

Issue # 66

Winter 2026



THE CLARION



VOTE FOR

The
Children's
Friend.



The
People's
Champion.

Mrs. DESPARD

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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
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Editor's Notes

Our cover image this issue is that of a 1918 campaign poster for Parliament promoting Madame Charlotte Despard who stood as the Labour Party candidate in the constituency of North Battersea. This was the first election in which a limited portion of English women were both legally allowed to vote and to stand for Parliament following the passage of the Qualification of Women Act of 1918. She was 74 years old at the time of the election, and, although defeated, she did manage to poll approximately 33% of the vote. Her platform consisted of equal political rights, equal pay, child welfare (as indicated on the poster) and abolition of the Defence of the Realm Act. Despard was the President of the Women's Freedom League (WFL), the suffrage group that broke away from the more militant Women's Social and Political Union in 1907 because of disagreements over the WSPU's lack of a democratic structure and the Pankhurst family's autocratic leadership.

16 other women stood as candidates that year, but only one emerged victorious, Constance Markievicz (Sinn Féin), winning the Dublin St. Patrick's seat while imprisoned in Holloway Jail. However, in accordance with her party's policy, she refused to take her seat in Westminster.

Two notable suffragists who also ran that year include Christabel Pankhurst (Women's Party), the co-founder of the Women's Social and Political Union who stood in Smethwick and came the closest to winning of any woman in Britain apart from the Irish candidate. She lost by only 775 votes to the representative from Labour; and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, once a close friend of the Pankhursts, but was expelled from the WSPU in 1912. She contested the Manchester Rusholme seat.



Heritage Auction

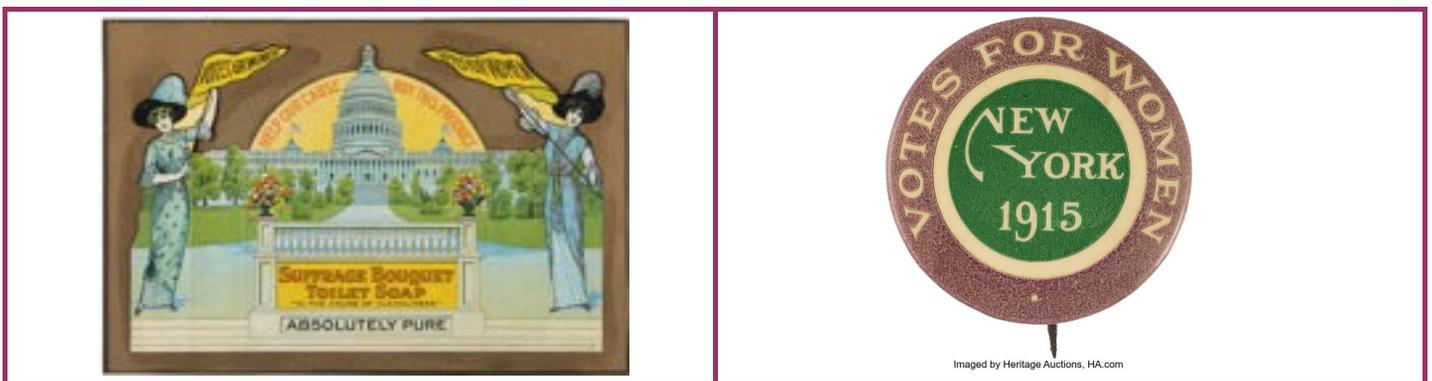
Heritage Auction House of Dallas held its recent Historical and Political auction last October 24, and while only 4 suffrage lots were included in the sale, there were some interesting results. All images pictured here are copyright protected and cannot be used without their permission.



... Heritage Auction cont'd

The most unusual item of the four suffrage pieces was this 10" tall Metropolitan Opera House pageant trophy. Fashioned of both bronze and silver, it was issued in conjunction with a pageant performed at the Met on Friday, May 2, 1913. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, served as Emcee, and Theodore Roosevelt gave an impassioned speech on behalf of Votes for Women. On one side of the trophy is inscribed the date of the event, on the other are the words: "Presented to Edward Siedle In Grateful Appreciation by American Woman Suffrage Association/ New York State Woman Suffrage Association/ Woman Suffrage Party/ Equal Franchise Society/ Collegiate Equal Suffrage League/ Political Equality Association/ Men's League for Woman Suffrage." The piece failed to achieve its minimum bid of \$1,000, perhaps because the piece was engraved instead of molded. Engraved pieces sometimes have difficulty attaining interest, unless they are known.

The 12" x 28" black on golden yellow felt pennant placed beside it is interesting in that it is dated Nov. 1916 when several states held a referendum on the issue including West Virginia, Iowa and South Dakota. While several examples have appeared in the past, this design is rare. It realized a final price with buyer's premium of \$4,750, an indication that prices for pennants and other cloth continue to remain high.



The surprise of the auction was this previously unseen 14" x 21 1/2" die-cut cardboard standing window display item for Suffrage Bouquet Toilet Soap. It depicts in full color the Capitol Building with a sunrise behind it and two suffragists waving "Votes for Women" pennants. The sign attempts to suggest that somehow the product is an official release from one of the recognized suffrage associations, for it is titled: Help Our Cause Buy This Product" and captioned "Suffrage Bouquet Toilet Soap 'In the Cause of Cleanliness' Absolutely Pure'." While it is likely that this is a commercial product instead, it is still a wonderful advertising piece. Its gavel price with BP was \$10, 625, probably a record for its category.

The final item for sale was the 1 1/4" purple, green, and white celluloid badge issued by Harriot Stanton Blatch's Women's Political Union. Despite being slightly faded and not exceptionally rare, it still realized \$500 with buyer's premium.



Bonhams Latest Suffrage Auction

Bonhams of Knightsbridge in London held a spectacular on-line sale of 80 suffrage items entitled “Deeds Not Words—A Women’s Suffrage Collection” this past November 20. Many were from the holdings of known suffragists Lilian and Amy Hicks, but there were items from the Phillips collection as well. The auction included various types of suffrage memorabilia, including posters, sashes, buttons or badges, books, postcards, and some autograph material. All images shown in this article are copyrighted by Bonhams (©Bonhams) and cannot be reprinted without their permission. Here are some of the highlights of the auction. All prices are in U.S.D. and include the buyer’s premium.



The original official journal for the militant Women’s Social and Political Union was “Votes for Women.” When the editors, Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, were expelled from the WSPU in 1912, they took the paper with them. It was replaced by ‘The Suffragette,’ originally edited by Christabel Pankhurst, who was hiding out in Paris for much of the journal’s existence. This wonderful poster was the creation of Margaret Bartels. It has been reproduced, but this is the first time I can recall ever having seen the original in auction. Its final price was an eye-popping \$60,310.99, which is by far the highest price I have ever seen for a suffrage poster in auction.

To its right is an illuminated address designed by Sylvia Pankhurst that was awarded to W.S.P.U. members who had been imprisoned for the cause. It features a large, chromolithographed Angel at the top within a purple, green, and white border that also includes the portcullis symbol as well as the prisoner’s arrow motif. This example was presented to Clara Cobb, whose name appears in ink. It was also signed personally by Emmeline Pankhurst. This piece has long been considered as one of the hallmarks of any collection of English suffrage memorabilia. It was gaveled off for \$6,366.16. While this is the highest price that I have ever seen for this piece, I do think that such addresses are still undervalued considering their beauty and historical significance.

The motoring scarf at the end is like that worn by suffragist martyr Emily Wilding Davison when she was killed at the Derby attempting to deliver a petition to the rider of the King’s horse, Anmer. Highly versatile, it could be worn around a hat to keep it in place, tied around the waist as a makeshift sash, or simply as a scarf. Selling for 2s 11d it was first advertised in *Votes for Women* in 1908. Although a popular item at the time, this is the first I can recall seeing in auction. It went for \$7,704.16.

... Bonhams Auction cont'd



Unlike their American counterparts, English suffrage ribbons were seldom given out to suffragists in general but typically reserved only for those who had an official role at a rally or demonstration. This is why the three examples sold at the Bonhams' auction are so rare. The number of varieties that sold at this auction is unparalleled, and all successful bidders are to be congratulated. The speaker's ribbon on the far left was produced for the Great "Women's Sunday" Demonstration at Hyde Park on June 21, 1908, which was a kind of coming out party for the W.S.P.U. Approximately 300,000 persons attended to see around 30,000 women marching in seven processions. Prominent speakers included Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, Keir Hardie, and George Bernard Shaw. This historic piece went for \$7,704.16.

The "Group Captain" ribbon in the center probably came from the same demonstration as well. The ribbon is of white grosgrain silk with the letters 'N.W.S.P.U.' and 'Group/ Captain' printed in green, with a hanging tassel in gold thread, and the original pin stamped with an indistinct maker's mark. According to Bonhams, it would have been accompanied by a green grosgrain 'Group Captain' sash. Its gavel price was \$7,704.16.

The third ribbon of this trio was from a different Hyde Park demonstration held on July 23, 1910. The rally was a rare collaboration between the W. S. P. U. and the Women's Freedom League, a splinter group that had broken away from Pankhurst's organization for several reasons including what they felt was a lack of democratic structure. Although militant, they avoided violence in their activities. This ribbon realized \$4,354.00.



... Bonhams Auction cont'd

The Rosette of red and white tissue was attached to a white card printed with 'Women's/ Suffrage/ Procession' in red, captioned in ink on reverse "Feb: 9 1907." The demonstration was organized by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, which avoided the violence associated with the W.S.P.U. and carried on occasion signs proclaiming, "Law Abiding Suffragists." This demonstration consisted of over 3,000 women marching from Hyde Park Corner to Exeter Hall on the Strand to coincide with the opening of Parliament, It drew the nickname "The Mud March" because it rained incessantly and heavily when the demonstration took place. This historic piece brought \$3,684.00.

The woven silk thread tie in the middle here was one of many pieces of memorabilia produced by the W.S.P.U. and sold at its shops and through its official journal *Votes for Women*. Christabel Pankhurst wore an identical tie in a photograph depicting her arrest with Flora Drummond and Emmeline Pankhurst at Clement's Inn on October 13, 1908, after the Rush on the House of Commons. This example went for \$2,009

The postcard lot on the right contained several interesting features. Of the 90 cards included 50 were photographic portrait cards of which 30 were signed. It was relatively common for leading suffragists to sign these cards, but I am not aware of any collection that contains nearly this many. The remainder of the cards depict processions, events, a few theatricals, etc. All these cards were placed in an official WFL album that is quite rare. I have seen only one other example. The collection was put together by Lilian Hicks and gaveled off at \$5,694.38.



Hunger Strike medals were issued to those members of the W.S.P.U. who had gone on a hunger strike while incarcerated in Holloway Prison. Each medal comes inscribed with the striker's name engraved on the reverse of a metal disk and is placed in a special box that contains a brief biography of that person on silk. This medal belonged to Mary Phillips and was accompanied by a three-page letter of presentation along with a portrait photograph taken by Colonel Linley Blathwayt at Batheaston showing Phillips wearing a Holloway Brooch. Hunger strike medals are rare, probably only in the range of 100 were made, but about 5 or 6 of that number have appeared recently in a Bonhams Auction. This example drew a final bid of \$21,772.65.

To its right is a Holloway or portcullis pin that was awarded to all W.S.P.U. members who had been imprisoned for the cause. This one also came from the Phillips' estate. It depicts the portcullis of the House of Commons and contains two hanging chains and a superimposed broad arrow in the W.S.P.U. colors of purple,

... Bonhams Auction cont'd

white, and green. Like the Hunger Strike medal, it is an iconic piece of the movement and a highly desirable addition to any collection of suffrage memorabilia. It also attained a final price of \$21,772.65, which is about four times higher than it has realized in recent sales.

To its right is a paper souvenir napkin produced by Sarah Burgess for the Deputation to the House of Commons 1909. Although the napkin is inscribed "official program," it is not official and was not authorized by the W.S.P.U. While unhappy with the appropriation, the Union leadership was pleased to see the extent to which the organization was now on the public's minds. Burgess owned a souvenir shop and made several similar napkins for various suffrage events. This napkin realized \$921.15.



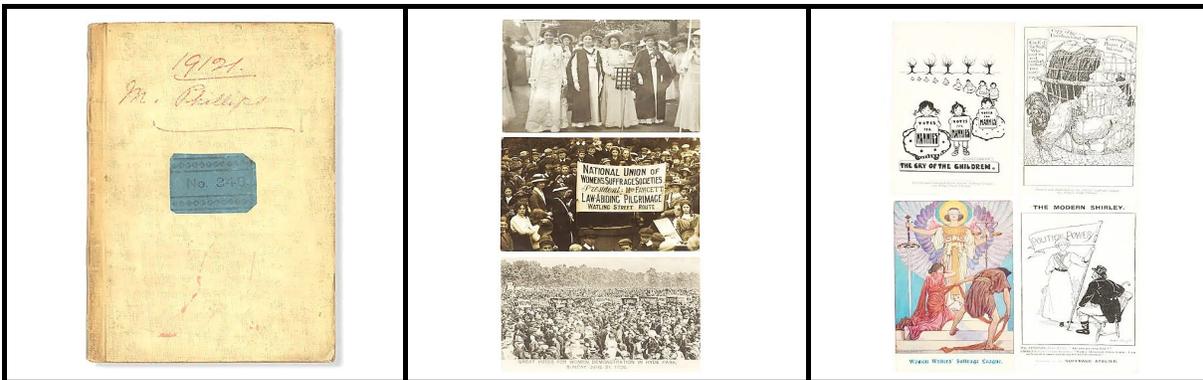
Perhaps the most spectacular piece in the auction and the one that had the highest pre-auction estimate of 30,000-50,000 pounds was this shadow box of 65 items, most of which are suffrage related, that was put together by Lilian Hicks. It included several rare medals and badges, including a hunger strike piece, a Holloway brooch, a Women's Freedom League prison pin which predated the W.S.P.U. version by several months. Also included were two shield-shaped cloth badges, embroidered 'April 1912/ A.S.C.' and depicting a force-feeding tube and teapot, with one displaying the prison arrow; a prison circular badge, engraved with 'Holloway', 'Aylesbury', '1912', 'DX 1/26' and 'C III', the block and cell numbers of Amy Hicks in Holloway and Aylesbury, several sashes, one from the W.S.P.U., the other from the Women's Freedom League, and a number of buttons, some of which are exceedingly rare, and, to my knowledge, have never appeared in auction before. This exceptional lot brought a final bid of \$40,195.66.

The lot to its right was one of my favorites. It's a complete twenty-two-piece tea service designed by Sylvia Pankhurst. These services were originally sold at the Prince's Skating Rink Exhibition in May of 1909. Each piece contains Sylvia Pankhurst's Angel of Freedom design in the official colors of purple, green, and white. After the exhibition, individual pieces were sold through "Votes for Women," and additional china in a slightly larger version was also available. Parts of this set occasionally appear, but complete sets are rare. The only other to my knowledge was auctioned off by Bonhams several years ago. Guided at \$13,081-\$19,622, it, surprisingly, did not draw a bid. The minimum suggested bid was far worth the price of the set.

... Bonhams Auction cont'd



Sometimes overlooked by collectors are collections of suffrage newspapers. This auction contained examples from all three iterations of the official W.S.P.U., these being 5 volumes of "Votes for Women" (Vols. 1-4, 6), "The Suffragette," which experienced several forms of official banning, and "Britannia," which had morphed into a war-time journal. Volume 6 of "Votes" was actually produced by Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence after they had been expelled from the W.S.P.U. in 1912. What some potential bidders many not have realized about the Britannia lot is that while the first issue listed here is for Volume 5, no.1, October 1915, this was actually the beginning issue of the publication. These lots went for \$3,684.64, \$6,699, and \$2,177.26 respectively.



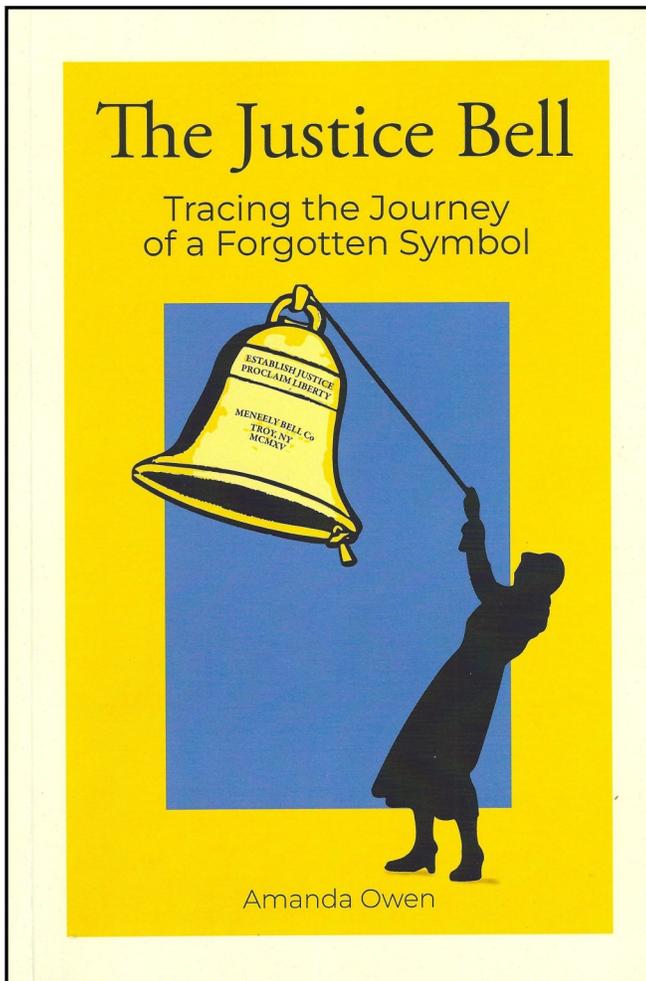
Of especial interest to historians and manuscript collectors was this commonplace notebook kept by Mary Phillips in Holloway, titled with her prison number "19121/ M. Phillips" in red ink on upper cover and "Holloway Prison/ DX3/ 30/ July 11th 1908" in pencil on the inside cover. This notebook contains various jottings, including observations, news, and hopes all written in prison. The gavel price was \$28,471.93, a high but deserving price for this historical piece.

Lot 70 was a collection of 59 postcards depicting demonstrations, processions and other events including the funeral of Emily Wilding Davison, the Women's Sunday Demonstration in Hyde Park 1908, the Hyde Park Demonstration 1909, parade for the Prince's Skating Rink exhibition 1909, Suffrage Pilgrimage 1913, and a local event. Many of these cards were printed photo cards, but there were some rare Real Photo cards as well. This lot brought a respectable \$3,684.60.

Another lot that was of interest to postcard collectors was this collection of 29 artists' cards, including 17 published by the Artists' Suffrage League and 5 by the Suffrage Atelier. These were two groups of women artists who contributed work to the movement for little or no recompense. In addition to postcards, these groups made posters and banners. The lot went for \$803.91, which was a good buy for the winner.



The Justice Bell—A Book Review



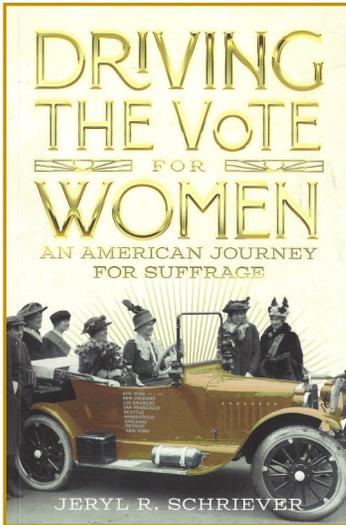
One of the most recent books on aspects of the suffrage movement to appear is Amanda Owen's *The Justice Bell—Tracing the Journey of a Forgotten Symbol*. Owen is a writer, historian, filmmaker and the cofounder of the Justice Bell Foundation as well as a past contributor to *The Clarion*. Divided into four parts, this history tells the story of the re-creation of the original Liberty Bell that was transported throughout the various counties in Pennsylvania to engender enthusiasm for the suffrage initiative that was to appear on the State ballot in the fall of that year. But the book not only tells of that journey but also the history of the Bell's aftermath where it was virtually abandoned in the woods for close to five decades near the Washington Memorial Chapel, a small privately owned church in the middle of Pennsylvania's Valley Forge National Historical Park. Even after it was "rediscovered" and once again put to use at various public ceremonies, it faced another serious problem. It fell off its truck on August 25, 2020 while being transported to Independence Square in Philadelphia for a ceremony marking the centennial of the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Chunks of metal broke off the lip, the clapper and

yoke were damaged, and the carriage itself along with its platform were destroyed. When the Bell was sent out for repair, it disappeared from public sight, and the Justice Bell Foundation had some difficulty in finding it again. It has since been returned to the Washington Chapel where it is available for viewing. While it still shows damage, the Bell, nevertheless, embodies the strength, courage, and tenacity of the suffragists of Pennsylvania who fought so hard for the passage of the suffrage amendment.

This is a beautiful book, and, obviously, a labor of love for Owen who had been instrumental in finding the location of the original Bell when it had all been forgotten about. Printed on high quality paper, the book contains numerous sharp illustrations that picture the Bell on its journey through various small towns and cities throughout the State. It also includes images and photos of the women who accompanied it and who often spoke from the truck itself. It also contains numerous period newspaper accounts of its stops along the way. Owen's account of this historic campaign event is a scholar's delight filled with information that the author has gleaned from years of research. It is highly readable and serves as a valuable addition to any collection of books about the suffrage movement.



Burke and Richardson—Driving the Vote for Women



Jeryl R. Schriever's recent book, *Driving the Vote for Women—An American Journey for Suffrage*, has relevance for both the scholar of woman suffrage and its attendant memorabilia as well as for those interested in the connection between driving and women's rights. It details the cross-country automobile journey in 1916 that two women, Alice Snitjer [variously spelled] Burke, 39, and Nell Richardson, 25, undertook on behalf of suffrage and the proposed inclusion of a suffrage plank in both the Democratic and Republican campaign platforms for that year.

Their epic journey was sponsored by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which provided the planning for the route that was designed for about 100 miles a day, with overnight stays hosted by local suffrage organizations. In turn each woman carried with her 7 speeches about the cause, the selection of which was dependent upon the nature of the crowd that they were addressing.

Their car, "The Golden Flyer [sometimes spelled 'Flier']," was provided for them by the Saxon Motor Car Company, which was promoting a vehicle that was inexpensive to buy, economical to run, and "easy enough for a woman to drive." They were hoping to enter an emerging woman's market at a time when many women still did not know how to drive, and those that did often approached the task with trepidation. If you look closely at photo postcards of the period, you will often see automobiles in suffrage rallies driven by men rather than women.

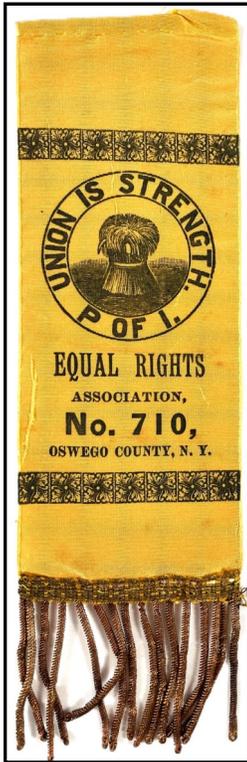
In addition to supplying the pair with a car, the Saxon Company also agreed to aid in the trip whenever and wherever it was possible, an essential at a time when long stretches of the country were without service or repair stations. In exchange, the two women agreed to sing the praises of the roadster during the journey, which they did. They focused on its reliability, the fact that it did not break down at all despite the harsh conditions that the car was subject to, and its comfort. When their trip reached its conclusion, the pair was featured in magazine ads for the car designed to appeal to potential women purchasers.



The car was small, yet the women managed to carry with them, in addition to clothes, a sewing machine, a typewriter, a fireless cooker, a camera, literature to disperse to crowds along the way, rain gear, car parts should they need to repair their vehicle, tire chains for areas covered with snow, maps, and supplemental gasoline. Burke and Richardson also managed to store souvenirs that they had gathered along the way, including several keys to various cities, which they attached to the car's body, and a kitten that they named "Saxon," given to them by a supporter in New Orleans, that they termed "the mascot of the expedition." The kitten stayed with them the remainder of the journey even though they had "an awful time smuggling him into hotels." Another account of the gift that appeared in *The New York Tribune* has the kitten beginning the trip with them earlier in New Jersey.

Suffrage Ribbon or a History Lesson

The ribbon pictured below on the left appeared as part of a grouping of woman suffrage items that was sold by Heritage Auctions on April 26-7 as part of the Ronnie Lapinsky Sax collection. It has proven to be quite an enigma. Two questions immediately arise. What organization produced this piece, and is it suffrage related?



On the surface, it appears to be related to an agricultural organization, possibly the Grange, whose current logo pictured on the right also contains an image of a wheat sheaf. The initials “P of H” on the modern version stand for “Patrons of Husbandry,” a shortened form of the group’s formal name, “The National Grange of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry.” Historically, the Grange had a pioneering role in granting women equal rights within the order. In 1878, the California State Grange declared for woman suffrage, and sent representatives



to the state constitutional convention to lobby for the cause. Three years later the New York and Indiana State Granges declared for suffrage as well. In 1906 Susan B. Anthony remarked that she could always recognize a “Grange woman as far off as she could see her, because of her air of feeling herself as good as a man.” Although nationally the Grange was not to endorse suffrage officially until 1916, it did issue a pamphlet in 1915 entitled “The National Grange in Favour of Votes for Women.”

But despite the Grange’s long-time association with the suffrage movement, the ribbon, with its tantalizing similarity to a Grange logo, is, ultimately, not the product of a Grange subsidiary. The initials “P of I,” placed below the sheaf of wheat, most probably refer to “Patrons of Industry,” a group also founded to promote the interests of farmers and agricultural workers. It was modelled on the Grange, which explains the similarities between the two logos. Begun in Michigan in 1887 by retired minister F. W. Vertican and two associates, it quickly established itself in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and New York. A Canadian branch was formed in Ontario in 1890 and spread to other provinces, but the Canadian group separated from its U. S. counterpart in the following year. In addition to supporting the interests of farmers, the Patrons also supported prohibition, electoral reform, and universal suffrage for both men and women.

Conservative estimates place its total membership in 1891 at approximately 200,000, divided among three thousand chapters. Internal disputes and attempts to infiltrate the Democratic and Republican parties, however, led to a rapid decline in membership

In a speech delivered at the union picnic of the Patrons of Industry of Oneida and Franklin Counties in 1895, Dr. T. H. Cox, “Grand Vice President” of the State of New York P. of I. outlined what the regional organization considered to be its priorities including representation of farmers in the legislature, opposition to trusts and monopolies, fairer tax laws, and condemnation of adulterated foods. Mentioning woman suffrage specifi-

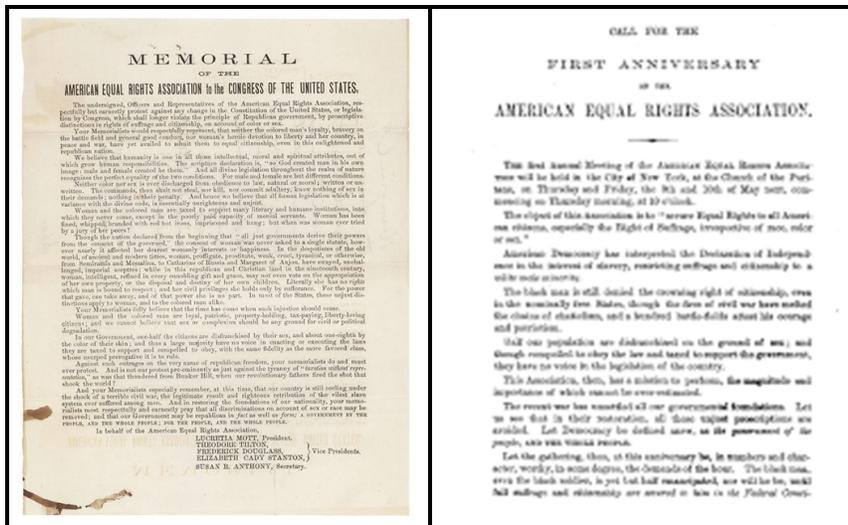
... History Lesson cont'd

cally, he declared: “we also demand the right of suffrage be extended to all citizens regardless of sex. This question is being discussed by all political parties and very soon all voters will have the privilege to decide whether or not woman shall have the right to be equally represented with man in politics. . . the political sentiment of the thinking woman of the present is not below that of the average man, and her interests being identical with him is sufficient to place her at a par.”

Even if the ribbon, though, was produced by the Patrons of Industry or a local affiliate named “The Equal Rights Association,” is it a woman suffrage piece? Does the Association’s name refer specifically to the woman’s rights movement or some other cause? Interestingly, despite the possible ubiquity of the term, an internet search reveals that not a single organization, other than those advocating suffrage, bears this title except for a Southern African American political coalition affiliated with the Republican Party

In suffrage history, the term “Equal Rights Association” goes back to 1867 when the American Equal Rights Association was formed. The title of the AERA was at times shortened to simply “Equal Rights Association” in the comprehensive and authoritative six-volume *History of American Woman Suffrage*, originally edited by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

At the May 10, 1866 meeting of the National Woman’s Rights Convention held in New York City, delegates voted to change the name of their organization to the aforementioned American Equal Rights Association and join forces with abolitionists hoping to better empower the effectiveness of both movements. Suffragists had earlier that year suggested unification with the American Anti-Slavery Society but were rejected by many former abolitionists of that group, who, while not necessarily anti-suffrage, feared that efforts to support suffrage for both African Americans and women would weaken the cause of the former.



Nevertheless, the newly formed AERA, with limited financial resources to accomplish its goals, became engaged in two major campaigns in 1867, one in New York and one in Kansas. The New York effort was in response to a constitutional convention where advocates wanted to eliminate the property qualification for voting, believing that present restrictions inhibited many landless African Americans from casting ballots. In

... History Lesson cont'd

Kansas there were two separate referenda on the up-coming ballot, one extending voting privileges to African American men, the other to women. Again, suffragists encountered resistance from former abolitionists who felt that their efforts damaged their campaign. But even some AERA members believed that for the moment the efforts to secure women's voting rights should be put on hold until Blacks had secured voting privileges in the state.

Back home, the acrimony extended as suffragists debated whether they should support the proposed 15th Amendment to the Federal Constitution if it did not grant women the franchise as it did to African Americans. Most AERA members, such as Lucy Stone, were willing for Blacks to achieve suffrage first, anticipating that a victory here now would lead to victory for them later. Others, such as Susan B. Anthony and Elisabeth Cady Stanton were adamant that they would not support the amendment if it did not include franchise rights for women as well.

The turmoil within AERA led to its dissolution in 1869, a scant three years after its formation. Suffragists in the same year split into two rival groups, the American Woman Suffrage Association, spearheaded in part by Stone, and the National Woman Suffrage Association, with Anthony and Stanton among its leaders. It took until 1890 for the two factions to settle their differences and join forces to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association

Despite the demise of AERA, many smaller groups were formed around the country that adopted the name "Equal Rights Association," appearing in some states that were not necessarily noted later for their suffrage activism. The Tennessee ERA was created in 1897 to push not only for women's voting rights but for industrial, educational, and legal rights as well. In Kentucky there were ERA's in Fayette and Kenton County prior to the birth in 1888 of the state-wide Kentucky Equal Rights Association. The Texas ERA was established in 1893 and the Iowa ERA in 1912 after that group split with the Men's League for Woman Suffrage. The William Lloyd Garrison Chapter Equal Rights Association organized in New York City in February 1906 with the abolitionist's daughter, Mrs. Henry Villard, serving as its honorary President.

Perhaps the largest as well as the earliest of these smaller groups was the Brooklyn Equal Rights Association, which organized on May 14, 1869 at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, with the African American activist Frances Ellen Watkins Harper serving as a speaker and the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher as a Vice President. The group dissolved officially on May 14, 1909 to become the Brooklyn Woman Suffrage Association.

So, while all of this remains speculative at this point, it does seem highly plausible that this ribbon was produced by a local affiliate of the Patrons of Industry and that its focus may have been on women's rights, particularly with respect to those women affiliated with agrarian interests. It is unfortunate that the records for Oswego area newspapers in newspapers.com do not extend as far back as the suffrage period, which would be helpful in elaborating about any of the activities of the "Equal Rights Association" of Oswego. But it seems logical that given the interests of both the national and international organizations of the P of I that both this group and the ribbon that it represents have strong suffrage connections.

Badges and Other Memorabilia from the Pennsylvania Campaign

The first organization in the state to actively promote the franchise for women was the Pennsylvania Woman's Suffrage Association formed in Philadelphia in 1868. Other groups eventually emerged, often in the Philadelphia area as well. The state was home to several prominent suffragists including Lucretia Mott, Ann Davies, Florence Kelley, Ann Preston, and Emmy Guffey. The major push for a Constitutional Amendment in Pennsylvania occurred when it became part of a consortium of four states in 1915 including New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts to hold referendums on adding a suffrage plank in their respective constitutions. Although suffrage amendments were being passed in various sections of the country, no Eastern State had as yet sanctioned suffrage, and activists believed that the inclusion of several of these states in the suffrage flag was necessary to secure a National Amendment. Despite energetic campaigns, however, the proposed suffrage planks were defeated in all four states.

Pennsylvania suffragists issued but a minimum of buttons and badges for their otherwise energetic efforts, although at least five Convention ribbons for the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association are known.



One of the reasons for this lack of production of buttons may have been the desire of regional workers to avoid “sensationalism” by downplaying the spectacle involved in those events where lapel material was often distributed. But the Pennsylvania campaign was not entirely devoid of suffrage badges. There were locally made versions of the standard black on gold “Votes for Women” pin, a ten-star counterpart, and those buttons distributed during the Liberty Bell tour. Other known pins include two varieties of the “Votes for Women” phrase superimposed on the state symbol of the Keystone. The Pennsylvania League of Women Citizens, formerly the Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, later in 1919 circulated a button with a similar design that replaced the phrase “Votes for Women” with the name of the newer organization. The initials of C. S. L. on the gold on white celluloid pictured below probably stand for “College Suffrage League.” Manufactured in Reading, Pennsylvania, this badge may have had associations with a group formed at Bryn Mawr college.

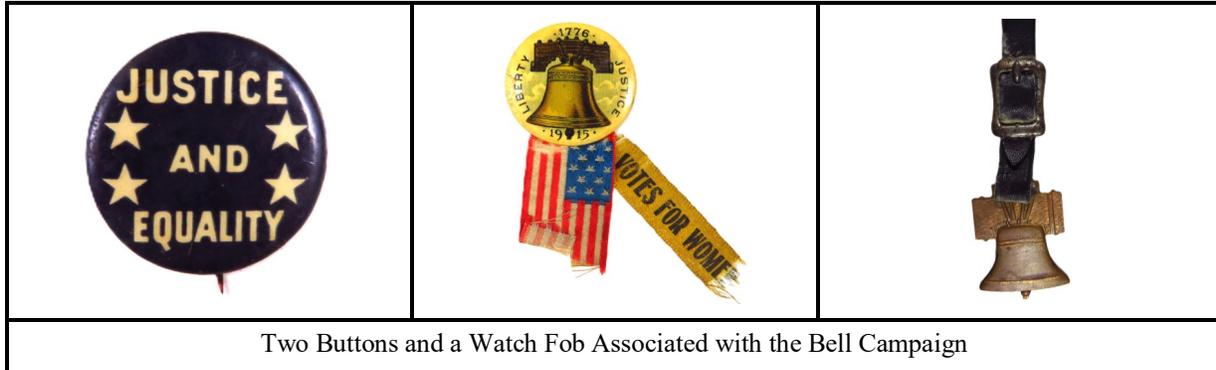
... Memorabilia PA Campaign, cont'd



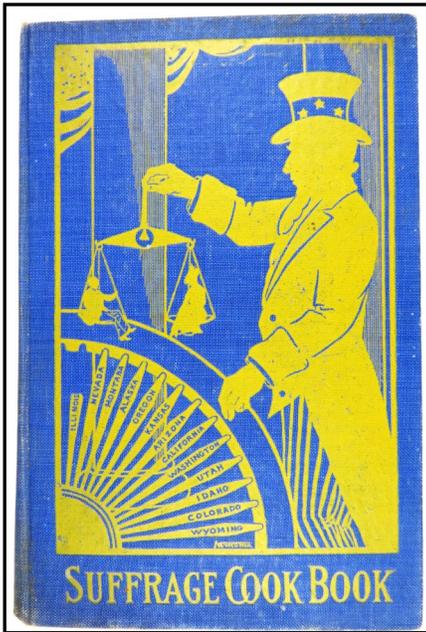
The most eye-catching feature of the 1915 campaign in the state that ran contrary to the general attempt to avoid the spectacular was the creation and journey of the New Liberty Bell or Justice Bell (a slogan for the campaign was “Justice and Equality”). It was commissioned by Mrs. Charles W. Ruschenberger and cast on March 31 at the Meneely Bell Foundry in Troy, New York at a ceremony attended by Carrie Chapman Catt, who at the time chaired the New York based Empire State Campaign. When the Bell was brought to the state from New York, it was placed on a partially reinforced truck and sent on a journey of about 4,000 miles as it toured every county in Pennsylvania with an especial concern for rural areas where local news about the upcoming referendum was often scant. Suffragists used the raised platform of the truck to address the crowds that had surrounded it. Novelties sold along the trip along with collections taken from the audiences helped to underwrite expenses. The clapper was tied up along the way to prevent the Bell from striking with hope that Victory in the 1915 state suffrage referendum would allow it to be untied for celebratory ringing. Alas, the suffrage amendment to the state’s constitution went down to defeat and the Bell was not to be rung until the passage of a National Amendment in 1920.

<p>NEW LIBERTY BELL FOR PENNSYLVANIA WOMEN Ceremony at Casting, Wednesday, March 31 10:00 A. M. MENEELY BELL FOUNDRY 22-26 River Street, TROY Chairman, MRS. FRANK M. ROESSING President Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association Speaker, MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT Chairman Empire State Campaign Committee PRESENT THIS CARD FOR ADMISSION</p>	
<p>Invitation to the Official Casting of the Bell at the Meneely Bell Foundry at Troy, New York</p>	<p>The Bell at a Stop in Milton, Pennsylvania</p>
<p>The Bell in Front of Butch's Butcher Shop. Sigo, Pennsylvania</p>	<p>A Stop at Rural Valley, PA, Whose Population was 826 in the 2020 Census</p>

... Memorabilia PA Campaign, cont'd



Two Buttons and a Watch Fob Associated with the Bell Campaign



The cookbook, pictured on the left, was published for the 1915 referendum campaign by the Equal Franchise Federation of Western Pennsylvania both as a fundraiser and to counter anti-suffrage propaganda that suffragists wished to destabilize women's concerns for home and family. The figure of a benevolent Uncle Sam that graces the cover links traditionalism with the woman's movement. That theme was buttressed by the introductory essay of "Erasmus Wilson (The Quite Observer)" where it was argued that the franchise was important for women, "being the housekeepers and guardians of their children," to be made familiar with culinary arts so that they "may be entirely competent to lead coming generations in the paths of health and happiness." Wilson added "So say the members of the Equal Franchise Association throughout the length and breadth of our land." In addition to its many recipes, the cookbook also contained portraits of thirty-six noted suffragists and their supporters, including men. Reviewing this volume in the

suffrage paper *The Woman's Journal*, an anonymous critic noted that this book "ought to silence forever the slander that women who want to vote do not know how to cook." This argument was reinforced by an advertisement that the Equal Franchise Federation took out in the periodical a few weeks later that was headlined "The Best Cooks are Suffragettes."

This article was written prior to the publication of Amanda Owen's book about the Liberty Bell tour. For some magnificent photo images of that tour, please see Amanda's book that is described earlier in this issue.



The Buttons and Badges of the Women's Freedom League

The Women's Freedom League was a break-away organization from the militant Women's Social and Political Union. It was formed in the fall of 1907 when Charlotte Despard, Teresa Billington-Greig, Irene Miller, Alice Abadam and others, angered over the Pankhurst's decision to abandon democratic rule in governing the WSPU, established their own group. Though often described as a militant but not violent organization, some members did engage in violent protest. The WFL during its lengthy existence (1907-1961) campaigned for a variety of issues in addition to the vote, including equal morality and equal pay as well as pacifism.

... WFL,, cont'd

With a total membership estimated to be as high as 5,000, the WFL produced a varied number of artifacts and memorabilia to disseminate its ideas, advertise the cause, and serve as fund raisers. Like the Pankhurst's Women's Social and Political Union, they published their own paper (*The Vote*), issued their own prison pin for suffrage martyrs, distributed a variety of other pins and badges, printed postcards, wore League sashes, ordered distinctive China for sale, and held several festivals and events where one could purchase their merchandise.

Both the WFL and the WSPU produced prison pins for those members who had been incarcerated in Holloway prison, although the WFL's version appears to have been first. The League awarded Janet McCullum, Muriel Matters, and Emily Duval theirs in the Fall of 1908. The WSPU version, designed by Sylvia Pankhurst, did not appear until April 1909. The WFL pin featured a relief design on the front and the recipient's name and date of her imprisonment on the reverse. In the example below we see the engraved name of Elsie Cummin and the date of April 1909 when she served her sentence. WFL prison pins appear to be scarcer than their WSPU counterparts, perhaps because WFL members were less inclined to engage in the confrontational behavior that might have caused their arrest.



WFL badges and pins were generally produced in the League's official colors of green, white, and gold. Most were manufactured by Merchants' Portrait Company although at least one enamel pin was made by Toye and Company. The two pins shown below that picture Charlotte Despard are very scarce and do resemble somewhat in both size and design pins of Emmeline Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence that were sold by the WSPU. The cloth shield patch pictured below used a concept that was adopted by several other organizations including not only the WSPU but the Actresses' Franchise League as well. The WFL was one of only a few suffrage associations that adopted "Votes for Women" as a motto.



... WFL,, cont'd

The Tax Resistance League, formed in October 1909 was part of a campaign to resist the policy of taxing women without giving them the franchise. Some of the initial organizers included Edith How Martyn, Cicely Hamilton, Mary Sargent Florence, and Clemence Housman. Several in the League favored an independent organization, but members voted to affiliate with the WFL provided that TRL retain control of both its committees and finance. The TRL, in a show of independence, also chose black, grey, and white as its official colors. The “No Tax-No Census” pin on the lower left, probably was intended to be a conversation piece as its text would have been impossible to read by simple casual observation. The “No Vote—No Tax” black, brown, and white pin was created by artist Mary Sargent Florence who reportedly was unhappy with the results, but it was distributed, nonetheless.



So, while the WFL buttons were fewer in number than those distributed by the WSPU, they, nevertheless showed both creativity and imagination and serve as an interesting visual representation of a particular organization of the suffrage movement in the United Kingdom.

