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THE CLARION



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

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Editor's Remarks

This issue of *The Clarion* was delayed in order for us to bring to you the results of the Heritage Auction's first sale of suffrage material from Ronnie Lapinsky Sax's wonderful suffrage collection along with other relevant additions. This was the largest sale in America of suffrage memorabilia since Heritage's auction of Frank Corbeil's collection a number of years ago. Many of us still remember how Ronnie, so proud of her material, often brought full-color xeroxes of it to display at APIC shows. The Heritage sale included significant additions to her collection since those xeroxes first appeared.

Our cover photo this issue is of a 7 ½" ceramic Kewpie Doll with a "Votes for Women" sash embedded on her chest. This item is particularly rare, only one apparently appearing in the hobby. But other "Kewpies" are known in the form of postcards, posters, subway signs, and magazine illustrations, their creator, Rose O'Neill, being an ardent suffragist. The name "Kewpie" was a diminutive form of "Cupid."

Professor Lawrence Benaquist, a devotee of old-time radio, sent a few snippets about Gracie Allen's comic run for President in 1940 on the Surprise ticket. We included her among the list of women candidates in our last issue because even though hers was a mock campaign originating out of comic scripts in the Burns and Allen radio show, she still managed to get several thousand votes in the fall election. When husband George asked her if she intended to be inaugurated the night after the election, Gracie replied, "Well, I don't know if I'll be inaugurated, but I'll be feeling pretty good!" Two of her campaign promises were that she would not have a Vice-President because she didn't want any vice in the White House, and she pledged to end the border dispute between Florida and California.

Elizabeth Goring kindly sent the following link from the National Museums Scotland as they had recently acquired a triad of cup, saucer, and plate from the Scottish tea-set designed by Sylvia Pankhurst that was illustrated in the last issue of *The Clarion*. <https://blog.nms.ac.uk/2022/03/22/cups-saucers-and-womens-right-to-vote/>

In our last issue, we reprinted an article from Elizabeth Crawford's on-line blog, "Woman and her Sphere" in which she warned about the current proliferation of ersatz Woman Suffrage Flags on eBay, purportedly made by the Women's Political and Social Union. One honest English dealer, Richie's Random Relics, recently offered an example of one of these flags for sale (item 126103894720) clearly noting that:

"Here we have a wonderful replica WSPU Votes For Women - Suffragettes flag. An original flag would cost in excess of £1000 and these reproductions have been done to a very high standard and very easily mislead people, there are several on eBay being sold as the real thing but this is a reproduction. They are aged, creased and made of a near identical fabric, this one has markings for W.S.P.U. and London 1910."

Although this particular example has markings for "London, 1910," other fantasy flags list other cities and towns. Be very careful if you are ever offered a "genuine" WSPU suffrage flag for sale, with or without local markings. In all likelihood, it is not an original.

We are pleased to publish in this issue Professor Katherine Durack's original article about the merger of *The Woman's Advocate* from Dayton, Ohio with *The Woman's Journal*. *The Journal*, founded by Lucy Stone in 1869, was the longest continuing suffrage publication in the United States, serving at one time as the official journal for both the American Woman Suffrage Association and the National American Woman Suffrage Association. There were several publications at the time of the merger that had similar names to the Ohio paper and have been confused with it, but Dr. Durack's article clearly establishes the Dayton paper as the one in question and provides a link to those interested in viewing a few of its back issues.

Heritage Auctions' Sale of Ronnie Lapinsky Sax's Suffrage Collection

There were a number of rare and exciting pieces of women's memorabilia in Heritage Auctions' sale of Ronnie Lapinsky Sax's suffrage collection that was held on April 26-27. Because of the importance of so many of these artifacts, we will be expanding our reporting to include some background information about their context and historical significance. Prices realized in this article include the Buyer's premium. All photographs are used with the permission of Heritage Auctions.

Nurse Catherine Pine's "For Duty" Medal



Imaged by Heritage Auctions. HA.com

Perhaps the best piece in the auction, both in terms of its rarity and historic importance, was the above pictured "For Duty" badge that was given by the founder of the Women's Social and Political Union, Emmeline Pankhurst, to Catherine Emily Pine (1864-1941) for service to herself and to members of the Pankhurst family.

The W.S.P.U. had previously been known for its militant and sometimes destructive methods (window smashing, rock throwing, etc.) in its attempts to win the vote for women. But these tactics began to increase significantly in 1912 after a third Conciliation Bill, designed to give the franchise to some women, was defeated. Emmeline Pankhurst's daughter, Christabel, was at the forefront of those who encouraged violence to property. On March 1, 1912, there was a window smashing campaign in the West End of London, and four days later warrants were issued for

the arrest of Emmeline Pankhurst, Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, and for Christabel. Mrs. Pankhurst and the Lawrences were taken into custody, but Christabel, who was not at W. S. P. U. offices at the time, managed to elude the police and escape to Catherine Pine's nursing home where she was disguised as a nurse. She subsequently was brought to the home of another suffrage activist, and then smuggled into France.

In addition to her assistance to Christabel, Nurse Pine was intimately involved with Pankhurst family affairs and was known to them as "Aunt Kate." She had nursed Mrs. Pankhurst's son, Harry, who, in 1909, had suffered from an inflammation of the spinal cord and became paralyzed from the waist down. He died on January 5, 1910. Pine also helped care for Mrs. Pankhurst herself, who had suffered the after effects of her hunger striking protests. During WWI, when Mrs.

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Pankhurst adopted four “war babies,” Pine stayed in the employment of the family even after Pankhurst’s death in 1928.

The mysteries behind this medal are discussed in Elizabeth Crawford’s post to her blog *Women and Her Sphere* (<https://womanandhersphere.com/?s=pine>). In appreciation to Pine for her “devoted Services to her when released from durance vile” Pankhurst bestowed on her the medal pictured above. In her will, Pine be-

queathed the medal to the British College of Nursing. When the college closed in 1956, many of its exhibits were archived, but the medal became lost in the process.

It next appeared publicly in an auction held at Sotheby’s on June 28, 1990, and eventually was purchased by the late Rex Stark, who sold it to Ronnie. This historic piece was gavelled off in the Heritage auction for \$30,000 including buyer’s premium.

Four Harriet May Mills Delegate Ribbons

Harriet May Mills (1857-1935) was a particular favorite suffragist of Ronnie’s. Originally a school teacher, Mills later worked as a paid statewide organizer for the suffrage movement. In the 1920 New York State Election, she was the first woman in New York to run for State Office when she served as the Democratic Party candidate for Secretary of State. These four ribbons, worn by Mills, represent but a small portion of her public service and commitment to women’s rights.



Imaged by Heritage Auctions, HA.com

The ribbon on the far left, the 1899 delegate badge to the 5th annual convention of the New York State Federation of Women’s Clubs, is not strictly a suffrage piece, although it does have interesting ties to the movement. The Federation was established in 1894 with the objective to “bring into relationship of mutual helpfulness the various clubs of women throughout the state and to make combined action possible when deemed expedient.” It focused on education, industrial conditions, forestry, welfare work, prison reform, philanthropy, household economics and club ethics. But a growing response to the suffrage question emerged during the presidency of suffragist Mary Garrett Hay (1910-1912). Two committees concerned with suffrage, one pro-, the other anti- were estab-

lished reflecting contrasting points of view in the organization on the question.

The badge to its right, the 1914 New York State Woman’s Suffrage Association piece, was one of a number of different convention items from this organization to appear in the Heritage Auction. Ronnie started her collection years ago when she was given an assortment of suffrage pieces, especially ribbons, for her help in cataloging a collection of politically related items. The number and variety of NYWSA ribbons that she owned is particularly impressive.

The two National American Woman Suffrage Associations national convention ribbons also included in

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this lot certainly provide an opportunity for an excursion into suffrage history. NAWSA was the result of a merger in 1890 between two rival factions of the movement--the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), led by Lucy Stone, Henry

Blackwell, and Julia Ward Howe ("Battle Hymn of the Republic"). It is quite possible that there are convention ribbons for each year that NAWSA met until it dissolved in 1920 making for an interesting sub-collection within the general framework of suffrage memorabilia. The grouping of four despite its historical significance, went unsold.

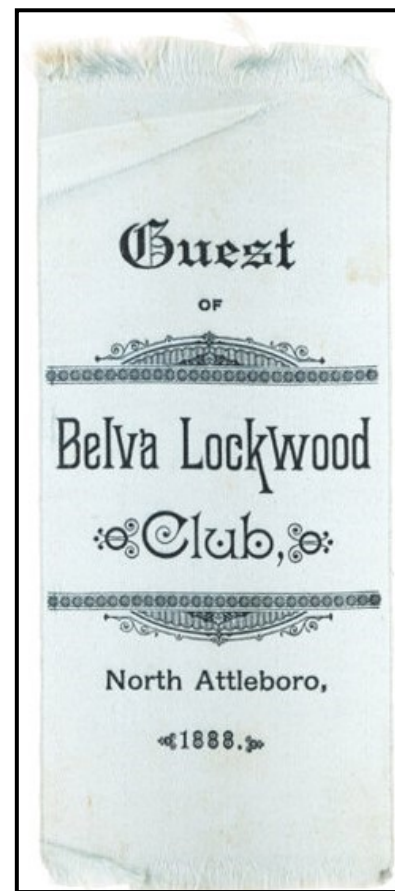
Two Belva Lockwood Parade Ribbons



There are six known extant Belva Lockwood ribbons and two of them appeared in this auction. Most, if not all, Lockwood ribbons were probably intended to be satirical, and were associated with the numerous Lockwood "Mother Hubbard" parades held throughout the country, often tied in with marches for the Republican Ticket of James Blaine and John Logan.

The "Mother Hubbard" dress, a long, wide loose-fitting gown with long sleeves and a high neck, was popular among women of the Victorian era who wished to free themselves from the constriction of corsets that had dominated the fashion world of middle and upper-class women. Because it represented in some ways an early feminist statement, it was lampooned by many men who tied it in with Lockwood's presidential campaigns in 1884 and 1888, even though Lockwood herself never wore the dress. Newspapers throughout the country reported on mock Lockwood marches in their area, some organized by Belva Lockwood Clubs that had sprung up to formalize the satire. Men (never women) wearing "Mother Hubbards" marched through the center of town in ostensible support of her candidacy.

Ribbons Imaged by Heritage Auctions. HA.com)



In Fort Wayne, Indiana, for example, an "amusing feature of the day was the parade of 169 traveling men wearing Belva Lockwood badges," apparently along with their requisite Hubbard attire. The organizer of the "Lockwood Brigade," John E. Winn, later told a reporter that despite the creation of "what was a joke," he expected a position in her cabinet. In Tullahoma, Tennessee, "wild enthusiasm" attended the raising of a Belva Lockwood pole upon which the dress was placed at the top. Seventy-five "young men" in Sing-Sing, New York organized themselves into a Belva Lockwood brigade and uniformed themselves with "Mother Hubbard" suits and poke bonnets, and carried campaign torches. In Boston, four battalions of "lads" paraded the streets "every night in

Mother Hubbard dresses, with bonnets and parasol torches and seem greatly to enjoy the sport." In Chicago, there was a large march for the Blaine and Logan Club in October of 1884, which included representation from the Lockwood Pleasure Club, whose members were dressed in "Mother Hubbard" dresses and who "created considerable amusement in their grotesque costumes."

There are numerous other references in newspapers about other Lockwood Clubs and demonstrations, all of which focus on the merriment and mockery. If you are interested in this subject, additional information can be found in Patricia Marks' September 2016 article in *The Journal of American Culture* entitled

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"Belva Lockwood and the Mother Hubbard Dress: Social, Moral, and Political Overtones in the Popular Press." Even though the two Lockwood ribbons in the Heritage Auction probably reflected the general mockery of the "Mother Hubbard" parades, they still make an important statement about anti-feminism

in America at that time and the difficulties women faced when attempting to break free of expectations and guidelines for their roles in society. The final prices for the rebus ribbon and the club ribbon were \$4,000 and \$3,500 respectively.

Suffrage Portrait Badges



Badges Imaged by Heritage Auctions. HA.com

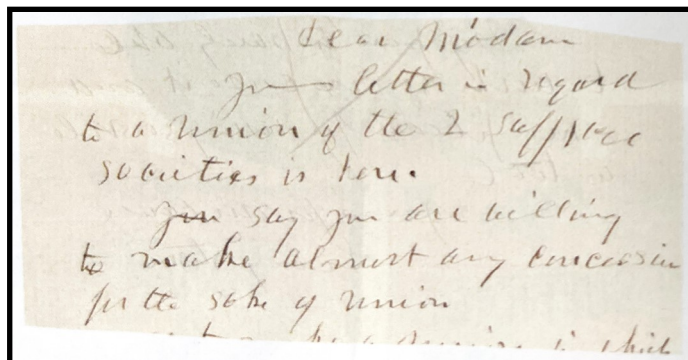
Apart from post-mortem pieces for Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, images of American suffragists on buttons and badges are not all that common. Perhaps producers of such material were attempting to avoid "the cult of personality" that was often attendant in the United Kingdom to the figures of Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst. A major exception to this general reluctance in this country to picture famous suffragists can be found, however, in the annual convention badges of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association. In the form of 1 3/4" celluloid drops in sepia, the NYSWSA produced badges for such luminaries as Anna Howard Shaw (1904), Carrie Chapman Catt (1903), Susan B. Anthony (1901), and Elizabeth Smith Miller (1907), along with a post mortem badge for Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1908). These celluloids were generally double-sided with the reverse often listing the subject's office at the time (Catt and Shaw were both

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Presidents of the National American Woman Suffrage Association--N.A.W. S.A.) or, in Anthony's case, a quotation that was attributable to her: "Perfect Equality of Rights for Women. Susan B. Anthony." In addition, the NYSWSA also produced in 1906 a post-mortem piece for Anthony who had died in March of that year that included a 1" celluloid portrait pin of her that had been used elsewhere.

These portrait pins have always been one of the highlights of Ronnie's extensive collection and have always been admired for their beauty and rarity. Perhaps the most spectacular is the Stanton example which hangs from a celluloid bar featuring an image of Lucretia Mott. The prices realized for these badges reflect their desirability. The Stone-Stanton piece went for \$3,750, the Catt for \$2,500, the Shaw for \$1,875, the Anthony for \$937.50, even though the ribbon was torn, and the Miller for \$1,062.50. The smaller Anthony pin and ribbon from 1906 brought \$812.50.

Woman's Suffrage: Lucy Stone and Olympia Brown Suffrage Portrait Buttons



Imaged by Heritage Auctions. HA.com



One of the many interesting lots in the Heritage-Lapinsky-Sax suffrage auction is this two-pin grouping featuring seldom seen portrait pins: a 1 1/4" suffrage badge that includes a 2" ribbon with the phrase "I Take Her Paper"; and a 1" x 5/8" oblong pin with an image of Olympia Brown, made for the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association (WWSA) of which she was President from 1884-1912.

Lucy Stone (1818-1893) is regarded along with Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton as part of the first triumvirate of the woman suffrage movement. Together they were involved with the development in 1866 of the American Equal Rights Association. However, differences in opinion about whether suffrage should be fought for at the state or national levels and other issues caused a rift among the three, with Stone going on to organize the American Woman Suffrage Association in 1869 and Stanton and Anthony helping to form the National Woman Suffrage Association in the same year. Stone was an orator and general social activist. She was the first woman in Massachusetts to earn a college degree. Her insistence on retaining her birth name instead of her married name provided inspiration for many other women who became known collectively as "the Lucy-Stoners."

In 1870, Stone began the *Woman's Journal*, initially an eight-page paper, with the help of her husband, Henry Browne Blackwell. Although a semi-autonomous journal that was affiliated with the American Woman Suffrage Association, it became by the 1880's the unofficial organ of the entire movement. When her AWSA joined with the NWSA in 1890, the paper continued on as an official journal of the newly formed NAWSA. This is the version of the paper that is alluded to on the ribbon above. When Stone died in 1893, the paper was continued by her husband, Henry and, upon his death, her daughter, Elizabeth Stone Blackwell. Renamed *The Woman Citizen*, it continued to be published until 1931.

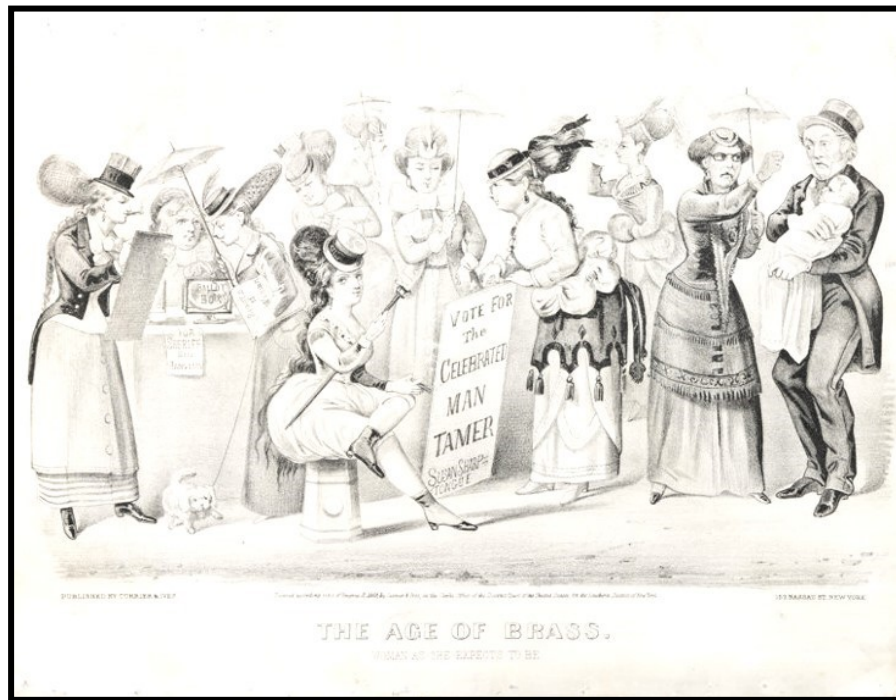
Olympia Brown, although not nearly as prominent a suffragist as Stone, still had an important role in the development of women's rights and suffrage in

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America. She was among the first women in this country to be awarded a college degree and the first woman minister in the United States when she was ordained in 1863 as a member of the Universalist Church. She was also one of the few early suffragists who lived long enough to see the Federal Suffrage amendment pass in 1920. Before moving on to Wisconsin, she had helped to establish the New England Woman's Suffrage Association. Both items in this lot are scarce, but the Brown oval is especially rare. The final price for both was \$937.50.

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Other Auction Items in the Sale



Imaged by Heritage Auctions. HA.com

The Currier and Ives Small Folio Cartoon, titled "The Age of Brass. Woman As She Expects to Be" and published in 1869, is one of the scarcer prints from this famous lithographic firm. It's a satirical, anti-feminist cartoon that portrays dominating women, one of whom is smoking, and several other figures that Heritage identified as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. As is the case with many C & I prints, this was trimmed to fit into a frame and sized at 13.75" x 10.75". It was gaveled off at \$2,375.



The Equal Suffrage Minnesota Convention Reception Ribbon, pictured at left, was signed on the reverse by Susan B. Anthony, who attended the event. It is one of three known ribbons from the convention that were signed by Anthony, two of which came from the collection of the late Gil Gleason from whom Ronnie obtained her copy. The fact that Anthony wrote her name on multiple pieces suggests that the ribbon signings may have been a formal event at the session. The Conventions was held in Minneapolis on November 15-16, 1897. With Anthony's original imprimatur, albeit faded, the ribbon realized \$1,500.

Imaged by Heritage Auctions. HA.com

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Imaged by Heritage Auctions. HA.com

The 1 1/4" celluloid on the upper left was put out by the **Political Equality Association** of New York in the organization's official colors of silver and blue. The Association was founded and funded by New York socialite, Alva Belmont, who was a controversial figure in the movement. While she was a heavy contributor to various suffrage causes, her imperious attitude rankled many, and Carrie Chapman Catt's biographer, Mary Gray Peck, suggests that the relationship between the two leaders was less than harmonious. There is a 2 1/4" mirror version of this pin. The six stars pictured in the design indicate that it was made to celebrate California's becoming in 1911 the sixth state to grant women full access to the ballot. Because of the attractiveness and the rarity of the pin, it has brought a figure north of \$4,000 in the past. Here the gavel price was \$2,750.

The three pins in center were manufactured by the Sommer Badge Company of Newark for several local organizations in preparation for the 1915 Referendum on suffrage in New Jersey that was part of the 4-State Eastern campaign. New Jersey held its referendum on October 19 instead of election day in November, which had the effect of repressing the vote total, and the measure went down to defeat. The 1 1/4" purple, green, and white celluloid was produced by the Women's Political Union of New Jersey, al-

lied with Harriot Stanton Blatch's WPU in New York. The other two pins were distributed by the larger New Jersey Woman's Suffrage Association. The 1" black on yellow October 19th pin is exceptionally rare, and I can recall only one appearing in auction in recent years. The 7/8" black and white on Day-Glo yellow button is also scarce, but several are known in the hobby. This excellent lot brought \$1,750.

The two 1 1/4" purple, green, and white celluloid pins on the right share an interesting context. The CWSA variety was produced by the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association when Katharine Houghton Hepburn, the mother of the actress, served as its president. A rumor circulating at the time suggested that she resigned from the organization to join Alice Paul in Washington because the group was not as militant as she would have liked it to have been. The JGL counterpart was from the Just Government League of Maryland. Both pins were modelled after a Women's Social and Political Union design from England. The JGL was formed in 1909 with the help of Edith Houghton Hooker. Hooker was Hepburn's sister, and it is quite likely that the two consulted one another when their respective organizations produced these pins. The grouping sold for \$460.80 even though the JGL was slightly faded.

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Heritage's offerings included four of the six known Clarion pins, after which this publication is named. This icon of the Women's Political Union, which appeared also on its sheet music, meeting notices, and playing cards, was adapted from the English "Bugler Girl" poster designed by Caroline Watts to advertise a procession held by the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies on June 13, 1908. The image, albeit popular among most members of the NUWSS, was originally not without controversy in the organization. Some felt that the militant figure of the trumpeter was contrary to its image of "Law Abiding Suffragists." Blatch's New York group, famous for its ac-

tivist philosophy and looking to the Pankhurst Women's Social and Political Union for inspiration, turned to the combative implications of Watts' original design intended for a non-militant group, melding it with WSPU iconography. The 1 ¼" six-star pin, pictured to the far left above, went for \$1,024. It comes in a five-star version, not sold here by Heritage. The ten-star pin in the middle, auctioned off with a 7/8" version of the pin, sold for \$1,625. The redesigned image on the right, a 1 ¼" celluloid pin with eleven stars, was gaveled off for \$625. It also comes in a twelve-star version also, not part of Ronnie's extensive collection.

While photography was not a major feature of this auction, the lot to the right deserves attention. The woman pictured in the Cabinet Photo to the left is Marietta Stow, editor of *The Woman's Herald of Industry and Social Science Cooperator*. Stow believed that, however sympathetic a male candidate might be to women's rights, women needed to be represented through their own party and by their own candidates. Accordingly, looking around for a suitable woman to run for President in 1884 under the banner of "The Equal Rights Party" that she had formed, she selected Belva Lockwood. She had several candidates in mind for Vice-



Imaged by Heritage Auctions. HA.com

President, but, as none of these ultimately worked out, she chose herself. As such, she may have been the first woman ever to run for that office. When Lockwood ran for President in 1888, Stow, who now coedited her newspaper with her, declined the nomination and Charles Stuart Wells replaced her.

The woman on the right is Mary Livermore, who gained fame as a nurse during the Civil War. She was also an active suffragist, and is credited by many for bringing the concept of a "yellow ribbon" back East after having seen them used in the 1867 Kansas campaign. This lot brought in an interesting \$1,062.50.

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Imaged by Heritage Auctions. HA.com

The Utah ribbon pictured above left appeared at the 1909 NAWSA Convention held in Seattle, Washington, July 1-16 at the Plymouth Congregational Church. The date in July was designed to coincide with that of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exhibition so that delegates could take advantage of reduced rail rates. In 1909 only four states had granted women full suffrage rights, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Colorado, although Washington was to become the fifth the following year. There is also a ribbon that appeared in the convention celebrating Idaho as a suffrage state. It is probable that these items were given to all of the delegates attending the convention and not just to those from the celebrated states. This piece went for \$537.60. The ribbon to its right from the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association Convention held in 1905 in Port Huron, Michigan is one of the more elaborate state ribbons. With what is probably

an hand-embroidered border, this piece realized \$486.40.

Another Utah related item was this full-scale suffrage umbrella. The umbrella itself was produced by the National American Woman Suffrage Association without any printed state connection and sold for \$1.25 each. A parade was held somewhere in New York State after Oregon and Alaska had voted to join the suffrage field. Someone then hand-lettered these umbrellas, one for each state. A small quantity of the remnants was discovered years ago at an antique shop by long-time collector Bob Carter, who then sold them to one of the premier suffrage collectors, Frank Corbeil. Frank gradually sold most of them over the years, keeping two for himself. The Utah variety above was probably part of that initial find. It went for \$5,000. Heritage will be auctioning off the second of Frank's umbrellas in a future sale.



This receptacle, with a label inside the lid indicating "Women's Ballots in this Box," reflects an interesting period in the history of women's attempts to achieve the franchise. A number of localities throughout the country, resisting women's attempts to vote on the state or national levels, did accede to giving them some voice in municipal contests, generally for local school board contests. To prevent women from slipping in ballots for an office that they were not legally permitted to vote for, authorities devised a system of segregated ballot boxes.

Thus, if a woman tried to sneak in a ballot for governor or even president when she voted, her attempt was easily discovered and thrown out. There are at least three such ballot boxes known in the hobby, two made of wood, as is this example, and one of tin. This version sold for \$5,120.

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Imaged by Heritage Auctions. HA.com

There were several interesting novelty items in the auction including this 11" x 22" anti-feminist pennant picturing two women, one with a hatchet reminiscent of Carrie Nation (who was sometimes associated with the movement even though she was a prohibitionist and not a suffragist), and the other with a rolling pin, both proclaiming "We Want Our Rights." Suffrage-themed felt pennants, including cartoon pieces, have done relatively well in recent auctions. This one sold for \$6,000. The silver pepper shaker with a woman carrying a "Votes for Women" placard, is probably English. There is a salt shaker mate. It realized \$1,750.

One other lot of novelty items was this grouping of pieces featuring a Rose O'Neil Kewpie doll with a "Votes for Women" ribbon attached, all in the original box. O'Neil was an ardent suffragist, and her work for the movement can be found on postcards, magazine illustrations, posters, and subway inserts. This is the only example of a suffrage soap baby that has surfaced. The lot went for \$204.80.

There were a number of other woman suffrage lots in the auction, approximately 100 total, but perhaps final mention of the lot below is appropriate.



It was a 60" x 105" silk and velvet banner inscribed with the phrase "Equality and Justice for All" along with the scales of Justice. The design, inscription, trim, and tassels were made of silver and gold metallic thread, with the body of the banner in deep blue velvet. Although a number of suffrage banners were made during the period to carry in parades or to hang in club houses, all are rare, the over-whelming majority being one-of-a-kind. This example realized \$5,000.

Imaged by Heritage Auctions. HA.com

Other Auctions

Although Heritage Auction's sale of Ronnie Lapinsky Sax's collection of suffrage memorabilia was certainly the largest offering of such material in recent memory, there were some other fine pieces that were auctioned off by various other houses recently.

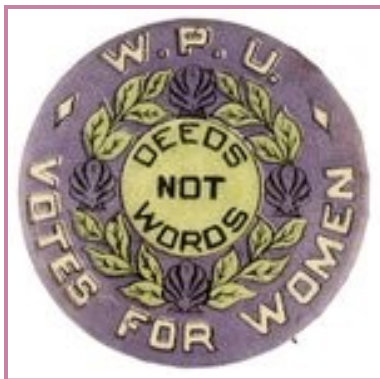


Image with permission of Hake's Auctions

Mention should be made, for example, of the *Deeds not Words* pin that appeared in Hake's Auction 240 that closed on March 19. The piece was produced by the Women's Political Union, which was founded by Harriot Stanton Blatch in New York as an outgrowth of The Equality League of Self-Supporting Women that she had founded earlier in 1907. The WPU was in many ways based on the iconography of the militant English group, the Women's Social and Political Union, established in 1903 by Emmeline Pankhurst in Manchester. Besides incorporating a modified version of the name of the WSPU, Blatch also borrowed its official colors of purple, green, and white as well as its motto of *Deeds not Words*. Although Blatch's organization never engaged in some of the more violent militant activities such as arson and bombings that were characteristic of its English counterpart, her desire to allude to the WSPU indicates her passionate fighting spirit for the cause. This 1" pin is particularly rare with only few examples ever having shown up. Estimated at \$1,000-\$2,000, it realized with Buyer's Premium a final price of \$1,602.46.

Another interesting sale of several suffrage pieces was held by Bonhams of London on March 20. The highlights included the three items pictured below.



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The sash on the left was produced by the Women's Political and Social Union in its official colors of purple, green, and white, and it was one of two such sashes in the auction. The first, which came with a foxed "Votes for Women" pin realized \$7,680 with BP. The example pictured here without the pin brought \$5,376.

The Deputation Ribbon illustrated in the center above in all probability was issued for the WSPU demonstration of November 18, 1910, often referred to as 'Black Friday', when suffragists attempted to storm the House of Commons. When the Deputation was

planned originally, it was intended to be celebratory in nature as Parliament was expected to give final approval to the Conciliation Bill which would have given property-owning women of a certain age the right to vote. However, Prime Minister Asquith, no friend to woman suffrage, called for an election in December to push through his plans to tax the wealthy, a Parliamentary procedure that also scuttled any chance that the suffrage bill would be considered. Suffragists, understandably upset and angry, attempted to enter the House of Commons to vent their rage. The protesters, however, were refused entry on Asquith's orders, and a violent confrontation ensued with the police beating

... Other Auctions

and, in some cases, sexually assaulting the suffragists, hence the term 'Black Friday.' The ribbon was the product of Toye and Company that manufactured a variety of badges and ribbons for the suffragists. With BP, it was gaveled for \$1,920.

The item on the right is the official program for the time table and route of the funeral procession of Emily Wilding Davison on Saturday, June 14, 1913. Davison, considered to be the martyr of the English suffrage movement, died when she was trampled by the King's horse, Anmer, on Derby Day. The King was not riding his horse for that event, though, his place having been taken by Herbert Jones. Originally it

was thought that Davison had committed suicide for the cause by intentionally jumping in front of the horse. Later released news-reel footage, however, appears to show Davison attempting to place a petition in the hands of the man she may have thought to have been the King and then accidentally killed by the startled horse. According to the program, Emmeline Pankhurst, founder of the WSPU, was scheduled to accompany Davison's hearse, which was surrounded by hunger strikers. She was, however, arrested on that morning under the infamous Cat and Mouse Act and was prevented from attending. This historic program went for a final price of \$1,088 with BP.

The Elusive Christabel Metamorphic Card

The 3 ½" x 5 ¼" metamorphic card pictured here and entitled "Elusive Christabel" portrays the English militant Christabel Pankhurst about to be snatched by detectives seeking her arrest. When the tab at the bottom of the card is pulled, Christabel has disappeared, and two of the detectives end up crashing into one another. This piece, manufactured by the Flashograph Co., pictures a fascinating event in suffrage history that involves intrigue, violence, disguises, and secret messages.



Image from the Editor's Collection

In 1912, the Women's Social and Political Union, of which Christabel helped to found along with her mother, Emmeline Pankhurst, was becoming increasingly more violent and destructive in its strategies to bring about full suffrage for women. It had organized on March 1 and 4 two days of coordinated window smashing in which a total of 270 buildings were at-

tacked resulting in the equivalent today of approximately £750,00 worth of damage.

The government responded by invoking the Malicious Damage to Property Act, ordering arrest warrants for the two Pankhurst women and for Emmeline and Frederick Pethick-Lawrence, two prominent WSPU

... Christabel Metamorphic Card

members. Mrs. Pankhurst was already in prison on other charges and the Pethick-Lawrences were soon located and arrested themselves on March 5. But the leadership of the WSPU, realizing that imprisonment was imminent, set up a structure so that the organization could continue to function despite these incarcerations. As Christabel was later to recount, “we had arranged, in the interests of the movement, that I was to stand aside and not be arrested if I could avoid it.”

When word was brought to her about the arrests of the Pethick-Lawrences, Christabel fled to a nursing home where two supporters shielded her, disguised her as a nurse, and sent her to a home of a friend of theirs.

Christabel had a degree in law, although as a woman, she was not allowed at the time to practice in England. As a student of law, however, she knew that as a political offender, she could avoid extradition if she could somehow escape to Paris. Still in disguise, she took a cab from Victoria Station to a boat train to France,

fearing all the time that she would be discovered and arrested.

Christabel, fortunately, was successful in her escape, and began to direct WSPU operations from Paris, including a campaign of arson, delivering secret messages along with specific orders to WSPU member Annie Kenny, who was devoted to her. Kenny came to Paris on a number of occasions, often disguised to avoid the attention of authorities. Christabel’s movements and sources of financial support during her 2 ½ year exile were kept so cryptic that even scholars today are not certain of all of the details.

She stayed in Paris until 1914 when the War resulted in a compromise between the English government and the militants. If the latter forswore all militant activities, suffragists who were then in prison would be released. Once home, Christabel devoted herself to the war effort.

The Advocate and The Woman’s Journal

The Woman’s Advocate (Dayton, Ohio) Merges with *The Woman’s Journal*

by Katherine Durack, PhD

In early August 1870, readers of *The Woman’s Journal* and the *Woman’s Advocate* learned that the two publications were merging, and subscribers of the *Advocate* would have their existing subscriptions fulfilled with issues of the *Journal*. The problem for historians, collectors, and indexers is determining which of the several different publications titled the “Woman’s Advocate” had actually consolidated with the *Journal*. Because a “Woman’s Advocate” was published in New York, Philadelphia, and Dayton (Ohio), today some websites, library catalogs, and collectors’ indexes misidentify the specific publication that consolidated with *The Woman’s Journal* that fall.

Articles in *The Woman’s Journal* clearly identify the *Woman’s Advocate* published in Dayton, Ohio, as the object of the merger. The periodical was first issued in November 1868, published by a young lawyer, J. J. Belville, with the aid of A. J. Boyer, Editor, and

Eliza V. Burns, Assistant Editor. By September 1869, Miriam M. Cole replaced Eliza Burns on the editorial staff and was designated “Editor” along with A. J. Boyer, and Annie Denton Cridge was “Conductor” of a children’s section. Margaret V. Longley joined the paper as Corresponding Editor in 1870, by which time the periodical was the official organ of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association.

The *Woman’s Advocate* was “devoted to woman: her emancipation from religious, social, political, and moral slavery”; Mary Livermore described the publication as “a bright, plucky, wide-awake advocate of the cause of woman.” Begun as a weekly 4-page periodical, the *Advocate* appears to have been issued somewhat irregularly during its first year. At least two 8-page double issues were released in volume 1, and in an article titled “TRY AGAIN,” the editors express their intent to “resume weekly publication” and to

... Katherine Durack

continue the enlarged paper beginning with Vol. 2. The *Advocate* printed news about state and national woman suffrage conventions, events, and petition drives as well as articles on other reforms, alongside fiction, poetry, and an occasional “Children’s Corner.” A directory of “Principal Speakers and Writers in favor of Woman Suffrage in the United States” was a frequent feature, as were ads for like-minded publications, and products and services that might appeal to women readers.

Reporting about the merger in the August 13, 1870, issue, the *Woman’s Journal* observed that “editors and proprietors of both papers” shared “substantial unanimity of feeling and principle” and had both “participated in the formation of the American Woman Suffrage Association [AWSA] at Cleveland last November.” In fact, ten months earlier, in October 1869, Belville, Boyer, Cole, and Longley were among the signers of the call for the Cleveland Convention. At the convention, Margaret V. Longley was designated a Vice President and A. J. Boyer named to the Executive Committee of the newly formed AWSA. After the merger, *The Woman’s Journal* sought to reassure western readers that their needs would continue to be

met by the East Coast publication. “We desire to make our paper as broad in its spirit as the continent, and as comprehensive as the Federal Union,” the publishers of *The Woman’s Journal* announced to their “Western Subscribers.”

In short, the *Journal* is designed to be a national and cosmopolitan Woman Suffrage paper. In order to make it such, we invite the active cooperation of the State Woman Suffrage societies, East, West, North and South, and of every member of the American Woman Suffrage Association from Maine to California. (August 13, 1870).

After the merger, A.J. Boyer served for a while as the General Western Agent for *The Woman’s Journal* and provided occasional articles for the publication as did Miriam M. Cole and Margaret V. Longley. The Dayton *Woman’s Advocate* survived in name as a partner of *The Woman’s Journal* through December 13, 1873, after which time the *Advocate* was dropped from mention beneath the masthead by the *Journal*.

Issues of the *Woman’s Advocate* are preserved in the archives of the Ohio History Connection ([catalog entry](#)) and available online through [Ohio Memory](#).