



THE CLARION



"I Intend to VOTE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

In New Jersey, because I believe that the time has come to extend that privilege and responsibility to the women of the State.

**I Think New Jersey Will Be Greatly
Benefited by the Change"**

**THE PRESIDENT of the
UNITED STATES.**

New Jersey State Woman Suffrage Association.

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

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Editor's Notes

The 14" x 21" Woodrow Wilson poster, the image of which is pictured on the front cover of this issue of *The Clarion*, was used for the October 29, 1915 suffrage referendum in New Jersey. Wilson's attitude towards a national suffrage amendment at this time was equivocal at best. Prior to the 1912 election, he had given women some slight indication that he might be supportive of their cause, although many historians believe that he was very hostile to the idea in general. Once he became President, he managed to side-step a full endorsement of suffrage, indicating that he in fact did not favor a Federal Amendment as some had hoped but believed that each state should decide the issue for its own citizens. To maintain a public progressive position, he did support the 1915 referendum on suffrage in his own state of New Jersey, but continued to shy away from a push towards a national franchise. In 1917 a frustrated Alice Paul led a group of suffragists, known as the "Silent Sentinels," that began picketing the White House. At first, Wilson appeared benignly amused by their determined demonstrations but became increasingly irritated by their presence. Finally, calling suffrage a "Wartime Measure," Wilson gave a speech to Congress on Sept. 30, 1918 in which he at last endorsed a national franchise for women. Historians can argue about Wilson's sincerity in 1915 when he supported suffrage in New Jersey. Still this poster serves as a marker in depicting Wilson's public posture regarding Votes for Women.

The appearance of suffrage reproductions and fantasy items continues to proliferate. Much of this material is produced by manufactures whose ultimate intent is not to deceive but rather to provide cheap alternatives to expensive original pieces. Still, these reproductions do have a downside as they can be confused with their original period counterparts and command absurdly high prices. What continues to be even more of a problem, though, are those dishonest manufacturers who claim that their faux productions are original items made by the suffragists themselves. Recently, for example, there has been a spate of "suffrage" flags for sale on eBay purportedly produced by the English militant organization the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). Several individuals recently have attempted to consign these fake flags to American auctioneers, who, fortunately, have turned them down. The English historian, Elizabeth Crawford, has written an informative article about these flags for her blog "Woman and Her Sphere," which she has graciously allowed us to reprint in this issue. These fantasy items can be extremely deceptive in appearance, and both historians and collectors should take note.

Errata-- In our last issue, some words were left out of Professor Goring's fine article about the false "modernization" of the Selfridge's Department Store ad. In the last sentence of the second from the last paragraph on page 7 the full wording should be: *'Sadly we only have this snippet of the advert – is there anyone who knows where we can find the original?' The myth had taken root and was now a 'fact'.* We apologize for the mistake on our part.

Bonham's of Knightsbridge, London just concluded a wonderful on-line sale of 109 highlights from the Lesley Mees suffrage collection. We have held up publication for a few days of this issue of the *Clarion* in order to be able to post some of the major results. Many of these artifacts are incredibly rare. In some instances, only one or two are known to be extant. Congratulations to the successful bidders!

Matchboxes, Matchbooks, and Tobacco

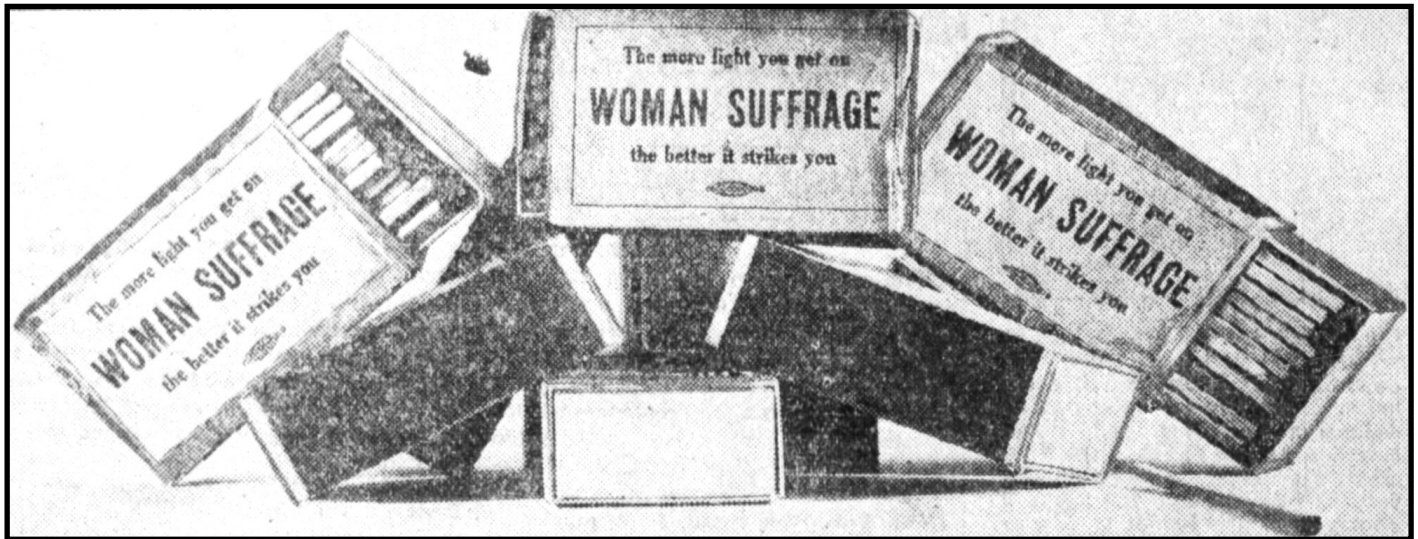


Image from Newspapers.com

The matchboxes pictured in the above photo were distributed by members of Pennsylvania's Equal Franchise Society in a number of simultaneous evening rallies in Philadelphia on October 27, 1915, 6 days prior to the suffrage referendum held in that state on November 2. Painted in hues of yellow and black, the matchboxes contain the phrase "the more light you throw on woman suffrage, the better it strikes you."

While campaign memorabilia had always been popular among suffragists, these particular items appear to have generated more than their share of excitement. According to the *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, some local activists predicted that the matchbox's slogan would catch the eye and "become one of the well-known suffrage slogans." Assuming that they would exhaust their supply by the end of the evening, they were gleefully declaring that: "in the eyes of their opponents, they will be 'matchless' in the last five days of the campaign," and that these matches may "kindle" enthusiasm for the cause, and "the anti-arguments end up in smoke." Hoping for a victory on November 2 that was, unfortunately, not to be, some suffragists even suggested that these matches be used to light the suffrage torch of liberty on the following night.

There is evidence that these matchboxes, that were probably produced by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, were also distributed in the other three Eastern States that conducted suffrage referenda in 1915, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. These match boxes were intended to appeal to men directly, because, obviously, it was men, not women, who were voting on the referenda. But the matches did have a utilitarian purpose within the kitchen, that of lighting stoves, so their use even by non-professional women was not problematic.

However, implements that aided in the consumption of tobacco products were under certain circumstances considered suspect and could be highly controversial. Anti-suffrage men argued that extending the ballot to women would unsex them and lead to such activities among them as cigarette smoking. Even many pro-suffrage activists were almost as adamant against tobacco as they were against alcohol.

Despite red flags regarding women smoking, suffrage groups did distribute matchbooks in addition to match boxes. Even though these smaller items were often used to light both cigarettes and cigars, one assumes that they were distributed to men rather than women.

... Matchboxes, etc.



Images from the collection of the Editor

The first two covers pictured above were published by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, the publishing arm of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, founded in part by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Each carries the same slogan that appears on the aforementioned matchbox: “The more light you get on women suffrage the better it looks,” probably indicating that the NWPC was responsible ultimately for that item as well.

The third cover, in purple, green, and white, the colors of the New Jersey Women’s Political Union, was issued to raise awareness of the suffrage referendum in that state on October 19. The phrase “Votes for Women” was impressed on each match.

The “Vote No” matchbook, issued by the Maine Association Opposed to Women Suffrage,” does bring up an interesting story about a similar “anti” item. Suffrage opponents in New York City also distributed matchbooks, all with pejorative slogans about the

franchise. One suffrage leader upon entering a restaurant prior to the State’s 1915 referendum, saw that a suffrage poster had been turned upside down on a table. She proceeded to admonish the waitress that a poster in this position obscured its message. The waitress smiled gently in response and lifted up the poster to show a number of anti-suffrage matchbooks that she had been instructed to pass on to male patrons for their afternoon cigars.

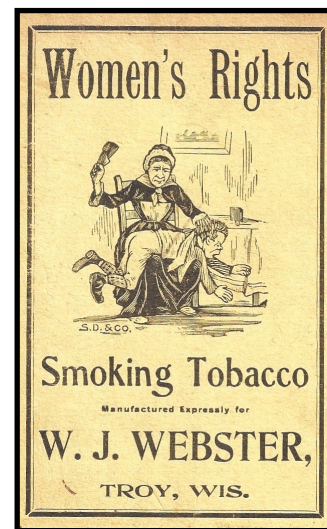
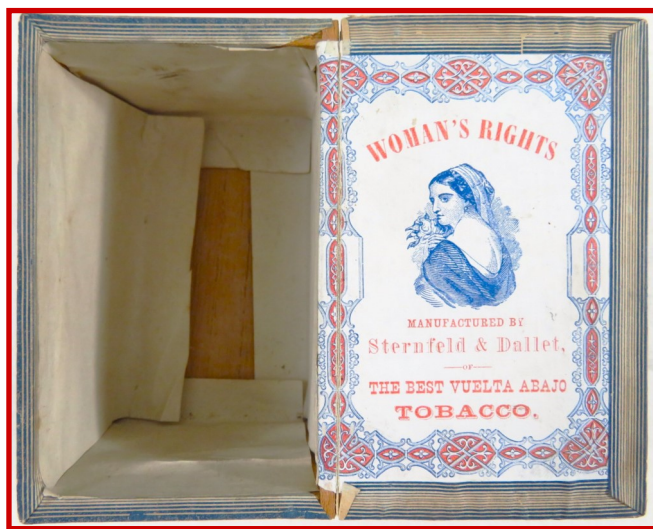
She then gave them to the leader, telling her “If you don’t take them, they may fall into the hands of somebody who won’t know which way he is going to vote, and perhaps they’d just put it into his head to vote against us.”

Despite references to suffrage matchbook covers in period newspapers, few seldom show up. And apparently no examples of the Pennsylvania matchbox have turned up today, despite reports of thousands having been given away at the time.

... Matchboxes, etc.

The controversy over women and tobacco had long been a peripheral issue that goes back to the beginnings of the modern suffrage movement in 1848. The two tobacco items pictured below are probably both intended to be satirical even though the first, a box, is imbued with early Victorian sentimentality. Measuring approximately 2 ½" x 4 ½", it is labelled simply "Woman's Rights" and portrays a woman in a blue flowing gown. The second, using the plural form of

"Women's Rights," shows a mother spanking her disobedient son. This, in cardboard, is but the front panel of what might be a speculative piece. It was uncovered about 20 years ago in a large grouping of similar non-suffrage items that may have been "salesman's samples" and never went into active production. In the 19th century several thousand brands of cigars appeared on the market most of which were of extremely short duration.



From the collection of the Editor

There is another product, not pictured here, named "Women's Rights" cigars that did go into at least limited production. It pictures two men with election day placards. One man in a top hat urges voters to "rally women—the Independent Woman's Rights Ticket." At the same time, a woman in bloomers attempts to convert the supporter of the "Regular Democratic Ticket" by passing out a cigar. Given the probably age of this particular product, the image on the label of this brand was, perhaps, a response to Victoria Woodhull's campaign for the Presidency, although the female suffragist is not specifically identified as her on the box.

Even though there is the possibility that in the 19th century other tobacco products appeared with a variation of "Woman's Rights" in their names, it is highly unlikely that they were manufactured to support women's political needs and aspirations. Moving onto the 20th century, even the more progressive suffrage or-

ganizations were hesitant to link themselves too closely with tobacco because of the possibility of negative publicity.

Suffrage opponents thought that they had cornered Harriot Stanton Blatch when she opened up her Women's Political Union shop in 1910 on 46 East Twenty-Ninth Street in New York. Mrs. John Winters Brannon allegedly had contributed "Votes for Women" cigarettes to the establishment. A man, whom Blatch had suspected of being an "anti" emissary, lingered in the shop for a while prior to purchasing one of these cigarettes. Probably seeking to discredit the shop and the movement, he tried three times to light it before discovering that it was made of chocolate. The WPU later did apparently sell real "Votes for Women" cigarettes in the lobby of the Victoria Theatre, before protests from both suffrage and anti-suffrage forces called an end to the practice.

... Matchboxes, etc.

The fears of many that passage of the suffrage amendment in 1920 would encourage women to smoke, however, were realized nine years later. A previously unknown suffragist, Bertha Hunt, marched down Fifth Avenue in New York with nine other women as part of an “Easter Parade,” all smoking Lucky Strikes. The press came out in full force, having been alerted through a publicity release that these women would be lighting up “torches of freedom” in the interests of sexual equality.

The phrase may have been derived from an earlier piece of visual rhetoric organized by Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Women’s Political Union. In 1915 her group planned a “suffrage torch relay”. Using a wooden torch with a bronze finish created by Alice Stocks, a graduate of the women’s School of Applied Design, WPU couriers carried the symbol by automobile rather than by foot from Long Island to Buffalo and

then back to New York City. Admirers dubbed it “The Torch of Freedom.”

The post suffrage march down Fifth Avenue, however, had not been orchestrated by activists but rather by a man named Eddie Bernays, who had been given a retainer by the American Tobacco Company the year before to promote cigarette smoking among the newly enfranchised women. Bernays reportedly was a staunch feminist, and his wife was a member of the Lucy Stone League, which argued that women should keep their own name after marriage. But the “torches of freedom” parade was a cynical attempt to capture suffragist energies, still riding high after victory, to sell a product. And Bertha Hunt was Bernays’ secretary. From this incident, Bernays became known in some circles as “the father of modern public relations.”

Suffrage Portrait Easel Badges

The four 1 3/4” celluloid pieces shown below are from the estate auction of Amelia Berndt Moorfield, who served as the Secretary-Treasurer of the Women’s Political Union of New Jersey. They were made by the New Jersey firm of Whitehead and Hoag, and all come with an easel attachment on the back rather than a pin, so they could be stood up on a curio shelf for display. This grouping, which consists of a crisp portrait of Lucretia Mott and badly faded pieces for Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony, is otherwise unknown, so it may have been made as a sample item and never ordered. The Mott piece, however, does exist also as a pinback. The other three badges have not been seen in this form. The Women’s Political Union of New Jersey was organized in 1908 by Wilhelmina (“Mina”) Van Winkle and originally called the “Equality League of Self-Supporting Women,” deriving its name from Harriot Stanton Blatch’s New York group. In 1912 its name was changed to its current form, and the organization took an active role in the four-state Eastern campaign of 1915. Following the defeat of the suffrage referendum in the state, the Women’s Political Union of New Jersey merged with the larger New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, whose officers governed the newly formed collective.



From the collection of the Editor

Collecting Suffrage: Fake Flags – Or Why Researching Material Culture Matters

Elizabeth Crawford

[Editor's note. Recently there has been a deluge of fake suffrage flags, purportedly manufactured by the English militant group, the Women's Social and Political Union, that have appeared on eBay as well as on other venues both here and in the U. K. English historian, writer, and book dealer Elizabeth Crawford recently expressed her concerns about the situation on her blog Women and Her Sphere (<https://womanandhersphere.com>) and has graciously allowed us to reprint the text of her copyrighted article.]



Led by Miss Kerr, who is carrying a WSPU flag, suffragettes parade outside the WSPU offices in Clement's Inn

(Image courtesy of Women's Library@LSE)

When I started in business nearly 40 years ago as a dealer in books and ephemera, specialising in the lives of women, there was little need to think twice about the authenticity of any appealing object. I do remember being very careful to check that a signature on, say, a photograph of Mrs. Pankhurst was penned rather than printed but, in those days, 'women' as a class had not attracted the attention of scammers. How times have changed. And that change is particularly manifest in objects associated with the suffragette movement.

Nowadays I take extreme care, perhaps bordering on paranoia, to check the authenticity and provenance of any object before I add it to stock. For unscrupulous dealers are now ridiculing the suffragette movement by creating and selling objects that claim to be associated with the WSPU. Perhaps, unsurprisingly, the NUWSS has not attracted this attention, scammers knowing where lies the popular appeal.

This trade disturbs me on several levels. I am upset to see those with no knowledge or interest in the suffrage movement traducing the historical record, I am upset

to see buyers disappointed when, thinking they have acquired an original object, they discover they have not, and I am particularly worried when, as has happened, a public collection acquires a spurious suffrage artefact.

It may be useful to present the history of one element of suffragette material culture that currently concerns me: the phenomenon of the WSPU flag currently flooding the market.

It was probably three or four years ago that a purple, white, and green flag first appeared on an eBay site. Along the white side selvedge strip was printed the legend 'WPSU 3 & 4 Clement's Inn, Strand W.C.'. I have not kept a record of the price this object fetched, but it was, if memory serves, several hundred pounds. Another book dealer contacted the seller to point out that this flag was unlikely to be original, as the initials were incorrect – ie 'WPSU' rather than 'WSPU'. He did not receive a reply, but answer was made in kind as another flag then appeared – with the middle two letters cut out – leaving only the 'W' and the 'U' – and the (correct) address. Laughable, really. In fact, at the

... Flags cont'd, etc.

moment (June 2023) one of these flags is available for sale on eBay – for £260 – although now the whole of ‘WPSU’ has been raggedly removed, leaving only the address.

Most of the flags now boast a ‘Votes for Women’ slogan across the central white stripe and have a variety of marks on the white webbing at the side. Currently (June 2023) there are 7 WSPU flags for sale on eBay: one is marked with ‘1912’, two with ‘London 1908’, one with ‘London 1910’, and two with ‘1910 WSPU’ (both of these listed by the same dealer). The flags are priced at between £149 and £895.

Between March and June 2023 27 ‘original’ WSPU flags were sold on eBay– their prices ranging from £58 to £310. Again, they are printed on the selvedge with dates and places – such as ‘Bath 1912’, ‘London 1914’ etc. They variously claim to have been found in ‘a box at an antiques fair’ or from ‘a deceased estate’.

A number of these flags have moved from eBay to terrestrial auctions and, on the whole, auctioneers do remove them from a sale once doubts are expressed as to their originality. I note that one auctioneer who initially refused to withdraw one of the flags from sale – and has since sold several more – does at least now note that their authenticity cannot be guaranteed. The flags have, of course, moved out of salerooms and are now to be found at antiques markets and fairs and I accept that, as they move further from their source, vendors may well not realise that they are selling fakes.

I have not inspected any of these flags in person – my reasons for knowing that they are not ‘right’ is based on my many years of archival research and on my hard-acquired knowledge of the trade in suffrage ephemera. At the most basic level, if you study the Flickr account of the Women’s Library@LSE, perhaps the most extensive photographic record of the suffrage movement available to view on the internet, you will note that there is no evidence of the WSPU flag as is currently being traded. At the head of this post is one of the few photographs to show a WSPU flag (we presume it is purple, white, and green but, of course, the photograph is in black and white). However, you will note that the orientation of the stripes is such that one of the colours (purple or green?) lies against the carrying pole, whereas on that of the fake flag all the colours meet the pole. That is to say, the stripes on the flags currently being sold are lying horizontally, whereas they should be positioned vertically. In addition, I do not remember seeing a ‘Votes for Women’ slogan imposed on a purple, white and green flag; they are invariably plain. I suspect that any anal-

ysis of the material and method of manufacture would indicate a 21st rather than early-20th century provenance.

The Women’s Library photographs do, of course, contain innumerable images of all manner of other banners and it was exactly because I am always so worried about fakery that when, in 2017, I spotted an amazing Manchester banner coming up for sale at a little-known auction house, I alerted first the Working Class Library and, through their archivist, the People’s History Museum because I thought it essential for a textile expert to inspect it in person in case somebody had taken it upon themselves to fake it. Fortunately, it was ‘right’ and now hangs in pride of place in the PHM.

And that is why I hope that no well-meaning donor will think of presenting their local museum with one of the spurious ‘Votes for Women’ flags for, by allowing the scammers to muscle in on our history, we are demeaning everything that is ‘right’.



Cynic that I am in such matters, I only hope this post does not encourage scammers to create more accurate reproductions.

(Image courtesy of People's History Museum. Editor's note-- The banner is currently on display at the museum in its main galleries until 7 January 2024, and the staff encourages our readers to visit. They're open every day except Tuesdays. For a fascinating brief video about this banner, click on [Manchester suffragette banner, 1908 - People's History Museum: The national museum of democracy \(phm.org.uk\)](#). This link also includes links to other interesting suffrage sites.

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Another Non-Suffrage Button



The badge pictured above on the left has often been attributed on sales lists as a suffrage piece, once realizing an auction price of over \$500. Other medallion and paper pieces with the “NFBPWC” initials have also been mischaracterized by overly-enthusiastic dealers as suffrage items. However, this pin and the organization that it represents have nothing at all to do with woman suffrage. The initials stand for “The National Federation of Business and Professional Women’s Clubs,” an organization that was founded in 1919 with help from a U.S. Government grant. Even though the NFBPWC was founded in that year, its logo was not adopted until its 1921 Convention, a year after the passage of the suffrage amendment. It incorporates a variety of symbols to represent light, peace, communication, achievement and progress--elements to which the Federation was and still is dedicated.

The description of the founding, history, and purpose of the organization can be found on its web site at

<https://www.nfbpwc.org/heritage>. “While mobilizing for World War I, the U.S. Government recognized the need for a cohesive group to coordinate identification of women’s available skills and experience.

A Women’s War Council, financed through a federal grant, was established by the War Department to organize the resources of professional women. It was guided principally by executives of the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA). The National Federation of Business and Professional Women’s Clubs was founded on July 16, 1919, at a meeting led by Lena Madesin of Kentucky -- becoming **the first organization in the world created to focus on the issues of working women.**” Thus, while an organization devoted in many ways to the needs of professional women, the NFBPWC was not involved in the suffrage campaign.

Shafroth-Palmer Versus Bristow-Mondell



From the collection of the Editor

The above Real Photo postcard from a May 9, 1914 demonstration showing a banner in support of the Bristow-Mondell amendment is one of the few examples of suffrage memorabilia delineating a controversy within the movement itself.

... Shafroth, Palmer etc.

When Alice Paul left NAWSA in 1913 to form the Congressional Union for Women Suffrage, NAWSA restaffed her old Congressional Committee with such volunteers as Ruth Hannah McCormick and Antoinette Funk. This new Committee, in order to work around Southern objections to the loss of States' Rights, endorsed as a compromise to a universal suffrage amendment the Shafroth-Palmer Resolution, which would give States some say as to whether or not they would allow women the franchise. The Resolution proposed that instead of a national requirement, each State would be required to hold a suffrage referendum only if 8% of then eligible voters petitioned for one.

The Congressional Committee's endorsement of Shafroth-Palmer had been passed without the support of NAWSA's National Board. Opponents felt that the

Resolution would overturn all of their hard work to achieve a National Amendment and that suffragists would be forced once again to conduct state-by-state campaigns. Jane Addams, NAWSA Vice-President, stepped down from her position in protest. Finally, after much heated debate, the issue was abandoned in 1915.

Alice Paul's Congressional Union (not to be confused with NAWSA's Congressional Committee) strongly opposed Shafroth-Palmer and endorsed instead the original Bristow-Mondell Amendment to the Constitution, which, if passed, would mandate suffrage for all women. Bristow-Mondell was also known as the Anthony Amendment or the Federal Amendment, and, with some slight changes in wording, evolved into the 19th amendment.

Suffragists at Home

Anti-Suffrage portrayals of suffragists in such commercial sources as magazines, sheet music, and postcards were rife with images of activists as harridans, grotesques, and anti-male ax wielding terrorists. The attempt, of course, was to picture the suffragists as outliers to the world of "normal" women, as unnatural creatures whose desire for the vote ran contrary to gender roles that somehow had been biologically determined. At the very least, suffragists were frumps, whose ugly appearance reflected their distorted values.

Periodically, suffragists would respond to these caricatures with images of their own. There was nothing "different" about women who wanted to vote; they were "normal" for their gender, were fashionable, and, generally, typical homemakers who cared for their children and husbands. *Votes for Women*, the official journal of the militant English Women's Social and Political Union, often ran a fashion column discussing the latest trends in women's wear, and they also solicited ads from dress makers and haberdashers. Alva Belmont funded a beauty shop above her headquarters in New York, encouraging working girls to look their best, for the suffragist for her was the complete woman. The trade journal, *The Illustrated Milliner*, published in 1915 several special sections of their periodical featuring photos of prominent New York suffrage socialites wearing the latest in fashionable hats.



Hats
from Paris & New York

Special Fall Number
CHICAGO, October, 1915
The Illustrated Milliner Co.
656 Broadway, New York
Entered in compliance with
The National Law
Sixteenth Year

**FASHION PREFERENCES OF
FAMOUS AMERICAN WOMEN
INTERESTED IN THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT**

In our September number we published the portraits of eight prominent American women interested in the Woman's Suffrage Movement; this issue contains another intensely interesting series, portraying eight distinctive rare types of the species American Woman—professional women of acknowledged standing, artists known throughout the civilized world for the originality of their genius, social leaders of the American metropolis, all more or less actively engaged in Woman's Suffrage, and all of them very much interested in beautiful millinery.

There is, for instance, the originator of the world famous "Kewpie," Mrs. Euse O'Neill Wilson, a personality as brilliant and exquisite as her Kewpies are delightful. The hat she selected for posing for THE ILLUSTRATED MILLINER was designed by an artist friend of hers, Miss Edna Hume. It is a Premier Empire bonnet of black taffeta, lined in turquoise blue and trimmed with an ostrich fancy and a bewitching chin loop of narrow ribbon, just the style of hat to emphasize the unusual beauty of its wearer. Miss Kewpie at the hal- lot box (an original sketch made for THE ILLUSTRATED MILLINER) expresses Mrs. Wilson's expectations as to the future.

Mrs. Helena Smith Dayton, writer, famous for her "Cartoons in Clay," (delicious personages on modern types of persons and styles) and, above all, a very rare combination of intellect and loveliness, has selected black velvet for her Fall chapeau. This is a Pierrette shape turned up at the front and sides to grant a glimpse at the Titian hair and the deep blue hair of its wearer. The trimming is also of black velvet and consists of three graceful loops, one caught to the edge of the

brim and the top of the crown, the others extending over the both sides of sweeping curve of the brim revers.

Mrs. Mary Fenton Roberts, noted as a writer of quite unusual brilliancy, and enjoying marked social prestige close a little Henri III hat of black velvet, exceedingly simple, but wonderfully chic with its bowknot of ermine. The high chin collar of ermine is well in keeping with the hat garniture, and the very latest thing in Winter neckwear.

Miss Sarah Field Splint, the genial editor of *To-Day Magazine*, another shining star on the professional heavens of New York, is of a decidedly Latin type, with very dark eyes and hair, pronounced features and a clear olive complexion. Her hat, a softly draped toque of velvet, in slightly greenish petrol blue is conspicuous by a graceful floral trimming—silver roses and velvet poppies in the tone of the hat, arranged wreath fashion about the artistically draped brim portion of the toque.

A smart sailor of cameo pink heaver is that worn by Miss Ida Propper, the Chairman of the Art Committee of the Woman's Suffrage Campaign, and one of the most forceful adherents of the Movement. The trimming, a conventionalized butterfly motif of velvet harmonizes with the black velvet facing, and produces a charming contrast with the delicate tint of the top of the hat.

Miss Alice Morgan Wright, also an important factor in Suffrage Circles, and the Chairman of the Professional Group in the committee of the Suffrage Parade, is here portrayed in a Breton sailor of black velvet, very simple and very smart with its trimming of gourah, held in place by handsome orna-



A vol novelty for Suffrage Parade. Shown by E. & Z. Van Rabe, N.Y.

Editorial Section of The Illustrated Milliner

From the collection of the Editor

... Suffragists at Home, etc.



From the collection of the Editor

In England again, the Women's Freedom League, a breakaway organization from the Women's Social and Political Union, also solicited fashion ads for their publication, *The Vote*. Furthermore, they wanted to image their leaders as typical women who did typical housewifery things. Beginning with their March 26, 1910 issue and published for 11 issues after that, they ran a series of articles called "Suffragettes at Home." Each article included a photograph of one of their leaders engaged in housework. Subjects included "Mrs. How Martyn making jam," "Allison Neilans cleans the stove," "Miss Agnes Leonard (Sheffield) cooking a vegetarian dinner," "Mrs. Joseph McCabe bathing her baby," "Mrs. How Earengy weighs her baby," and "Miss Gill (Hampstead Branch) home dressmaking."

Perhaps because *The Vote* may have had a limited audience, restricted primarily to Women's Freedom League membership, the organization then issued a group for the general public of 12 postcards that reproduced the photos that had appeared originally in the journal. There was no text to these postcards other than the original captions, but the images conveyed a strong message: suffragists, although campaigning strenuously for the vote, were typical women otherwise; they baked, they cleaned, they took care of the baby, and they made jam. The WFL was a militant organization, albeit, unlike the WSPU, they eschewed violence. Still, the message was clear. Suffragists were not outliers but typical women who engaged in typical roles. Their faces did not become distorted, their babies were not neglected, and their jam was very tasty.



SUFFRAGETTES AT HOME.—(3.) Mrs. How Martyn Makes Jam.



SUFFRAGETTES AT HOME.—(1.) Mrs. Snow Makes Pastry.



SUFFRAGETTES AT HOME.—(7.) Mrs. Joseph McCabe Bathing her Baby.

From the collection of the Editor

Official Colors of English Suffrage Organizations

The official journal of the English Women's Social and Political Union was *Votes for Women*, probably the most comprehensive of all suffrage papers on either side of the Atlantic. In their June 16, 1911 issue, in which they listed the order of the March for the coming suffrage procession for the coronation of King George V, they included a list of the official colors of those groups taking part. Here below is an abbreviated form of that list, augmented with additional names of groups that apparently did not participate officially. Several of the marching societies probably did not issue badges or buttons, so no examples of their colors are shown below. (*Pictures of these buttons or badges are taken from the collection of the editor, and are not shown at actual size.*)

The Actresses Franchise League -

Pink and Green. The patch, seen below, contains a shield in the League's colors of pink and green, although the pink here is faded. The brown background to the shield is ornamental only. A similar badge is known to exist.



Artists' Suffrage League - Blue

and Silver. The League was one of two groups formed to provide artwork to the movement generally in the form of banners, posters, and postcards. *Presently, no badges for the League are known.*

Catholic Women's Suffrage

Society - Pale Blue, White, and Gold. The Society eventually morphed into the St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance, which continued long after English women finally were able to obtain the universal right to vote. The Alliance retained the same color scheme as its predecessor.



The Church League for Women Suffrage - Yellow (Gold) and White



Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association - Pale Blue, White, and Gold.



East London Federation of Suffragettes - Purple, White, Green, and Red. *No badges or buttons known*

Free Church League for Women Suffrage - Buff, Blue, and Green



Jewish League for Woman Suffrage - Purple and Celestial Blue



Liberal Women's Suffrage Union - Green, Gold



... English Colors, etc.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage - Black and Gold (Yellow)



National Union of Women Suffrage Societies - Red, Green, and White.

Red and White may have been the original colors of the Union with Green a later addition.



Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement - Purple, Green, and White.

The Union did issue a button based upon the chain link design of the WSPU. *However, an example of that pin is unavailable for illustration.*

New Constitutional Society for Women Suffrage - White and Green. No badges or buttons known.

The Suffrage Atelier—Blue, Black, and Yellow. The Atelier was one of two groups formed to provide artwork to the movement generally in the form of banners, posters, and postcards. *Presently, no badges are known for this group.*

The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage - Red (Pink), Black, and White. This League, founded in London in 1910, was an outgrowth of an amalgamation between the Men's League for Opposing Woman Suffrage and the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League.



Votes for Women Fellowship - Purple, White, and Red. When Emmeline and Frederick Pethick Lawrence broke away from the WSPU in 1912, they complained that "almost every colour combination has [already] been adopted." They felt compelled to include white because "White must enter into every combination wherever large effects are necessary."



West Essex Women's Suffrage Society - White and Green. Presently, no badges are known for this group.

Women Writers' Suffrage League - Black, White, and Gold. Presently, no badges are known for this group.

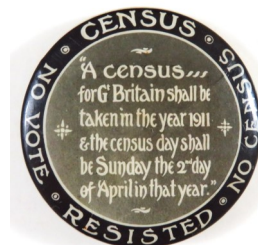
Women's Freedom League - Green, White, and Gold.



Women's Social and Political Union—Purple, Green, and White. Elizabeth Crawford suggests that the first colors of the Union were Red and White prior to the adoption in 1908 of the more familiar Purple, Green, and White. The badge below is one of the few pieces known in the original color scheme.



Women's Tax Resistance League - Black, White, and Grey



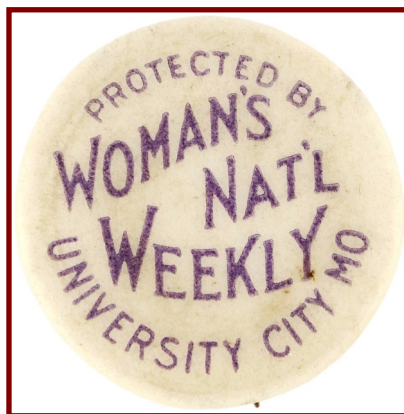
Scottish University Women's Suffrage Union -

Votes for Women did record the SUWSU as having taken part in the march but did not list any official colors for them. The badge below suggests that if the organization did have colors, they were probably white, blue, and green.



Woman's National Weekly and Other Sales' Results

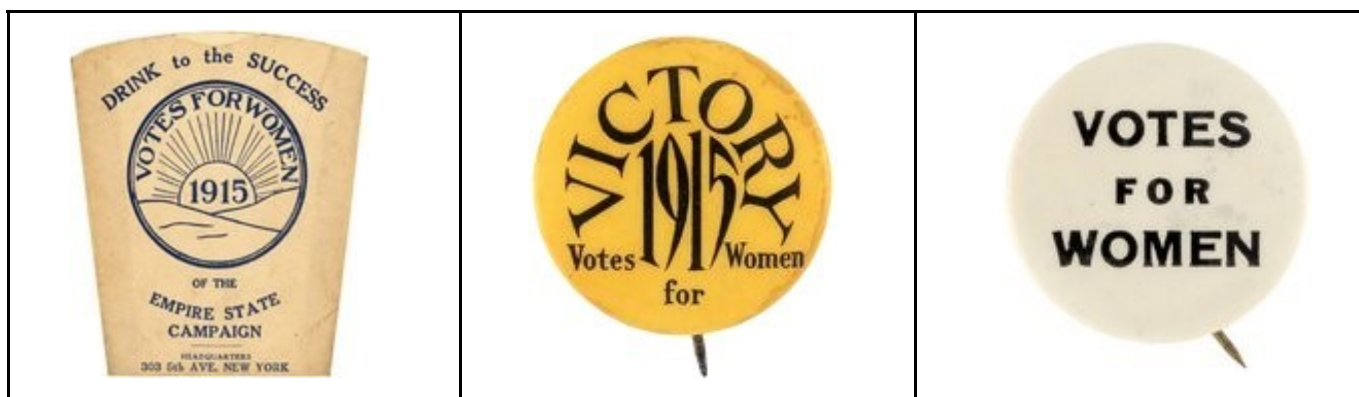
This 5/8" celluloid badge for the *Woman's National Weekly* recently appeared in Hake's Auction that closed on July 25 of this year where it drew a final bid of \$871.25 including BP. While some might have questioned its relation to the movement, it, nevertheless, has impeccable suffrage credentials. The publication was the brainchild of Edward Gardner Lewis and Mabel Gertrude Lewis, based in Missouri, who were concerned both about achieving the franchise for women and for preparing them for their future roles in American Politics. They founded in 1908 the American Woman's League, a national organization that attempted, among other things, to educate women through correspondence courses about the nature of governance. They transformed



the league in 1911 into the American Woman's Republic that combined the university experience with a government parallel to that of the United States, while at the same time providing courses in politics and voting in Republic elections. The ultimate aim of the League was to clean up the current political system and to pass benefi-

cent legislation by helping women attain the franchise. Though it attracted many members, the Republic failed to survive beyond a few years. The button advertises the League's official journal, *The Woman's National Weekly* and provides a partial address of the League in University City, Missouri. The city was incorporated in 1906 with Lewis serving as its first mayor after he had purchased 85 acres of land in 1902 just outside of St. Louis, where he intended it to be the headquarters for his thriving publishing business. Today it is a robust community of over 35,000 persons.

Hake's Auction 238 included other suffrage pieces, with, perhaps, the most noteworthy being the three items that are pictured below:



All four of the above images used with the permission of Hake's Auctions

The final price, with BP, of \$713.90 for the paper cup on the far left did raise a few eyebrows. These were distributed as part of the failed effort of Empire State's Campaign in 1915 to win the franchise for women in New York. A popular item, the cup generally sells for significantly lower, but perhaps times have changed. Even though the rising sun motif was a New York symbol, suffragists in Pennsylvania appropriated it for their own version of the cup that same year. The 7/8" celluloid in the middle sold for \$489.50 with BP, despite some minor staining on the right. This pin has only turned up twice in auction in recent memory. The 1 1/4" black on cream celluloid on the far right went for \$292.97. Despite its relatively common appearance, this badge was a previously unknown variation.

The badge pictured on the right did not appear in an auction but was sold for \$3,200 on the Internet on the site Political Memorabilia Exchange. It features a 1 3/4" celluloid disc hanging from a ribbon that was distributed

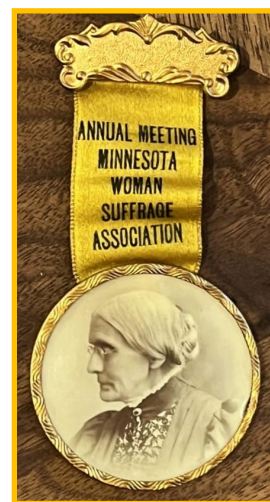


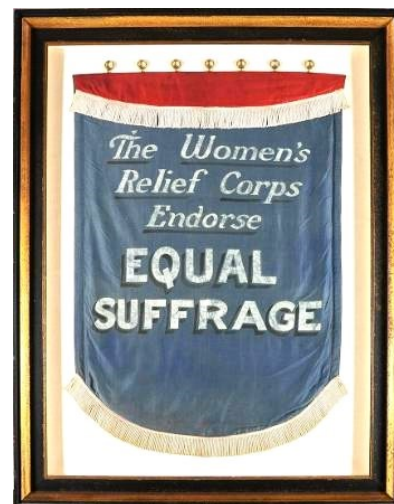
Photo used with permission of Michael Steck

... Women's National, etc.

at a suffrage convention in Minnesota. A similar disc appears on a convention badge for the New York State Woman's Suffrage Convention. The seller, Michael Steck, actually had two copies of this piece and sold the other that was missing the top crossbar for \$1,920. Both copies were sold within minutes of their appearance on the site.

Perhaps, though, the most outstanding result recently was the \$30,000 (with BP \$38,400) final gavel price for the 28" x 42" Women's Relief Corps Banner that was auctioned off August 14 by Bonhams-Skinner as part of their Summer American On-Line sale.

Founded in 1883 in Denver, Colorado, the Women's Relief Corps served as a branch of the GAR (Grand Army of the Republic). Its mission was to honor all soldiers who served for America in any war, to teach patriotism, to oppose every tendency to weaken the Constitutional Union, and to sustain the principals of representative government and impartial justice for all. Despite this banner, the WRC itself was generally not known as a suffrage organization, although many of its leaders had significant suffrage beliefs.



Bonhams Auction of Lesley Mees' Votes for Women Collection

Bonhams Auction House of Knightsbridge, London just concluded on October 3 an on-line auction of highlights from the Lesley Mees collection of woman suffrage items. Lesley, along with her husband, Chris, have long been recognized as having compiled what may well be the best collection of suffrage memorabilia from the United Kingdom outside of a museum. The 109 lots in this auction contained a number of fascinating historical rarities, some of which are probably unique. Space does not permit us to discuss all of the items in the auction, but some of the highlights are pictured 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.



Suffrage lapel ribbons from the U.K. are quite rare, and were generally distributed only to officials and platform speakers. The example on the far left was produced for one of 9 chief marshals at the Great Women's Sunday Demonstration in Hyde Park, June 21, 1908, which attracted approximately 500,000 persons and was at that time the largest demonstration ever held in London. It was gaveled for (with BP) **\$2,633**. Another example in the auction for the same demonstration was worn by one of 70 speakers and went for **\$5,808**. Both pieces were manufactured by Toye and Company, which also made suffrage badges. The ribbon in the middle was worn by a speaker at a joint rally organized by the WSPU and the Women's Freedom League that was held at Hyde Park July 23, 1910. It realized **\$1,859**. Another ribbon, similar in nature and dated "1910", was possibly worn at the Black Friday Demonstration of November 18, 1910. It brought **\$2,943**. The flag on the far right has an interesting history. Apparently, it was saved by students on October 23, 1913 after the W.S.P.U. headquarters was savaged by an angry group of some 300 university students in retaliation for what

... Bonham's, etc.

they believed to be a suffrage arson attack on their sports pavilion at Combe Dingle. Unlike modern fake flags that have been appearing on eBay as of late, the color panels here are horizontal as opposed to vertical. The flag, with its rich history, realized **\$6,655**.



The medal on the left was awarded to Maud Joachim (1869-1947), the first hunger striker from Scotland. She was the niece of Joseph Joachim, the violinist and composer. She was first arrested in February 1908 after having taken part in the "pantechnicon raid" on the House of Commons. The bar in the middle of the ribbon indicates that she participated in more than one hunger strike. These medals, of which perhaps only 100 or so were ever

issued, have gone up significantly in price recently. This one brought **\$50,336**. Another honor that the Women's Political and Social Union gave out to its incarcerated members was an illuminated manuscript designed by Sylvia Pankhurst and signed by her mother, Emmeline. This example, awarded to Kate Noblett, went for **\$1,549**. Given their beauty, rarity, and historical significance, these manuscripts in my opinion have always

been undervalued. The poster on the right, showing a woman being force fed, first appeared in the WSPU journal *Votes for Women*, on October 29, 1909, and is one of several versions of this image. It was published by the WSPU. Most suffrage posters, however, were the products of one of two suffrage artist organizations, the Suffrage Atelier and the Artists' Suffrage League. This example attained a final price with B.P. of **\$5,421**.



The auction featured a number of examples of rare suffrage china, of which the above are typical examples. The cup and saucer on the left came from a design by Sylvia Pankhurst and were part of a rare survival from the Scottish WSPU Exhibition held in Glasgow at the end of April 1910. To the best of our knowledge, only one complete set of 9, including a tea pot, is in collector's hands. Estimated at

\$2,500 - \$3,800, this pair was gavelled out at **\$3,872**, with B.P. The sugar bowl in the middle came from a set of 22 that was sold originally at the Prince's Skating Rink Exhibition in 1909. After the Exhibition was over, pieces were sold individually through the WSPU journal *Votes for Women*. Some pieces, but not the bowl, were also manufactured in larger sizes and appeared later. This bowl went for

\$774. The saucer on the right, featuring Sylvia Pankhurst's portcullis design, was sold at the WSPU Summer Fair, held at the Empress Rooms in Kensington. Until recently, only a cup, saucer, and creamer from this set were known, although Elizabeth Crawford has reported that one of the readers on her blog has a full set, including a tea pot. The saucer here realized **\$929**.

... Bonham's, etc.



Of the various buttons, badges, and pins offered in the Bonhams' sale, the three above are perhaps the most significant. The raised relief enameled badge on the left once again features Sylvia Pankhurst's Angel of Freedom design that she first introduced at the Prince's Skating Rink Exposition in May 1909. Its final price with B.P. was **\$1,549**. The Joan of Arc

pin, pictured in the middle here, was based on the design by Hilda Mary Dallas (1878-1958) created in 1912. When the Pankhursts launched their new newspaper *The Suffragette* to replace *Votes for Women*, which the Pethick Lawrences had taken with them in 1912 when they were expelled from the WSPU, they wanted a new militant logo and turned to

Dallas' figure of the Saint in armor. The final price was **\$2,788**. The brooch on the right was the creation of metal worker and enameller Ernestine Mills (1871-1959) who may have fashioned it for the 1909 Prince's Skating Rink Exhibition or for a private commission. It possibly could be a unique item. Its gavel price with BP was **\$7,744**.

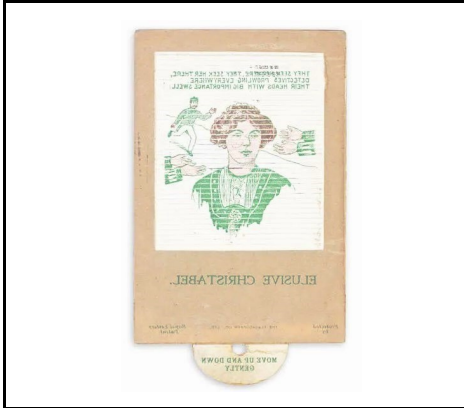


A particularly impressive part of the sale was the collection of various toys and games, partially designed for adults, a portion of which are shown here above. The game of "Pank-A-Squith," displayed on the left, generally survives today only by its board. The Mees example, however, included not only the board but the game pieces and rules as well. Guided at \$5,000 to \$7,500, this example drew a final price of **\$11,616**. The

Jack (Jill?) in the box at the center contained the figure of a scary looking suffragist in a Tyrolean hat, a piece of clothing sometimes associated with Lydia Becker, a 19th century activist. The only example to come up in auction recently, it was gaveled off at **\$1,239** with BP. The most fascinating game was a chess set consisting of 32 carved wood and polychrome painted pieces. The set came in a box with the printed label "The

Incorporated Soldiers and Sailors Help Society." Traditional chess pieces were replaced by opposing sides of suffragists and the law. The new pieces included burning buildings, prison guards, society women, etc. This carved set may have been a one-time thing as no additional sets or pieces have turned up. Its final price was **\$46,464**.

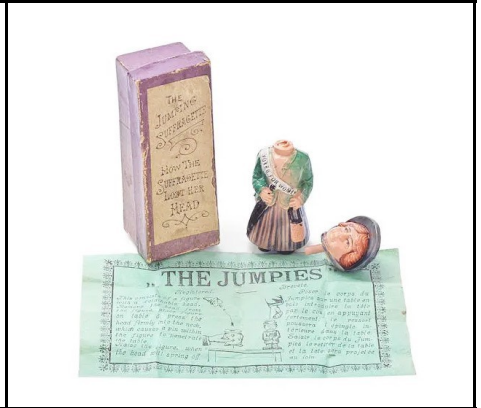
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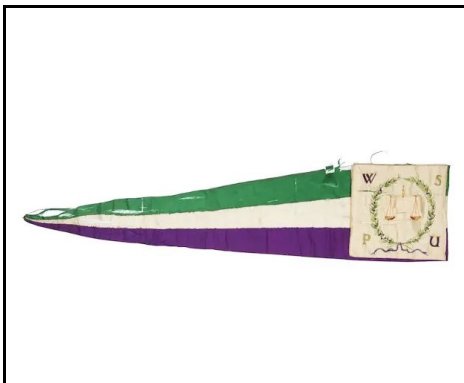
The metamorphic card on the left, labelled “Elusive Christabel” is an intriguing item of which only 3 recorded examples have shown up. When the tab is pulled down, two policemen who have tried to arrest her are shown colliding into one another, and Christabel has disappeared. The card alludes to Christabel’s escape in disguise to France in 1912 when police arrived at WSPU headquarters and



attempted to arrest her for conspiracy to commit criminal damage. While hiding out in France, Christabel continued to edit *The Suffragette* passing along completed copy to other suffragists who also snuck into France in disguise for that purpose. It realized **\$2,633**. The rare money box displayed here in the center pictures a painted figure of a suffragist wearing a purple dress and waving a flag up-



on which the words “Votes for Women” are inscribed. When a coin is inserted into this 1913 piece, the lid pops up and the suffragist appears uttering a screech. It realized **\$10,067**. The last item is a jumping suffragette from the “Jumpies Series.” When, placed on a table and pressed, the head will jump off. Its final price with BP was **\$5,034**.



There are but a handful of pennants that were manufactured for the British suffrage movement. The example at the above left was created specifically for the Western Procession of the Hyde Park Demonstration of July 3, 1910. This demonstration was organized jointly by the Women’s Social and Political Union and the Women’s Freedom League to support the Women’s Conciliation Bill then being debated in Parliament. It was



designed by Edith Craig, daughter of the famous actress, Ellen Terry. Although it had some condition problems, it still brought **\$2,788**. The Women’s Freedom League Saucer, pictured in the middle, apparently is part of a larger tea set, although, to date, no complete one is known in collector’s hands. It is decorated with the WFL shield in the official colors of gold, green, and white. The WFL broke away from the WSPU in 1907 over sev-



eral personal as well as ideological issues. Poorly funded, they relied on the sale of merchandise to cover some of their costs. They often duplicated their own version of WSPU material. This saucer realized **\$2,420**. Although there are at least 4-5 official suffrage tea pots that are known, the example on the right is the only commercial counterpart that has shown up. It went for **\$1,859**.

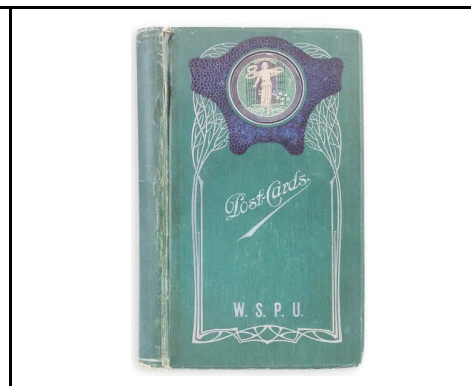
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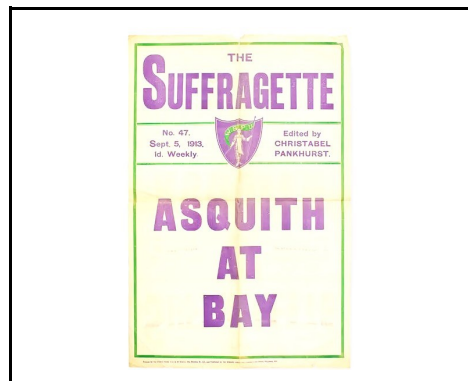
The auction featured a variety of comic ceramic pieces, many of which were manufactured by the German firm of Schafer and Vater, whose products were distributed both in the U.K. and in America. The example at the left shows a suffragette beating a policeman with her parasol to perhaps create the anti-suffrage impression that



violence was characteristic of activists and not of the authorities. In any event, the ceramic was gaveled off at **\$3,080**. The satirical clock pictured in the middle was one of two offered made by the same unidentified manufacturer that appeared in the auction. Mounted to a board, it went for **\$1,084**. The postcard album to the right was a best



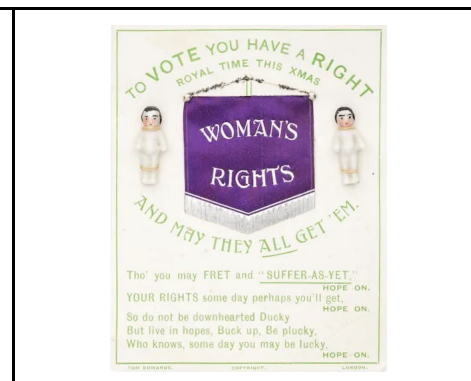
seller at WSPU shops. It features the well-known medallion designed by Sylvia Pankhurst depicting a woman emerging from prison gates. The album is also known in white. This example surprisingly did not sell. The WFL, following suit, also produced its own postcard album (not auctioned here).



The newspaper placard above advertising "Asquith at Bay," was in the form of a lithograph printed by the Utopia Press and published by the Woman's Press, the publishing arm of the WSPU. When the Pethick Lawrences were expelled from the WSPU in 1912, they took its official journal, *Votes for Women*, with them. *The Suffragette*, edited by Christabel Pankhurst, took its place. This extremely rare plac-



ard, guided at \$2,000-\$3,000 did not sell. Among the impressive array of toys in the auction was this example, labelled "Suffragette 'Jig' Doll." According to the catalog description, Jig Dolls, alternatively known as "jiggers," "cloggers," or "dancing dolls," had a long history in folk-art tradition. They were "used as entertainment by street buskers [the act of performing in public places for gratui-



ties] or in pubs, dancing to the accompaniment of folk musicians." This one danced to a final bid of **\$1,084**. The Christmas card on the right, published by Tom Edwards, included in its design two small china dolls along with an image of a purple banner with "Women's Rights" in silver. The consignor had only seen one other example of this card that was gaveled off at **\$3,098**.

There obviously were many other highly desirable pieces for sale in the auction, but, alas, we do not have the space to picture them. They include additional posters, books, manuscripts, and buttons and badges. Bonhams continues to be the premier auction house in the U.K. for sales of rare suffrage material.