to be distributed there also.



The last suffrage event associated with the A-Y-P Exposition was a mountain climbing expedition led by Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, photographer Asahel Curtis, and Major E. S.



Ingraham. The plan was to reach the summit of Mount Rainier and plant there a large Alaska-Yukon-Pacific flag along with a smaller pennant bearing the motto "Votes for Women" attached to its staff. Unfortunately, after only about 15 minutes in place, the staff snapped as a result of high winds, so the climbers placed instead the flag and the pennant inside the crater of the mountain and left them there for

posterity. The pennant was a smaller version of the one that had flown from a hot-air balloon over the A-Y-P grounds on Suffrage Day.

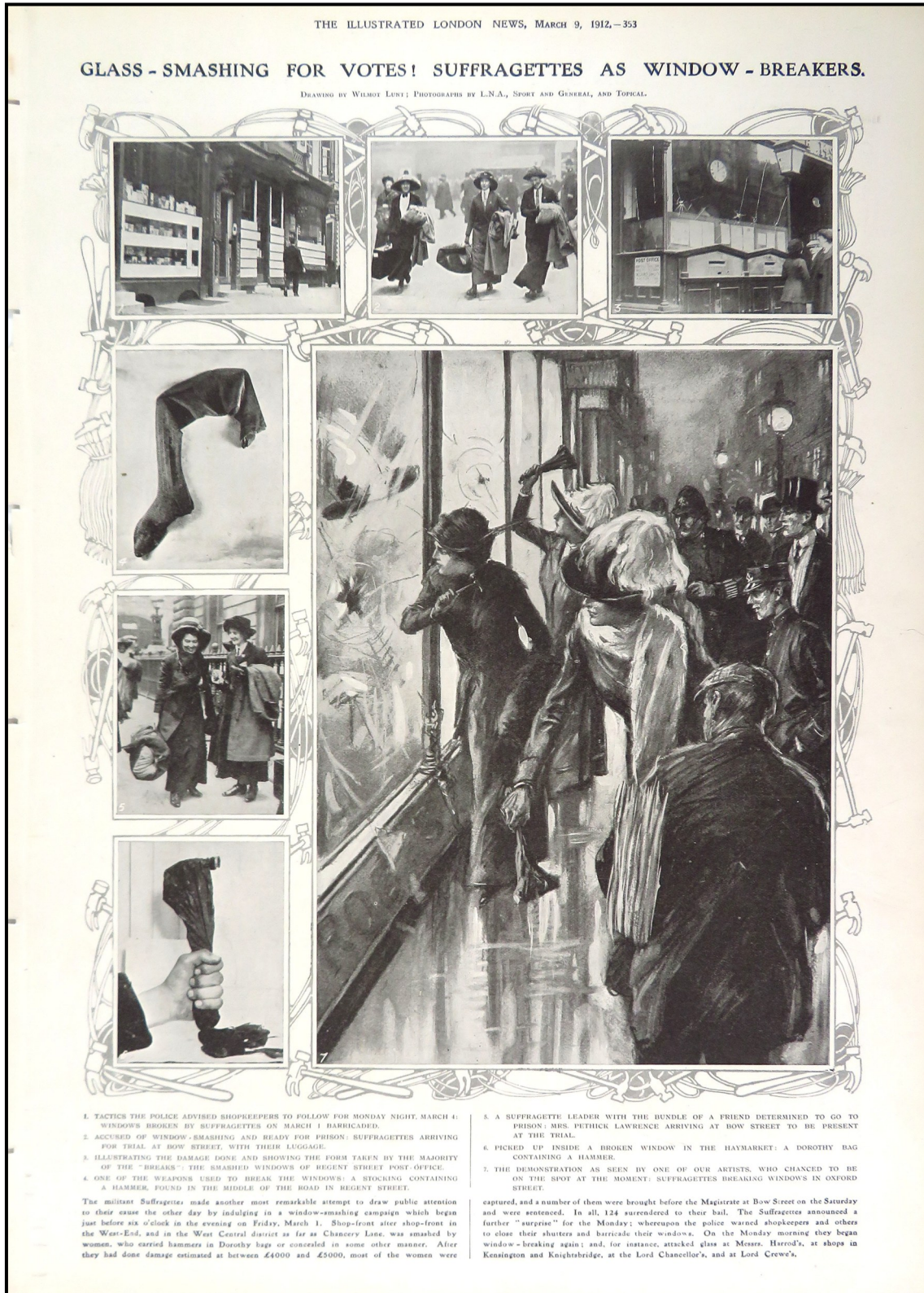
Window Smashing Campaign Pin

The small pin, measuring approximately 1" x 1 ½" and resembling a small toffee hammer, is marked "March 1912." It was awarded to those who had broken windows for the cause in an event that was to affect seriously the direction that the Women's Social and Political Union was to take in the coming months.

In a dinner on February 12, 1912 to honor the prisoners who had been released from a demonstration that had been held the previous November, Emmeline Pankhurst told those assembled that "the argument of a broken pane of glass is the most valuable argument in modern politics." The WSPU had always been a militant organization, but the level of violence picked up considerably in 1912 with not only an expansion of window breaking, but also, in addition, bombings, arson, and destruction of valuable art. The Union announced a protest meeting to be held in Parliamentary Square on March 4. However, it also organized an "impromptu" event for March 1, three days earlier, that involved the smashing of shop windows in the West-End of London and in the West Central District as far as Chancery Lane.



... Window Smashing, cont'd.



Activists attacked approximately 270 premises resulting in over 6,000 English pounds worth of damages not only to glass fronts but to electrical systems as well. An estimated 150-200 women took part in the destruction of which 126 were committed to trial. Those found guilty were sentenced from 14 days to 6 months in jail. In addition, the Pethick Lawrences, the editors of the WSPU journal *Votes for Women*, were

... Window Smashing, cont'd.

held responsible for the damages even though they had not actively taken part in the demonstration. The fines, however, ultimately came out of WSPU coffers, which were virtually depleted as a result.

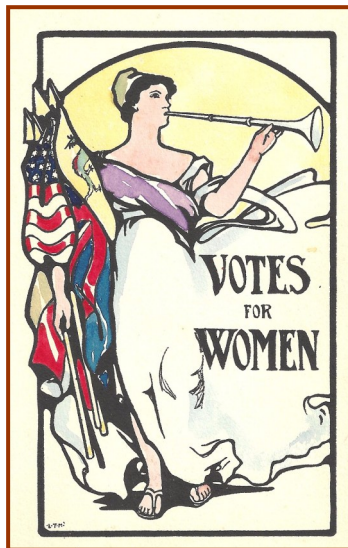
Demonstrators had broken the windows using a variety of methods. Some threw stones, others carried weights in "Dorothy Bags," and still others used hammers. A shop in Fetton Lane had sold 24 toffee hammers to activists, resulting in that instrument becoming a symbol for the rampage.

One woman, Lillian Ball, a working-class dress maker from Tooting, recalled at trial how she had been taken to a planning meeting on the second floor of the Gardenia Restaurant and was asked if she wanted to serve a short or a long sentence, an indication that the planners were well aware that they would be arrested. Ball, concerned about her children, chose a short sentence and was assigned but one item to break, a small window at the United Service Museum. Because she did not have with her an instrument

to break the glass, she was given a hammer with the inscription "Better [Rather] Broken Windows Than Broken Promises."

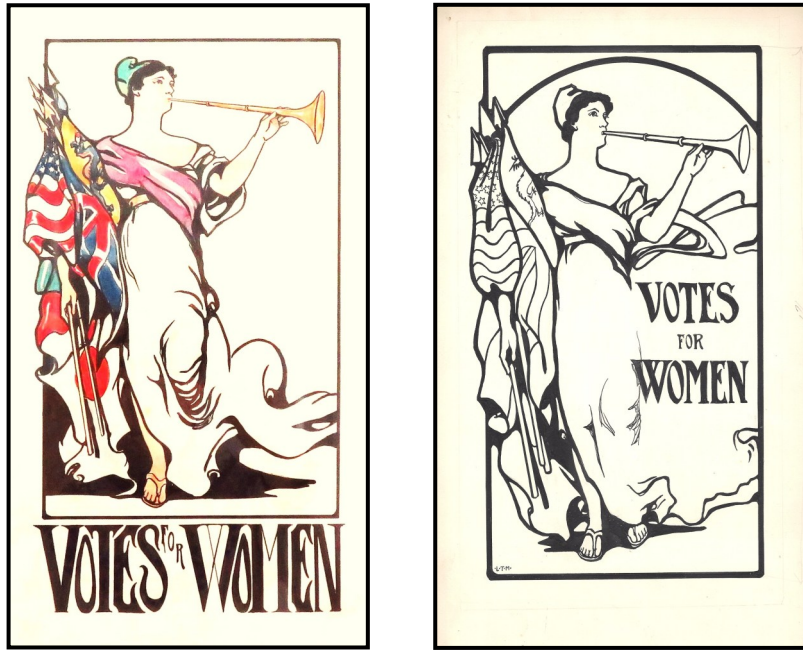
Mrs. Pankhurst and the Pethick Lawrences were charged with conspiracy to commit damage under the Malicious Injury to Property Act and were imprisoned. Christabel Pankhurst, Emmeline's daughter, was not at WSPU headquarters when her mother was arrested and managed with the help of friends, to escape to Paris where she continued to direct WSPU affairs. One of those helping her was Nurse Pine, whose medal was described in the April issue of *The Clarion*. After their release from prison, the Pethick Lawrences indicated that they were no longer in favor of acts of violence. Emmeline and Sylvia Pankhurst, disappointed by their change of heart, expelled them from the WSPU. The husband and wife then went on to found the Votes for Women Fellowship, a short-lived, non-violent organization. They retained control, however, of the journal *Votes for Women* that they had edited for the WSPU.

Letitia Thompson Maxwell

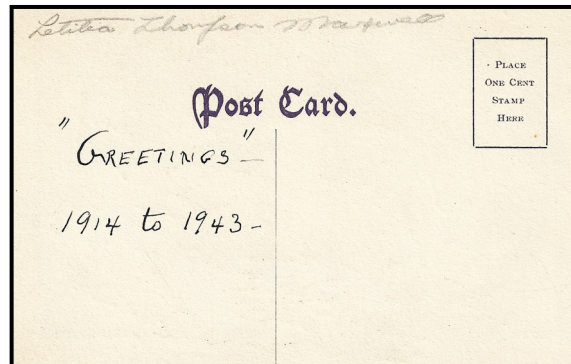


Around 1970, an artist's "proof" postcard with the image pictured above surfaced in the hobby. It was closely followed by two more proofs measuring approximately 9 1/2" x 14" each, one in black and white and one in color. While these two additional pieces could have been models for a poster, they were more probably part of the production process for the postcard. Note the small variations between the two in the images shown below, particularly in the placement of the phrase "Votes for Women".

... Letitia , cont'd.



The postcard proof is signed with the initials ‘LTM’ on the bottom left. The rear of the card indicates in pencil that ‘LTM’ stands for Letitia Thompson Maxwell, the artist of the piece. In another hand, probably Maxwell’s, the message ‘Greetings-1914 to 1943’ appears, perhaps indicating that the image was originally drawn in 1914 and the design was given to someone else in 1943.



The card was eventually published, but there is nothing on the rear of the card to indicate whether it was a commercial piece or a fundraiser distributed by a suffrage organization. Maxwell copyrighted the design, so she may have been responsible for producing the card herself. Whatever the case, the published card is rare, which is a shame, because it is one of the most attractive of all suffrage postcards.

Maxwell, born in Pottstown, Pennsylvania in 1886, received her artistic training at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women. She married Reuben Ely, a farmer, and moved with her husband to New Hope, Pennsylvania where she painted in both oil and

watercolor. Her granddaughter, Phoebe Knepley, recently got in touch with the *Clarion*, and provided us with additional details.

Maxwell attended the Philadelphia School about the same time as Anne Parrish, a cousin of Maxfield Parrish and a distinguished writer. Maxwell later was to paint a portrait of her while at the school. She took lessons from Daniel Garber, and painted his daughter, Tanis, one of her more noted portraits. She was also a potter and jewelry maker as well as a collector of shells. Curiously enough, her granddaughter until recently was unaware of Maxwell’s connection to the suffrage movement.

... Letitia , cont'd.

There are no other known suffrage designs attributed to Maxwell, who, nevertheless, should be regarded as one of the most talented artists to paint for the cause.

“Rich Variety of Foreign Regalia”

The headline of a story that appeared in the January 11, 1913 issue of the suffrage publication *The Woman's Journal* read “Rich Variety of Foreign Regalia—Duchess of Marlborough Sends Mother Collection from Different English Societies.”

The mother in question was Mrs. Alva Belmont, the wealthy but imperious founder and president of the Women's Political Equality Association of New York. The Duchess was her daughter, Consuela, whom she had badgered into marrying the Duke of Marlborough, making her abandon a man in America that she loved. The marriage turned out to be an unhappy one that eventually led to a divorce. The Duke was a philanderer, caring little for Consuela other than for the money that she brought into the marriage.

Nevertheless, mother and daughter remained in touch. When Belmont wanted something a bit exotic with which to decorate her Political Equality League headquarters located at 15 East 41st Street in New York, she sent a request to her daughter to forward some materials from the English campaign. Accordingly, Consuela shipped back items, primarily buttons and sashes, from approximately twenty-five different suffrage groups, which Belmont quickly put on display.