



THE CLARION





LUBIN FILMS



A Complicated Campaign



TIN Bell City, in the midst of the Mayoralty Campaign, things look bad for the "old party." The women who outnumber the men voters, have nominated Miss Pinker, an old maid. The leader of the Feminist party is Mrs. Bright, a widow of fifty. The "old party" realizing a probable defeat hold a council and propose that Colonel Pease, their candidate, shall visit Miss Pinker and induce her to withdraw even if he has to propose marriage. The Colonel visits the old maid and finding her obdurate proposes to her and signs a paper promising good faith. The women party select another candidate and things are as bad as ever, but the Colonel next seeks Mrs. Bright, the leader, and in turn proposes to her. With her co-operation the Colonel is elected, but has two breach of promise cases on his hands. Under pressure he marries Mrs. Bright and the district attorney who has the cases in hand marries Miss Pinker so that the old party are good for another term.

LUBIN FILMS—CLEAR AS A BELL

Released Wednesday, April 24, 1912. Code Word CHAYA. Length about 1,000 feet.

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

Bob Fratkin points out an interesting link to an interview with Alice Paul on the *American Heritage* web site that appeared in February 1974, three years prior to her death in 1977. In response to questioning by Robert S. Gallagher, Paul appears surprisingly conciliatory towards Woodrow Wilson, whom she once demonized as “Kaiser Wilson,” and even volunteers praise for his leadership. She also explains away to a degree the lack of police response to the March 3, 1913 suffrage march in Washington by not asserting malice on their part but by indicating that they had miscalculated the size of the crowd. The link to this interview is <https://www.americanheritage.com/alice-paul-i-was-arrested-course>

Another link that you may find of interest is to objects in the woman suffrage collection of The Museum of London. Close to 1,000 items are pictured here with detailed descriptions, including historical contexts. While the focus is on postcards and photographs, there is a healthy number of buttons and other lapel material illustrated. If you are at all interested in suffrage memorabilia from the U. K., this is a staggering array of materials, with many unique items, some of which were specifically designed for individual suffrage leaders. <https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/search/#!/results?pageSize=100&page=10&search=AND%3BgroupRef%3Bgroup-18146&searchtitle=The%20Suffragettes>

Bob Cooney has provided us with some intriguing suggestions for future articles in *The Clarion*, one of which is a feature on Real Photo postcards. It occurred to us that many collectors of suffrage memorabilia, while interested in suffrage related postcards, are not entirely familiar with the term. Accordingly, our next issue will feature both a description and discussion of RP cards, along with images of representative examples.

Many of you may recall an image of a poster that graced the cover of the Summer 2021 issue of *The Clarion*. It featured a drawing of a mother standing between her two sons in the service along with the caption “We Give Our Work, Our Men, Our Lives—If Need Be—Will You Give Us the Vote?” In Heritage’s November Auction, a variation of this piece brought \$15,000 with buyer’s premium. Perhaps not a record for a suffrage poster, nevertheless the gavel price indicates a strong continuing interest in graphic movement prints.

In this connection, Colleen Denney, in her book *The Suffrage Photography of Lena Connell, creating a Cult of Great Women Leaders in Britain 1908-1914*, points out that, by 1911, there were at least 24 women running London photographic studios, some focusing on portraits, others dealing with street scenes as well. Not all of these women photographed suffrage images, but some did, including Mrs. Albert (Christina) Broom and Lizzie Caswall Smith. In our next issue, we will feature some of their work and provide references for those of you interested in their careers.

Major pieces from the collection of Ronnie Lapinsky Sax will be featured in a sale to be held by Heritage Auction House next April. Ray Farina, who will be handling the collection, has kindly consented to give us a brief description of some of the items that will be available, which you will find later on in this issue. As many of you know, Ronnie started the APIC Chapter a number of years ago and founded *The Clarion*. Her suffrage material formed one of the premier collections in the hobby.

Our Cover Illustration

The image that appears on the cover of this issue of *The Clarion* is that of a 10" x 14" promotional poster for Siegmund Lubin's *A Complicated Campaign*, a satirical anti-suffrage silent movie that appeared in 1912. As is the case with many movies of this period, information and ephemera about it does exist, but no surviving print has as yet been uncovered.

Lubin, a German-Jewish immigrant to America in 1876, was to become by 1912 America's first movie mogul, a commercial genius and a master of self-promotion. Combining his knowledge of cameras and lenses with a shrewd business sense, he created one of the most commercially successful movie companies of the early silent era. He was noted for his successful advertising skills along with an astute sense of popular taste, particularly that of the lower classes. The Betzwood Studio was the flagship of his empire and was world famous before bankruptcy brought Lubin's world crashing down. His ultimate failure was partially caused by several factors, including his inability to cope with expanding technology in the field and WWI, which ended his ability to export films to Europe. Over-all, Lubin produced about 1,000 movies, most of them lasting no longer than 15 minutes. He definitely was not progressive in his cultural politics as exemplified in the title of another one of his "suffrage" movies, *The Coon Town Suffragettes*.

The plot of *A Complicated Campaign* is rather involved for such a short movie. Lubin's synopsis reads as follows: "In Bell City, in the midst of the Mayoralty Campaign, things look bad for 'the old party.' The women, who outnumber the male voters, have nominated Miss Pinker, an old maid. The leader of the Feminist party is Mrs. Bright, a widow of fifty. The 'old party,' realizing a probably defeat, hold a council and propose that Colonel Pease, their candidate, shall visit Miss Pinker and induce her to withdraw even if he has to propose marriage. The Colonel visits the old maid and finding her obdurate proposes to her and signs a paper promising good faith. The women party select another candidate and things are as bad as ever, but the Colonel next seeks Mrs. Bright, the leader, and proposes to her. With her cooperation the Colonel is elected but has two breach of promise cases on his hands. Under pressure, he marries Mrs. Bright and the district attorney who has the cases in hand marries Miss Pinker so that the old party are good for another term."

I am grateful to Professor Lawrence Benaquist, who founded Keene State's film studies program, for furnishing information about both Lubin and the movie itself.

Upcoming Heritage Auction of Ronnie Lapinsky Sax's Suffrage Collection

Ray Farina

I'd first like to say that Heritage Auctions is so appreciative to the family of Ronnie Lapinsky Sax for the opportunity to handle her comprehensive and important collection of Women's Suffrage material. Ronnie's daughter has simply been a joy to work with; we are all very excited about featuring her amazing collection at Heritage. The first part of Ronnie's collection will appear as a dedicated section within sale #6286 currently scheduled for late April 2024. Highlights from the collection include: a unique personal service badge made for Catherine Pine, the private nurse who cared for Emmeline Pankhurst. A Utah Votes For Women Umbrella, personalized delegate ribbon badges with real-photo celluloid drops featuring the main trailblazers in the suffrage movement

including Susan B. Anthony, Carrie Chapman Catt, Harriet May Mills, and others. There are scores of delegate ribbons from suffrage organizations throughout the country, a Belva Lockwood rebus ribbon, Votes for Women buttons, broadsides, ballot boxes, 3D objects of all sorts, textiles, and ephemera, sure to make every collector salivate with envy and anticipation of this historic event! Examples of these items will be pictured in advertisements of our popular hobby and antique publications as we approach the April launch of the sale. Many thanks! I welcome you all to join us for this exciting sale!

Rokeby Venus Redux

On November 6, 2023, two climate change protesters from the group Just Stop Oil were arrested after they had attempted to hammer the glass protecting Diego Velazquez's famous painting "The Toilet of Venus" on exhibit at London's National Gallery. The two provocateurs stated that their action was to demand that Britain's government immediately halt all licensing for the exploration, development, and production of fossil fuels in the United Kingdom. The pair stated that they had chosen to target the masterpiece because it was previously slashed in 1914 as part of the Women's Social and Political Union's militant campaign. They told spectators at the gallery that "Women did not get the vote by voting. It is time for deeds, not words."

The incident that the protestors were referring to occurred on March 10, 1914, when Mary Richardson (1862/3-1961) had slashed the painting, also known as the Rokeby Venus, at the same gallery. She committed her act to protest the government's treatment of Emmeline Pankhurst, the founder of the Women's Social and Political Union. She was arrested immediately and made the following statement to the press the next day:

"I have tried to destroy the picture of the most beautiful woman in mythological history as a protest against the Government for destroying Mrs. Pankhurst, who is the most beautiful character in modern history. Justice is an element of beauty as much as colour and outline on canvas. Mrs. Pankhurst seeks to procure justice for womanhood, and for this she is being slowly murdered by a Government of Iscariot politicians. If there is an outcry against my deed, let everyone remember that such an outcry is an hypocrisy so long as they allow the destruction of Mrs. Pankhurst and other beautiful living women, and that until the public cease to countenance human destruction the stones cast against me for the destruction of this picture are each an evidence against them of artistic as well as moral and political humbug and hypocrisy."

The painting was eventually restored by the museum's conservators. Richardson herself had quite a background in militant actions. She had smashed windows at the Home Office, bombed a railway station, and had been imprisoned nine times for her actions in support of the movement. She was one of the first two women force-fed for hunger-striking and then released to recover and then be re-arrested under the Cat and Mouse Act of 1913. She was proud of the fact that

her Hunger Strike Medal, awarded by the WSPU to suffrage prisoners who refused to eat, contained more bars than anyone else's, indicating the number of hunger-strikes that she had engaged in.

Richardson's vandalism helped to instigate other attacks on works of art throughout the U. K. The problem became so great that many of the country's art galleries and museums were closed to women, and some such as the Royal Academy and the Tate Gallery shut down entirely. At best, women could only enter certain galleries and public places if they observed the rule, "No muffs, wrist-bags, or socks."

The postcard below, designed by famous artist Donald McGill and published by Joseph Asher just prior to WWI, alludes to Richardson's act by "explaining" the loss of arms to the Venus de Milo.



From the collection of the editor

Suffrage Memorabilia from Kansas

The struggle of Kansas suffragists to attain the franchise was long and hard. Unfortunately for the collector, it did not result in the creation of much in the way of typical memorabilia, although what was produced is intriguing and well-designed. Moreover, the iconography of the Kansas movement had a profound influence nationally, as can be seen in the representative pieces shown at the end of this article.

The two early campaigns in the state, one in 1867 and the other in 1894, were unsuccessful and it wasn't until 1912 that the ballot initiative finally passed giving local women the right to vote. The Kansas Equal Suffrage Association was formed in 1884, and the pressure from this organization became so strong that the Legislature in 1887 offered the sop of municipal suffrage. Kansas thus became the first state in the Union to allow women to vote in certain local elections albeit not in terms of statewide or national contests.

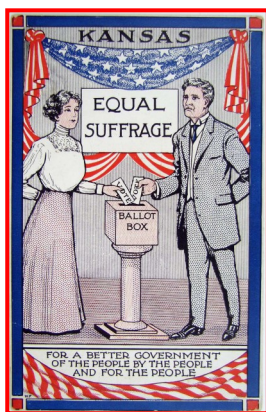
The imaginative ribbon on the right was produced for the 1894 ballot initiative by a local newspaper, *The Farmer's Wife*, and was sold at its office in Topeka for 10 cents each or a dozen for a dollar. *The Farmer's Wife* was a short-lived monthly that lasted from July 1891 to October 1894 around the time of the state suffrage referendum. It had ties to the radical portion of the Farmers' Alliance and was published by Ira Pack and edited by his wife, Emma D. Pack. Written by women for women it promoted populist issues, derived in part from the platform of The People's Party. It supported women's rights, an elevation of women's economic status, and prohibition.

There was no state-wide suffrage referendum held in 1904. However, when the State Equal Suffrage Association met at Topeka on November 9-10 that year, they not only elected Sadie P. Grisham as their president but also adopted campaigning for Presidential suffrage as their year's work. The button on the far right could very well have been a souvenir from that convention. Proclaiming "We Want to Vote for President in 1904," this 7/8" celluloid also features an image of the sunflower for which Kansas was famous.



7/8" celluloid pin.
This image and all
others in this article
are from the editor's
collection.

The postcard below, published by the Topeka Good Government Club for the 1912 referendum, features an image in red, white, and blue of both a woman and a man casting their ballots together. The caption reads:



"For a better government of the people by the people and for the people." The failed 1867 campaign did attract a number of prominent suffragists, many from the Northeast. Included among these women were Olympia Brown, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone who all could not help but notice that many loyal Kansas supporters wore homemade yellow ribbons that they called "sunflower badges." One loyalist proclaimed "just as the sunflower follows civilization, so woman suffrage inevitably follows civilized government." The practice of wearing a ribbon badge quickly spread to the rest of the country. In celebration of the concept, Marie Le Baron wrote a song in 1876 called "The Yellow Ribbon," and in the same year Laura Johns successfully proposed at the American Woman Suffrage Association Convention in Philadelphia that yellow be adopted as the organization's official color.

Mary Livermore helped to introduce that symbolism of the color yellow to supporters in her home state of Massachusetts. In 1894, she urged "Let every matron wear a knot of yellow ribbon on the left breast; every girl a bow of yellow ribbon on the left shoulder. . .let us have change, and show our colors."

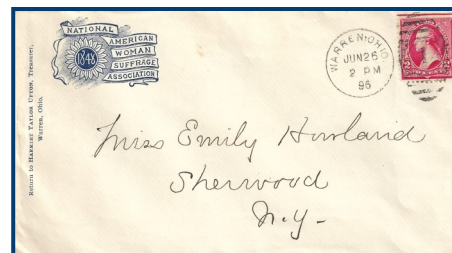
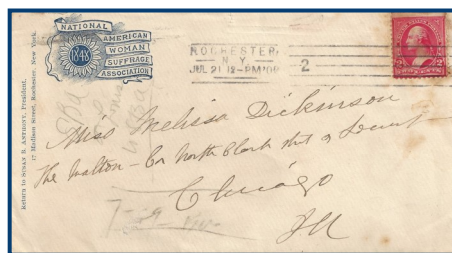
But suffragists did more than simply adopt the color yellow from Kansas supporters; in 1896 they also appropriated the state image of the sunflower for badges, stationary, and various publications.

... Kansas, cont'd.



The hat pin on the far left may be the first “button” or “badge” that was issued by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. It features the date “1848” in gold set on ruby glass, all of which is embedded in a metal petal from. Additionally, the small “1848” sunflower design was also fashioned into a badge with the hanger containing the organization’s acronym “NAWSA.” A copy of this badge with her name on it was given to Carrie Chapman Catt, and it is now housed at the Huntington Library in California along with other suffrage objects from her estate. Both the hatpin and the badge were sold for \$1.00 each, postpaid, a considerable amount for the time, especially considering that later buttons and badges were priced generally at a penny each or, at most, a nickel.

The sunflower motif was also used for period stationery on which a suffragist could have her name inscribed. Pictured here are envelopes for Susan B. Anthony, Anna Howard Shaw, and Harriet Taylor Upton.



What is curious about NAWSA’s use of the Kansas sunflower is the absence of the color yellow. Red is the color of choice for the hat pin shown above, and the stationery and other paper items were printed in blue.

The use of the sunflower by NAWSA as an iconic symbol was short lived and died out around the end of the 19th century. It was briefly honored, though, in the 20th century on this small celluloid pin, where it was printed for the first time in the requisite color pattern.



5/8" celluloid pin.

One other note about suffrage campaigning in Kansas. After Washington had become in 1910 the fifth state to ratify a suffrage amendment, Kansas and Ohio began to engage in a friendly rivalry to see which state might become the sixth. Initially, the odds favored Kansas, because the legislature already had the measure before it, and it was gaining increasing support. However, Ohio women were organizing energetically for their Constitutional Convention to be held in 1912. They had printed up a button that said “Ohio Next,” and had issued a challenge to their Kansas counterparts by mailing a small quantity to them. Kansas suffragists did not formally respond to the challenge, saying that they were too busy circulating petitions, writing letters to their representatives, and speaking before various organizations. It really did not make that much of a difference since it was neither state but rather California in 1911 that became the 6th state to grant women full suffrage.



11/16" celluloid pin.

The Hunger Strike Medal of Lavender Guthrie

On June 8, 1914, the body of Lavender Guthrie, who was living under the name of Laura Grey, was found on the floor of her flat at 111 Jermyn Street in London. A doctor was called in to revive her, but his efforts proved to be unsuccessful. She apparently had committed suicide by ingesting an overdose of veronal, a drug to which she had become addicted attempting to relieve the pain in her digestive tract caused by the force feeding that she had been subjected to at Holloway prison in 1912.

Guthrie had been arrested on at least four occasions between 1910 and 1912, primarily for window breaking on behalf of protests by Emmeline Pankhurst's Women's Social and Political Union. Born of relatively well-to-do parents, her life had, nevertheless, been framed by a Socialist aversion to wealth and property and for her desire for social justice. Following her 1912 release from prison, she appears to have removed herself from WSPU activities. She became an actress of little note, inhabited Bohemian night clubs, was probably addicted to alcohol as well as veronal, and was rumored to have earned her living, temporarily at least, as a prostitute. She was also pregnant and alone when she died.

In a final letter to her mother dated June 5, Guthrie wrote about her planned suicide: "Of course the kindly Coroner will call it temporary insanity but as a matter of fact I think that this is about the sanest thing I have yet done. I am simply very, very tired of things in general."

The Coroner's remarks were actually far harsher than Guthrie had anticipated, and, reading aloud a letter that had accompanied her hunger strike medal, he blamed her tragedy on her involvement with the suffrage movement as symbolized by her award: "Could anything be more calculated to upset the mind of a young girl than receiving . . . this *travesty of a medal* [italics mine]. The effect was quite clear. She leaves her home, her sister, her mother, for a garret in order to earn her own living and probably devote herself to this cause. She is next on stage as a pantomime girl. Next we find her in the company of men frequenting night clubs and taking money from them. There is no more about the suffrage movement. The girl seems to have been absolutely degraded, and from then her whole history is one of drink, drugs, immorality, and death from her own hand."

Grey's suicide became in the words of one suffragist, "A nine-day's sensation." It was reported on in papers in both England and America. The Women's Social and Political Union, while sympathetic to her tragedy, nevertheless tried to distance itself from her, noting that she was no longer a suffragette and had fallen in with the wrong sort of people. Still, a decent case could be made for including her alongside of Emily Davison as a martyr for the suffrage cause for, if nothing else, her deadly addiction to veronal was the result of the treatment she had received at Holloway. For a more complete iteration of her tragedy, one that is woven into compelling narrative, see Elizabeth Crawford's account in her blog *Woman and Her Sphere* <https://womanandhersphere.com/?s=guthrie>.

The Hunger Strike medal, more formally called the Medal for Valour of which Guthrie was a recipient, came in a purple box with a green felt lining. Above the medal in gold lettering on satin were the words: "Presented to [name of recipient, in this case "Lavender Guthrie"] by the Women's Social and Political Union in recognition of a gallant action, whereby through endurance to the last extremity of hunger and hardship a great principle of political justice was vindicated." The medal, manufactured by Toye of London, was attached to a purple, green, and white ribbon that hung from a silver bar. On the bar the words "For Valour" were inscribed. On one side of the medal itself were the words "Hunger Strike," on the reverse was the name of the recipient. No accurate account is available of the number of medals that were actually awarded, but one scholar estimates the



From the collection of the editor

... Lavender Guthrie, cont'd



Lavender Guthrie's actual Hunger Strike medal was auctioned off by Christie's a number years ago in a lot that included other prison memorabilia. I was fortunate to have won the lot, although my feelings about it are mixed. I feel privileged to own such a historic piece. On the other hand, it does serve as a constant reminder to me of a life that originally had much potential ending in such tragic circumstances. I believe that we all wish that it could have been otherwise.

From the collection of the editor

Glasgow Women's Library Acquires Hunger Strike Medal

The last issue of *The Clarion* included a report on the October 3, 2023 auction by Bonhams of England of the Lesley Mees suffrage collection. Among the items sold was a hunger strike medal for Maude Joachim that set a record price of close to \$50,000. This piece was purchased by the Glasgow Women's Library after a fund-raising appeal that included a grant from the National Fund for Acquisitions along with supplemental money raised by crowdfunding from more than 500 supporters.



Maude Joachim was arrested in Dundee on October 20, 1909 along with Adela Pankhurst, the daughter of WSPU founder Emmeline Pankhurst, Helen Archdale, Catherine Corbett, and Laura Evans. The prosecution charged that Joachim "conducted herself in a disorderly manner and committed a breach of the peace." The five suffragists had interrupted a meeting led by Winston Churchill the day before, shouting "This way! Votes for Women." Churchill later commented that the activists were "a band of silly, neurotic, hysterical women." Joachim went to prison where she was released after a four-day hunger strike.

The Glasgow Women's Library is located at 23 Landressy Street. For further information, visit their web-site at www.womenslibrary.com

Image with permission from Bonhams

English Suffrage Tea Sets and Other China

Because the English are so fond of tea, it was only natural that British suffragists should have produced several sets in support of the franchise. Listed below are some of the major pieces known to historians/collectors.

Undoubtedly, the most well known was that designed by Sylvia Pankhurst, the artist daughter of WSPU founder, Emmeline Pankhurst, for the suffrage exhibition at the Prince's Skating Rink during May 13-

26, 1909 in the Knightsbridge area of London. Pankhurst's design consisted of an image of the "angel of freedom" blowing her trumpet and flying the "Freedom" banner, all in the official Union colors of purple, green, and white. In the background of the featured medallion are the initials "WSPU" set against dark prison bars, surrounded by the thistle, shamrock and rose intended to symbolize England, Scotland, and Ireland.

... English Tea Sets, cont'd.

The set, used initially in the refreshment room at the Rink, was then sold as a fundraiser. The tea room was run by Henrietta Lowry, with help from her four daughters along with another young suffragist, Una Dugdale. Made by Williamsons of Longton, the set included twenty-two pieces, consisting of six cups and saucers, six small plates, a teapot, a milk jug or creamer, a sandwich plate, and a topless sugar bowl or basin.

In 1911, the WSPU sold remaining sets of the original twenty-two for ten shillings and sixpence at its Women's Press Office on Charing Cross Road in London. It also sold individual pieces of that set along with larger versions of the triad and the tea pot. Prices are seen in the ad below.

W.S.P.U. CHINA.

This China, ornamented with Medallion in the Colours, is specially manufactured . . . for us. . . .

Set of 22 pieces, 10/6. Separate pieces supplied. Cup and Saucer, 1/-; Plates, 9d. and 1/- each; Jug and Basin, 1/- each; Teapots, 2/6 and 3/-



All items pictured in this article, unless identified otherwise, are from the editor's collection

When examples of this set come on the market today, they generally are sold individually and not as a set, although one complete setting did appear in a Bonhams auction several years ago.



... English Tea Sets, cont'd.

Because of the success of its London Exposition, the WSPU decided to hold another in April 1910, this time in Glasgow, Scotland. Another teas set was commissioned from the Diamond China Company with Sylvia Pankhurst redesigning her original transfer that was featured on the English version. Here the front side of the standing pieces pictures the “angel of freedom” facing right, not left, and gone is the medallion with the WSPU imprint. The rear features an image of the Scottish thistle. The original set consisted of only nine pieces, two triads of a cup, saucer, and small plate, a milk jug or creamer, a topless sugar bowl, and

a teapot. The May 12, 1910 issue of *Votes for Women* indicated that it was still for sale in whole or in part. A small tea set, with only one triad, was available for eleven shillings, and the whole set with tea for two, for one pound.

Although all English suffrage china is rare to an extent, examples of the Scottish set are more difficult to locate than their English counterparts. So far only one complete set has shown up in APIC hands. The People's Museum in Glasgow has but a cup and saucer. A few scattered cups and saucers also have been sold to collectors over the years.



The next set of WSPU china is the rarest of all three, and is definitely the most obscure in terms of its origins. It features Sylvia Pankhurst's portcullis design against a green prison gate. No manufacturer's mark appears, but it may have been produced by the Williamson Company that made the “Angel of Freedom” English set. Until recently, only a handful of cups and saucers were known, along with one creamer. In her suffrage blog, Elizabeth Crawford

does reference an inquiry from a subscriber who has a complete set. Crawford hypothesizes that sets may have been given to suffragists released from Holloway prison. Crawford also notes that *The Suffragette* of 30 May 1913, announced that a selection of china decorated with the 'portcullis' design would be for sale at the WSPU Summer Fair, held at the Empress Rooms in Kensington, so the set could well date from around that time.



... English Tea Sets, cont'd.

The Women's Freedom League, which broke away from the WSPU on November 12, 1907 over several matters also issued its own tea service. However, it is so scarce that only one plate variety is known to collectors.



Photo used with permission of Bonhams Auction House.

tures during the war. The WFL continued to hold executive meetings at the club into the 1930's, and it was still used residentially into the 1940's. Annual birthday parties at the club were held for Charlotte Despard, the founder of the WFL, with Despard, her-



Image from the collection of the editor.

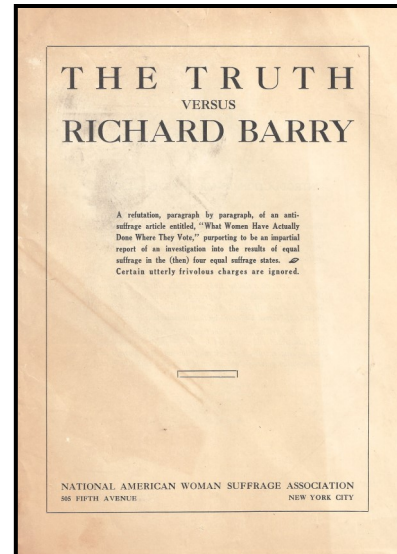
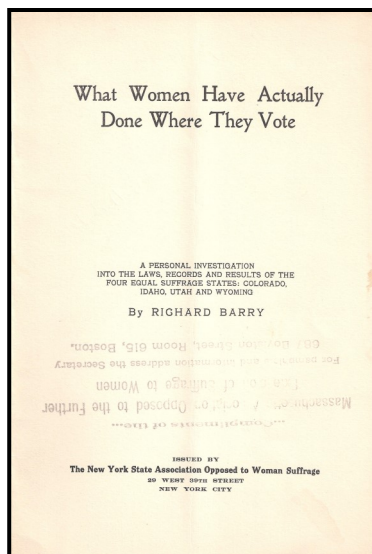
The WFL was also responsible for producing other suffrage related china. The bowl pictured to the right is not part of a tea set but rather of a luncheon grouping. It was made for use at the Minerva Club, a residential club at 28a Brunswick Square in the Bloomsbury District of London. It was established in 1920 by the Women's Freedom League as an outgrowth of its Minerva Café that was used for luncheons and lec-

self, traveling from Ireland to attend. The decoration on this bowl is that of a small medallion transfer that included an image of the Roman goddess of wisdom, Minerva (Greek Athena). It is unknown as to how many pieces ultimately are in the set or whether any of them technically fall within the suffrage era. It probably was never sold to the public, for it was not advertised in any of the suffrage papers.

Edward Bok, Richard Barry, and the Suffrage Movement

Collectors of suffrage paper memorabilia are aware, undoubtedly, of the two pamphlets pictured at the right: *What Women Have Actually Done Where They Vote* and *The Truth Versus Richard Barry*. The controversy that they generated when they were first published provides a fascinating comment on the relationship between popular journals and their attempts to frame the public's reaction to the suffrage movement.

Bok cont'd...



Pamphlets from the editor's collection

... Bok & Barry cont'd.

The first pamphlet, authored by Richard Barry, first appeared as an article in *The Ladies Home Journal* on November 1, 1910 that was commissioned by its Dutch born editor, Edward Bok (1863-1930). Bok, who in 1896 had married the daughter of the magazine's publisher Cyrus Curtis, was a Pulitzer Prize author and a marketing genius. Under his leadership, the *Journal* became the first magazine in the world to attain 1,000,000 subscribers. He considered himself to be a true progressive, and *Journal* often featured articles of social import objecting to the lavishness of upper-class homes and the values that they represented.

But despite his otherwise progressive outlook, Bok remained patriarchal in his views about the role he felt that women should occupy in society and was staunchly opposed to female voting rights. He had written more than 20 articles against suffrage, women working outside the home, women's clubs, and education for women. He believed that the emerging feminism would lead to divorce, ill-health, and, in the most extreme circumstances, even death. He regarded suffragists as "traitors to their sex" for "there is no greater enemy of woman than woman herself."

To compile "proof" about the dangers of the suffrage movement, he sent the writer Richard Barry, known for his articles on sociological conditions, to the then four Western states (Iowa, Wisconsin, Utah, and Colorado) that had granted women full voting rights. His assignment was to study the impact of the franchise on society. Barry was hardly an impartial observer.

He had previously written several articles for *Pearson's Magazine* that had been considered to be hostile to the cause. His resultant report, which pleased Bok enormously, concluded that suffrage did not "cure" the social problems that its advocates said it would; in fact, some of these problems, such as prostitution, juvenile crime, divorce, alcohol, etc. were on the increase.

Anti-suffragists also delighted in Barry's conclusions and they distributed reprints of the original article in New York, Massachusetts, and elsewhere. Suffragists were enraged. Several women's clubs urged a boycott against the *Journal*. The National American Woman Suffrage Association, finding that Barry's writings in general reflected a "violently anti-suffrage bias" and were "shown to be full of false, misleading and inaccurate statements in essential matters," published its rebuttal. "The Truth Versus Richard Barry," shown on the previous page.

Both pamphlets obtained a great deal of contemporary currency, but Bok was unapologetic. His hardened stance against suffrage ran contrary to the change in direction that was now appearing in such popular magazines of the day as *Life*, whose publishers were quite aware of women's emerging buying power. Strangely enough, Bok's anti-suffrage sentiments did not hurt the circulation of *The Journal*, which continued to increase its readership, reaching two million by the time of the passage of the suffrage amendment in 1920.

Charges Against Suffragist for Biting Jailor Dismissed

The August 6, 1909 issue of the Women's Social and Political Union's journal *Votes for Women* reported on an unusual court case involving the suffragist Theresa Garnett. Garnett had been charged with biting the finger of the wardress who had tried to undress her prior to leading her to a "punishment cell." She had been sentenced to eight days in solitary confinement for her involvement in a recent demonstration. Garnett pleaded innocent, giving an unusual defense.

Garnett claimed that she had been perfectly quiescent during her arraignment. She explained that when the wardress attempted to take off her dress, she must have inadvertently brushed against the pin of her suffrage Holloway Prison badge. It was probably the pin of her suffrage piece that had caused the wound, not a bite on her

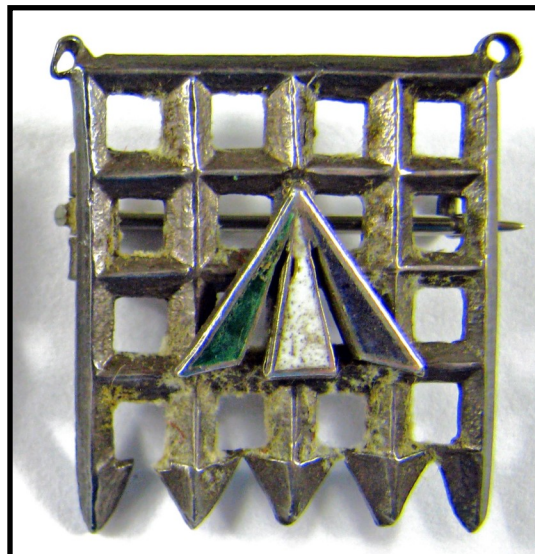


Image from the collection of the editor.

... Charges Dismissed, cont'd.

part. She indicated that she was now wearing the dress that the wardress had attempted to remove and that there was a tear on the left side where she had worn the brooch.

The magistrate was skeptical that the wound could have occurred in the manner that Garnett had narrated. He noted that there was no proof that the torn dress that she was now wearing before him was the original garment in question. He also expressed disappointment in her behavior observing that: "She appeared to have been allowed what might almost be called privileges and one would have thought that would have made her behave more carefully." However, noting her apparent position during the struggle, he believed that she had not intentionally bitten the wardress but

rather that the blow with the teeth had been accidental. While he dismissed the charges against her, he expressed his sorrow over what he believed to be Garnett's contrived explanation.

Garnett, however, was not to go free. The magistrate then ruled on a second charge against her, that she had physically assaulted a wardress named Hilda Marion Simmonds who had come to collect her bedding from her prison cell. He said that this time that there was no doubt that the defendant had struck the wardress, and that there appeared to be no justification for the blow beyond the fact that Garnett was annoyed at being imprisoned. Accordingly, he sentenced her to thirty days in prison for her actions.

Suffrage Button Used as Nefarious Disguise

When American activist Elisabeth Freeman (1876-1942) came to England in 1905 for a six-year stay, she became radicalized after having met British leader Emmeline Pankhurst and then participating in several violent demonstrations. Perhaps the worst was the Downing Street battle of November 22, 1910. There, beaten and kicked by rowdies in the crowd, she spotted a man wearing a "Men's League for Woman Suffrage" button and appealed to him to help her find a "breathing spot," a place of temporary safety. Unfortunately, he turned out to be a detective, who had resorted to doing "dirty, insulting work" on the women demonstrators. Instead of assisting her, he put his hand on Freeman's face and shoved her back into the crowd, where she suffered "two dislocated toes, a badly sprained wrist and three strained fingers, but not a sprained conscience."

Freeman never gave a full description of the button the detective was wearing, her attention at the time, obviously, was focused on more serious matters. Pictured here are two pins that might have been possibilities.



1 1/2" celluloid pin



7/8" celluloid pin

Images in this article are from the collection of the editor.

... Nefarious Disguise Button, cont'd.

Freeman actually had been born in England, the youngest of three children, and had come to America at a very young age when her mother, Mary Hall Freeman, immigrated here after having left her father. Mary found work at St. Johnland, an orphanage on the north shore of Long Island, where the children came to live for a while, until the family moved about to other areas in New York.

Freeman's six-year sojourn in England and her work with Pankhurst's Women's Social and Political Union helped her to become a popular activist speaker. Never having much money, she worked to support herself by becoming a professional orator for the William Feakins Speakers Bureau and by working as a writer for the *Woman's Journal* for a stipend of \$125 a month.

Her suffrage activities eventually led to her coming in contact with Rosalie Gardiner Jones, a wealthy Long Island socialite. Despite the disparity in both income and position, the two became friends and campaigned together for the movement. She was with Jones when she traveled to Ohio to assist activists there in their

drive for a state constitutional amendment granting women the franchise. Rejecting an automobile tour as part of their personal campaign, the pair traveled in a little yellow wagon that Jones had transported to Ohio. The wagon was then drawn about the rural areas and small towns of the state, pulled by a horse named "Suffragette." From this wagon, the pair would speak on street corners and at fairs, distributing literature and selling suffrage buttons and cards. The postcard pictured below was one such card, autographed by both, which appears to have been their practice to enhance sales.



Police Suppression, a Raid, and an Escape to Paris



The postcard on the left, was published by Ferdinand Kehrhaun (pronounced and later spelled "Curran") with the help of his brother, Frederick. Ferdinand was sometimes known as the semi-official photographer of the militant Women's Social and Political Union, and his imprint appears on numerous cards portraying suffrage events. This card depicts Christabel Pankhurst, perhaps with an "in your face attitude," reading a copy of the May 2, 1913 issue of *The Suffragette*, for which she supplied editorial content. The entire front page of the paper below the masthead consists of but one word, "Raided." The story behind this police "raid" is a dramatic one that reflects a major division within the WSPU about militancy and the destruction of property.

Frustrated by the inaction of Parliament on the issue of the franchise for women, Christabel began to urge suffragists to engage in increasingly militant acts. 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. Emmeline Pankhurst and the Lawrences were taken into custody, but Christabel managed to elude the police and escape to Paris, where she began to live incognito, fearing possible extradition or kidnapping by British authorities.

... Police Raid, cont'd.

From Paris, Christabel continued through intermediaries to maintain an active role in the WSPU. She urged ever more militant action including arson. When the Pethick Lawrences, long-time friends of Christabel, opposed this increased focus on violence, they were expelled from the WSPU by Christabel and her mother. The Pethick Lawrences had been founders of the WSPU official journal, *Votes for Women*, and, when they left, they took the paper with them for use in their newly created organization, The Votes for Women Fellowship.

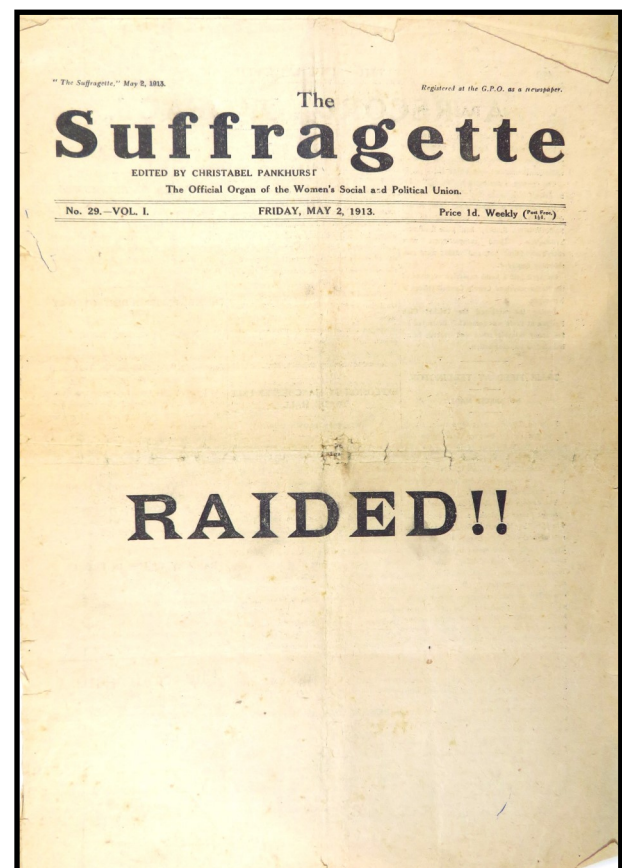
Because the WSPU needed a new paper, Christabel created *The Suffragette*, the first issue of which appeared on October 17, 1912. She wrote editorial material in Paris for the journal that was conveyed to London by her friend Annie Kenney, who appeared in France for a time in disguise fearful that she might be followed by British authorities.

The British police attempted to suppress *The Suffragette*, discouraging outlets from handling it. The initial press run dropped from 17,000 copies to 10,000. Finally, on May 2, 1913, the police raided the offices of the printer, and arrested Sidney Granville Drew, managing editor of Victoria Printing Company. Drew was remanded on bail on May 10, with the understanding that he was to drop all association with the paper and not help with its distribution in any way.

Despite the police raid, Grace Roe of the WSPU managed to arrange with another printer to publish the paper, and the issue pictured on the right, which contained a full story about the incident, appeared the next day.

Christabel must have been delighted with the photograph of her reading this issue of *The Suffragette*, which, despite all police attempts to suppress the paper, still found its way to the public.

In September of 1914, after war had been declared with Germany, Christabel returned to London, where the WSPU had suspended its "Votes for Women" campaign to help out with the war effort. *The Suffragette* reappeared on April 16, 1915 as a war paper. The name was changed in October to *Britannia*, where its slogan was now "For King, For Country, For Freedom," and Christabel's editorials focused on supporting the war effort, although she was often critical of what she felt to be the Government's insufficient vigor in conducting that war. For a much more thorough account of Christabel's Paris exile, see June Purvis' seminal biography *Christabel Pankhurst—A Biography*, published by Routledge in 2018.



Images in this article are from the collection of the editor.

Women Candidates for President and Vice President

The list below consists of the names of women who have been nominated for the post of President or Vice President by their respective parties since 1872. Presidential and Vice Presidential Hopefuls (those who were never nominated) are not included. In recent elections there have been a number of small fringe parties or independents whose vote totals in the general election have been negligible and, therefore, have generally been excluded. I have included a few of these candidates, however, for curiosity value.

1872	Victoria Woodhull	Equal Rights (Cosmo)	Pres.
1884	Belva Lockwood Marietta B. Stow	Equal Rights Equal Rights	Pres. V. P.
1888	Belva Lockwood	Equal Rights	Pres.
1924	Marie C. Brehm	Prohibition	V. P.
1928	Jane Addams	National Progressive	V. P.
1932	Florence Garvin	National Independent	V. P.
1936	Florence Garvin	Greenback	V. P.
1940	Gracie Allen	Surprise Party	Pres.
1948	Grace Carlson	Socialist Workers	V. P.
1952	Charlotta A. Bass Myra T. Weiss Vivian Kellems Charlotta A. Bass	Progressive (American Labor) Socialist Workers Constitution of California Communist	V. P. V. P. V. P. V. P.
1956	Georgia Cozzint Myra T. Weiss Anna M. Yezo	Socialist Labor (Industrial Government) Socialist Workers (Militant Workers) American Third	V. P. V. P. V. P.
1960	Georgia Cozzini Myra T. Weiss	Socialist Labor (Industrial Government) Socialist Workers	V. P. V. P.
1964	Yetta Bronstein Anna Marie Yezo	Best Party Poor Man's Party	Pres. V. P.
1968	Charlene Mitchell Peggy Terry	Communist California Peace and Freedom Party	Pres. V. P.
1972	Linda Jenness Genevieve Gundersen Toni Nathan	Socialist Workers Party Socialist Labor Libertarian	Pres. V. P. V. P.

... Candidates, cont'd.

1976	Margaret Wright	People's Party	Pres.
	Ellen McCormack	Right to Life	Pres.
	Carroll Driscoll	Right to Life	V. P.
	Willie Mae Reid	Socialist Workers	V.P.
	Constance Blomen	Socialist Labor	V.P.
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1980	La Donna Harris	Citizen's Party	V. P.
	Angela Yvonne Davis	Communist Party	V. P.
	Eileen Shearer	American Independent	V. P.
	Matilde Zimmermann	Socialist Workers	V. P.
	Maureen Smith	Peace and Freedom	Pres.
	Elizabeth Cervantes Barron	Peace and Freedom	V. P.
	Deidre Griswold	Workers World Party	Pres.
	Gavrielle Holmes	Workers World Party	V. P.
	Naomi Cohen	Workers World Party	V. P.
	Diane Drufenbrock	Socialist	V. P.
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1984	Geraldine Ferraro	Democratic Party	V. P.
	Angela Yvonne Davis	Communist Party	V. P.
	Sonia Johnson	Citizen's Party	Pres.
	Gavrielle Holmes	Worker's World Party	Pres.
	Gloria La Riva	Worker's World Party	V. P.
	Maureen Kennedy Salaman	Populist	V. P.
	Andrea Gonzales	Socialist Workers Party	V. P.
	Emma Wong Mar	Peace and Freedom Party	V. P.
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1988	Lenora Fulani	New Alliance Party	Pres.
	Joyce Dattner	New Alliance Party	V. P.
	Susan Gardner	Consumer Party	V. P.
	Kathleen Mickells	Socialist Workers Party	V. P.
	Vikki Murdock	Peace and Freedom Party	V. P.
	Gloria La Riva	Workers World Party	V. P.
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1992	Barbara Garson	Socialist	V. P.
	Gloria La Riva	Worker's World Party	Pres.
	Lenora Fulani	New Alliance Party	Pres.
	Maria Elizabeth Muñoz	New Alliance Party	V. P.
	Nancy Lord	Libertarian	V. P.
	Asiba Tapahacha	Peace and Freedom Party	V. P.
	Willie Mae Reid	Socialist Workers	V. P.
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1996	Monica Moorehead	Worker's World Party	Pres.
	Gloria Ls Riva	Worker's World Party	V. P.
	Marsha Feinland	Peace and Freedom Party	Pres.
	Kate McClatchey	Peace and Freedom Party	V. P.
	Mary Cal Hollis	Socialist Party	Pres.
	Rosemary Giumarra	Independent	V. P.
	Laura Garza	Socialist Workers Party	V. P.
	Rachel Bubar Kelly	Prohibition Party	V. P.
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... Candidates, cont'd.

2000	Monica Moorehead	Worker's World Party	Pres.
	Gloria La Riva	Worker's World Party	V. P.
	Winona LaDuke	Green Party	V. P.
	Ezola B. Foster	Reform Party	V. P.
	Mary Cal Hollis	Socialist	V.P.
	Sabrina R. Allen	Independent	V. P.
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2004	Pat LaMarche	Green Party	V. P.
	Janice Jordan	Peace and Freedom Party	V. P.
	Mary Alice Herbert	Socialist	V. P.
	Margaret Trowe	Socialist Workers Party	V. P.
	Karen Sanchirico	Independent	V. P.
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2008	Sarah Palin	Republican	V. P.
	Cynthia McKinney	Green Party	Pres.
	Rosa Clemente	Green Party	V. P.
	Gloria La Riva	Party for Soc., Liberation	Pres.
	Alison Kennedy	Socialist Workers	V. P.
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2012	Jill Stein	Green Party	Pres.
	Cheri Honkala	Green Party	V. P.
	Peta Lindsay	Party for Soc., Liberation	Pres.
	Roseann Barr	Peace and Freedom Party	Pres.
	Cindy Sheehan	Peace and Freedom Party	Pres.
	Maureen DeLuca	Socialist Workers Party	V. P.
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2016	Hillary Clinton	Democratic	Pres.
	Jill Stein	Green Party	Pres.
	Gloria La Riva	Peace and Freedom Party	Pres.
	Angela Walker	Socialist Party USA (on ballot in Col., MI, Guam)	V. P.
2020	Alison Kennedy	Socialist Workers Party	Pres.
	Mindy Finn	Independent Party	V.P.
	Kamala Harris	Democratic	V. P.
	Jo Jorgenson	Libertarian	Pres.
	Riki Sue King	Genealogy	Pres.
	Dayna R. Chandler	Genealogy	V. P.
	Deborah Rouse	Independent	Pres.
	Sheila Cannon	Independent	V.P.
	Jade Simmons	Independent	Pres.
	Claudelia Roze	Independent	V.P.
	Melissa Nixon	Independent	V.P.
	Sheila "Samm" Tittle	Constitution	Pres.
	Angela Marie Walls-Windhauser	Independent	Pres.
	Karynn Weinstein	Independent	Pres.
	Demetra Wysinger	WXYZ New Day	Pres.
	Alyson Kenedy	Socialist Workers	Pres.
	Gloria La Riva	Party for Socialism	Pres.
	Princess Khadijah		
	Jacob-Fambro	Unaffiliated	Pres.