



THE STORY OF LUCY BURNS

Independent Research Study

Abstract

The story of Women's Suffrage cannot be properly shared without the name Lucy Burns. As a major contributor to both the American Suffrage Movement as well as the British Suffrage Movement, Burns sacrificed much of her life to give women a voice. This is her story.

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The 1913 Women's Suffrage March would not have taken place without a number of influential women that contributed their time and efforts into creating "one of the most impressively beautiful spectacles ever staged in this country."¹ Early on that March morning, the parade organizers lined up along with five thousand other marchers to walk on Pennsylvania Avenue advocating for their right to have a larger contribution to society. Often when we hear about this day, the credit goes to a woman named Alice Paul. One of the main contributors to the March who is known as "a vocal leader of the twentieth century women's suffrage movement who advocated for the 19th amendment".² Paul was an outstanding activist who fought long and hard for women's rights in the United States, however she was not alone.

While studying social work in England, Paul met Lucy Burns.³ Burns was born in Brooklyn, New York to an Irish Catholic family.⁴ Edward Burns, Lucy's father a bank president wanted Lucy to have access to the best education she could receive as a woman at that time. Lucy attended Vassar College where she was "hailed as a brilliant scholar."⁵ In England the two women were both active members of Emmeline Pankhurst's Suffragette Movement. These women participated in hunger strikes and picketing as well as more destructive activities including "breaking windows, defacing artwork in the National Gallery, and tearing up golf courses."⁶ Burns was a major contributor and friend to Pankhurst as well as the suffragette

¹ "One of the Most Impressively Beautiful Spectacles Ever Staged in This Country." *New York Times*. March 4, 1913.

² Michals, Debra. "Alice Paul", National Women's History Museum (NWHM), 2015.

³ Michals, Debra. "Alice Paul".

⁴ Sicherman, Barbara; Green, Carol Hurd (1993). *Notable American Women: The Modern Period : a Biographical Dictionary, Volume 4*. Cambridge, Mass [u.a.]: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press. pp. 124–125.

⁵ Sicherman, Barbara; Green, Carol Hurd (1993). *Notable American Women: The Modern Period : a Biographical Dictionary, Volume 4*.

⁶ Smith, Karen Manners. "Women's Social and Political Union." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., November 2018.

movement chief organizer Grace Roe.⁷ These women really inspired the American suffragist movement strategies that Burns, and Paul brought back to the states.

Burns and Paul both returned to the states following the start of the war for democracy between England and the US to begin campaigning for women's right in the states. This is when most historians stop talking about Lucy Burns and credit Alice Paul for all the remaining work done for women's suffrage. Paul was a major contributor, but Lucy Burns was just as actively involved and responsible for the eventual passing of the 19th amendment. A prime example of this lack of coverage can be found on the National Women's History Museum (NWHM) webpage. If one were to search Lucy Burns there is no specific page for her, and the only true reference to Lucy can be found within Alice Paul's page where they briefly identified "Paul and Burns join(ing) the National American Women Suffrage Association (NAWSA), with Paul leading the Washington DC chapter".⁸

This lack of coverage questions Lucy's contributions to the Women's Suffrage Movement and leaves Lucy Burn's role in US suffrage unknown. However, history shows that Burns played a nearly identical role to Paul but is rarely credited with any of the work she contributed to the movement. Most of the limited work released on Lucy Burns right now is defined by her friendship with Alice Paul. In nearly every research database, Lucy Burns comes up under a piece dedicated to Paul. A common trend in how our history is shared. Much of the research done on women's suffrage is on the big names that we identify in our American History courses. In the past year, various groups have been working to highlight smaller names involved in the American Suffrage Movement, such as the National Archives new exhibit dedicated to the

⁷ Roe, Grace. "Woman's Hour - Grace Roe - BBC Archive." BBC News. BBC Audio Files, May 30, 2019.

⁸ Michals, Debra. "Alice Paul".

19th Amendment, the Library of Congress releases documents never before seen as they reach their 100th year anniversary to the suffrage movement and various authors diving in to identify other key influencers of various racial and social backgrounds at this time.⁹ There is substantial evidence that proves that Lucy Burns has been overlooked throughout the history of women's suffrage movement. Retelling the story of Women's Suffrage and including the work of Lucy Burns would bring light to her accomplishments, struggles and impact to the women's suffrage as a whole.

With such an amazing career in women's suffrage, it is incredibly hard to determine the reasoning for the lack of coverage associated with Lucy Burns. A woman who was associated with some of the largest pro-woman campaigns and is most commonly noted for her friendship with Alice Paul. Alice Paul was an amazing activist. As a woman who has been noted as "the architect of some of the most outstanding political achievements on behalf of women in the 20th century", one cannot argue that Paul contributed to the passing of the 19th Amendment and other monumental steps in women's suffrage.¹⁰ However, Paul could not have done it alone. In nearly every scholarly article written about Alice Paul, the author states her close-knit relationship with Lucy Burns. PBS did an American Experience piece on Alice Paul that summarizes the main parts of the Women's Suffrage Movement in the 1900s. The only problem within this article is the lack of credit given to Lucy Burns. "Returning home, a radicalized Paul- along with her friend Lucy Burns" is the only mention to Burns throughout the entire piece.¹¹ PBS isn't the only source to not share Burns role in Women's Suffrage. In 2009, (later edited in 2018), the

⁹Jessie Kratz, "The Movement as a Mosaic: Alice Paul and Woman Suffrage," National Archives and Records Administration (National Archives and Records Administration, May 10, 2019)

¹⁰ Lindman, Janet. "Who Was Alice Paul." alicepaul.org. Alice Paul Institute, January 2017.

¹¹ "Alice Paul." PBS. Public Broadcasting Service, n.d. Accessed December 16, 2019.

History Channel also shared a piece on Alice Paul highlighting the single-handed work Paul had done for the development that led to ratification of the 19th Amendment. This piece lacked any reference to Burns and shared all the work Burns' assisted Paul with as Paul's own.¹² Major sources are sharing the history of suffrage incorrectly by not telling the story of Lucy Burns. This is all many hear about Burns and without diving deeper into research one would never know that she played just as much of a role as Alice Paul. In Lucy Burns can be compared to a side-kick in a superhero movie, the person always there to support the leader, who occasionally has their moments to shine but is rarely discussed following big events.

In the past few years, there has been a push to increase the knowledge around Women's Suffrage and the 19th Amendment. This past year we celebrated the centennial of the passing of the 19th Amendment. With the recent push to educate the public on these historical days, more undiscovered research has been shared. Many organizations, such as the National Archives in Washington D.C. have created new exhibits to highlight the smaller names associated within the battle of equal rights between genders. The *Rightfully Hers: An American Women and the Vote* Exhibit opened early this year at the National Archives Museum in D.C.¹³ The exhibit follows the road the 19th Amendment took to ratification as well as the individuals that supported its journey. However, even within this exhibit there is a lack of mention of Lucy Burns.

I bring this exhibition up as I believe the Archives did do a good job of highlighting other smaller names that played significant roles in women's suffrage including Mabel Lee, Emily Barber and Ida B. Wells-Barnett. "The exhibit includes many stories of influential men and

¹² History.com Editors. "Alice Paul." History.com. A&E Television Networks, November 9, 2009.

¹³ "Ways to Commemorate the Women's Suffrage Centennial in Washington, DC." Washington.org. Washington D.C., October 13, 2019.

women across generations whose persistence made the triumph of the 19th Amendment possible”¹⁴.

Along with the National Archives, many other locations across the country have opened exhibitions that highlight the smaller names of Women’s Suffrage and the battle to the 19th Amendment. “This year, numerous DC museums and institutions are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the passing of the 19th Amendment by Congress on June 4, 1919, which gave women the right to vote in the United States for the first time”.¹⁵ The National Portrait Gallery, recently opened their new gallery dedicated to Women’s Suffrage and much to my surprise, they noted Lucy Burns within the exhibit. Naturally her shout-out came under Alice Paul’s but this is a step forward in the right direction for smaller names to get the exposure they deserve. Big strides are taking place outside the city of Washington D.C. as well. Many large organizations like the American Bar Association have created traveling exhibits to share the history of the 19th Amendment. These exhibits are to move across the country to major cities to spread the history of the women and men who made the ratification of the 19th Amendment possible.¹⁶

The Story of Women’s Suffrage with Lucy Burns

Starting at the beginning, the year was 1879, Madison Square Garden just opened in New York City and just over a month later on July 28th, Lucy Burns was born. Burns was the fourth of eight children in her family, and all who were very bright.¹⁷ Inez Haynes Irwin¹⁸; a National

¹⁴ Lawrence, Kerri. “Women's Voting Rights Exhibit Opens at National Archives.” National Archives and Records Administration. National Archives and Records Administration, May 10, 2019.

¹⁵ “Ways to Commemorate the Women's Suffrage Centennial in Washington, DC.” Washington.org. Washington D.C., October 13, 2019.

¹⁶ “19th Amendment Centennial.” 19th Amendment Centennial. American Bar, March 2019.

¹⁷ “Visionaries: Selected Leaders of the National Woman's Party: Articles and Essays: Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party: Digital Collections: Library of Congress.” The Library of Congress. LOC. Accessed November 10, 2019.

¹⁸ “Irwin, Inez Haynes.” American Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide from Colonial Times to the Present. Encyclopedia.com, December 11, 2019.

Woman's Party Member sketched Lucy as "blue-eyed and fresh-complexioned; dimpled" young lady.¹⁹ Her fire red hair matched her personality and eagerness to fight for what she believed was right. Irwin also noted that, Lucy's beauty often led to men of power talking down to her. Lucy's father was a banker and his occupation supported the entire family financially.²⁰ Along with providing substantial funds to the family, Lucy's father believed education was beneficial and provided for all his children to be educated. Lucy was very intelligent, which granted her the opportunity to go to Vassar College, New York and then off to graduate school at Yale. At Yale, Lucy did graduate work in linguistics but did not finish her degree instead, Lucy went abroad to study at the University of Berlin in Germany from 1906-1908.²¹ At the University of Berlin, Lucy studied languages then continued her studies at the University of Bonn before eventually landing at Oxford University to continue studying linguistics. Again, Lucy did not finish but this time she left to join her new friend and mentor Emmeline Pankhurst.²²

Just within her education, there is so much of Lucy's story that is overlooked. Lucy was lucky enough to come from a family who believed in women getting an education and she also put in work to get into some of the top schools in and out of the country at that time. Attending Yale, Oxford and Vassar is impressive on its own, and that Lucy made a name for herself at these institutions. At Vassar Lucy dived into a diverse collection of classes including various language courses, literature arts and economic courses. Lucy was an exemplar student who was capable of balancing courses that did not correlate with each other. Along with her unique course selection at Vassar, the Vassar Encyclopedia also notes that Burns was "lauded as gifted student

¹⁹The Packer Collegiate Institute. "Lucy Burns | The Packer Collegiate Institute: A Story of Education in Brooklyn." Accessed October 25, 2019.

²⁰The Packer Collegiate Institute. "Lucy Burns | The Packer Collegiate Institute: A Story of Education in Brooklyn." Accessed October 25, 2019.

²¹"Lucy Burns (1879 – 1966)." Turning Point Suffragist Memorial. Turning Point, March 18, 1970.

²²"History - Emmeline Pankhurst." BBC. BBC, September 2017.

by her professors” and at her graduation in 1902 she was the senior spade orator of her class. This long standing tradition is one that is taken with complete seriousness at Vassar.²³ The student selected by her peers, professors and mentors to be the spade orator is responsible for passing the spade used to break the ground for the construction of the main building by Matthew Vassar.²⁴ Although there is no formal record, many other bearers of the spade shared unique words with their peers and we can assume the bright and humorous Lucy Burns shared words with her class as well. Most research on Lucy also leaves out that she also taught when she wasn’t enrolled in school. For this time period it was odd enough for a woman to earn an education but also be hired without full completion of her degrees was nearly unheard of. Judith Sargent Murray an early female activist who argued the value in education of in the early years of women’s suffrage made it possible for women like Burns to receive a high-quality education.²⁵ Lucy was breaking the social standards in almost every way possible for the time period she resided in. From excelling in some of the top universities at the time, to developing a name for herself in the world of activism and all at such a young age.

Emmeline Pankhurst’s Influence on Lucy

The work she did for women’s rights was the most prevalent and how most would relate her to. As previously stated, when Lucy was still an Oxford student studying abroad, she met Emmeline Pankhurst. Pankhurst was a co-founder and leader of the Women’s Social and

²³ Chiara, Judith L. “Lucy Burns.” Lucy Burns - Vassar College Encyclopedia - Vassar College. Vassar College Encyclopedia, n.d. Accessed October 15, 2019.

²⁴ Chiara, Judith L. “Lucy Burns.” Lucy Burns - Vassar College Encyclopedia - Vassar College. Vassar College Encyclopedia, n.d. Accessed October 15, 2019.

²⁵ “Judith Sargent Murray Quotes from Essays and Letters.” jsmsociety. Hurd Smith Communications, 2019. <http://jsmsociety.com/Quotes.html>.

Political Union (WSPU) and also founded the Women's Franchise League that advocated for married women to have a vote in local elections.²⁶The WSPU was notable for its "suffragettes"; the main supporters and contributors to the group were known for their unladylike activism strategies. Emmeline herself was arrested various times throughout her activism career and was steadfastly persistent. It was Pankhurst who participated in the hunger strike (like the one Alice Paul and Lucy Burns later took part in the United States) that led to the 'Cat and Mouse' Act.²⁷ This act was created to keep women alive who were actively starving themselves to prove a point.²⁸If a women was viewed as malnourished or significantly ill due to lack of food intake, rather than force feed them (which was causing more societal debates), the women would be removed from prison until her health recovered to a normal state, so she could finish her sentencing. This radical way of protesting created a large scene against the British Parliament who had no other opportunity than to address the problem at hand.

It was the deep-seated strong activism Emmeline Pankhurst ran that inspired a young Alice Paul and Lucy Burns.²⁹ Within Lucy you see the strongminded Pankhurst styled approach to activism brought to the United States. Alice Paul and Lucy Burns were in a London police station when they met, little did they know they were soon to be founders of the National

²⁶ "History - Emmeline Pankhurst." BBC. BBC, September 2017.

²⁷ "Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health Act, 1913". Chapter 4. April 25, 2918. December, 2019. Accessed from <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/electionsvoting/womenvote/case-study-the-right-to-vote/the-right-to-vote/winson-green-forcefeeding/cat-and-mouse-act/>

²⁸"Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health Act, 1913". Chapter 4. April 25, 2918. December, 2019. Accessed from <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/electionsvoting/womenvote/case-study-the-right-to-vote/the-right-to-vote/winson-green-forcefeeding/cat-and-mouse-act/>

²⁹ Lucy Burns (1879 – 1966)." Turning Point Suffragist Memorial. Turning Point, March 18, 1970.

Women's Party.³⁰ Before returning home Lucy was awarded "for her suffrage activism as a colleague of Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst; she was awarded a special medal from the WSPU for her bravery in the course of several arrests and prison hunger strikes".³¹

Lucy Burns returned to the United States after completing some work with Pankhurst and Paul in 1912. Alice and Lucy immediately linked back up together when they both returned to the US. At this time, the presidential election was coming to a close and Woodrow Wilson had been elected and was soon to be inaugurated.³² Burns and Paul began to advocate for an amendment to guarantee women the right to vote. This wasn't the first debate for a woman's right to vote, but arguably the most radical. When the "right to vote" was put in place in 1789, it only guaranteed white males who owned property the "right to vote."³³ Women immediately began advocating for their "right to vote" and the earlier work by women like Abigail Adams, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and many others inspired women like Alice Paul and Lucy Burns.

In 1913, we see a significant drive in women's rights advocacy. Throughout much of American History, women advocated for their rights but were often put on hold, when other larger events occurred. However, this time, the big event was the women. With a large following, including both men and women we see a significant jump in the number of women advocacy

³⁰Mary Ware Dennett to Alice Paul, 3 February 1913, and Anna Howard Shaw to Alice Paul, 5 March 1913, National Woman's Party Records, Group I, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Linda G. Ford, *Iron Jawed Angels: The Suffrage Militancy of the National Woman's Party, 1912-1920* (Lanham, MD.: University Press of America, 1991), 3. Received from <http://www.loc.gov/static/collections/women-of-protest/images/history.pdf>

³¹ Adams, Jad. 2014. "We Will Fight for You!" *History Today* 64 (9): 43-47. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,sso&db=30h&AN=98365337&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

³² History.com Editors. "Woodrow Wilson." History.com. A&E Television Networks, October 29, 2009. <https://www.history.com/topics/us-presidents/woodrow-wilson>.

³³ US Legal, Inc. "Voting Rights." Civil Rights. US Legal, n.d. Accessed December 2019.

events. To begin, we have two of the biggest radical advocates (Alice and Lucy) back in the United States stirring the pot in every way possible.³⁴ Many other female suffragists at the time did not approve of the radical approach Burns and Paul took. Carrie Chapman Catt (President of the National American Women's Suffrage Association: NAWSA) wrote in a letter to Lucy Burns to express her distastefulness in the NWP and the management Paul and Burns led. Catt stated "You may think we are all a set of old fogies and perhaps we are, but I, for one, thank heaven that I am as much of an old fogy as I am...It requires a good deal more courage to work steadily and steadfastly for 40 or 50 years to gain an end than it does to do an impulsively rash thing and lose it."³⁵ Catt and Paul were not friends but contenders; they promoted the same solutions but had very different ways of achieving their goals. Catt believed that the focus of advocating for women's suffrage as a whole would be more beneficial than just protesting for the addition of a new amendment. Catt led the NAWSA which main focus was leading women in their support to war efforts.³⁶ As Paul moved out of work with the NAWSA, she (with the help of Burns) began her work towards developing a party that would allow women to protest radically.

While advocating for the addition of a new constitutional amendment that would grant women the right to vote they worked to create the National Women's Party. The NWP "built a membership of a committed supporters that mobilized across the country in support of women's suffrage (by) protesting, marching and organizing events to advance women's rights".³⁷ The NWP advocated for equality to be granted by our constitution for all women and drafted the

³⁴ "Mission Statement." National Women's Party. National Women's Party, n.d. Accessed September 30, 2019.

³⁵ "Lucy Burns (U.S. National Park Service)." National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior, August 30, 2019.

³⁶ Lumsden, Linda J. *Rampant Women: The Role of the Right to Peaceably Assemble in the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1908-1919*. 1st ed. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. 232-240

³⁷ "Mission Statement." National Women's Party. National Women's Party, n.d. Accessed September 30, 2019.

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The ERA “is a proposed amendment to the United States designed to guarantee equal right for all American citizens regardless of sex.”³⁸ This amendment has yet to be passed but has been ratified by thirty-seven of the fifty states. This discussion for the rights that would be granted within the amendment were originally introduced at the Seneca Falls Woman’s Rights Convention by Elizabeth Cady Stanton. We see it reintroduced several times throughout history including when Alice Paul and Lucy Burns created an argument supporting its ratification. Both the women were active in creating various political campaigns that were seen as “out of the norm.” While Paul, continued to work in direct advocacy, Lucy began her work with *The Suffragist* editing various articles covering Women’s Suffrage. Alice Burns is credited with the creation of *The Suffragist*, but without Lucy’s editing skills the bulletin would never have been completed. Lucy served as the main editor until 1917, when the position was taken over by Houghton Hooker (who had previously been the editor of the Maryland Suffrage News.)³⁹

The Suffragist was originally supposed to serve as a journal but it was in competition with the “Women’s Journal”. As Lucy and Alice worked to develop their new political party *The Suffragist* served as a voice for all women battling for their rights. The first bulletin was released on November 15th, 1913 and was in direct connection with the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage.⁴⁰ The CUWS was an organization founded by Alice and Lucy to campaign for American women’s suffrage by prompting a constitutional amendment. This organization was

³⁸ “Did You Know? Alice Paul Versus Carrie Chapman Catt (U.S. National Park Service).” National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior, 20, 2019.

³⁹ Dolton, Tisha, Sally Lisk-Lewis, Tammy White, Caitlyn, Theresa Lanning, Joe DeFilippo, Tracey Tofield, and Denise. “Woman Suffrage Memorabilia: Suffrage Journals.” Woman Suffrage Memorabilia. WSM. Accessed November 18, 2019.

⁴⁰ *Marin Journal*, Volume 53, Number 36, 9 September 1915. Accessed on December 8, 2019.

inspired by the United Kingdom's Suffragette Party that believed in "deeds, not words."⁴¹ We see this demonstrated in the First World War, when these women participated in Hunger Strikes and chained themselves outside buildings to protest. The most memorable event that resulted in a fatality occurred at the Epsom Derby in 1913, when Suffragette Emily Wilding Davison stepped out in front of the King's Horse. This brought a significant amount of attention to the Suffragettes and mass crowds to her funeral procession.⁴² It was compelling events like this that built up the angst that came along with women's suffrage and were often cited throughout *The Suffragist*.

The women did not stop here, in April of 1914, Lucy was serving as the NWP Legislative Chairman in Washington D.C. and was still actively editing *The Suffragist* as well.⁴³ Burns has been credited as the driving force behind the picketing of Woodrow Wilson's administration in D.C.⁴⁵ It was her attitude that angered many American's that opposed women's suffrage. As Lucy continued her activism in Washington, she worked with many other lesser known activists. For example, in the summer of 1917 Lucy Burns discovered that a group of Russian envoys (a representative of a government who is sent on a special diplomatic mission) would be in town to

⁴¹ Haynes, Suyin. "British Women's Suffragette Movement: 100 Years of Lessons." Time. Time, February 8, 2018. Accessed from <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle/render?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bFRr6u3S7Sk63nn5Kx95uXxjL6nrkewq61Krqe3OK%2bnuEmysK9RnrflPvLo34bx1%2bGM5%2bXsgeKzsEizrLZPsaykhN%2fk5VXj5KR84LPzhOac8nmls79mpNfsVa%2btrlC2qbdNpNztiuvX8lXk6%2bqE8tv2jAAA&vid=0&sid=aa495bb0-81c9-4fc7-b4a9-fbc818d868b4@pdc-v-sessmgr06>

⁴² "Emily Davison Laid to Rest." Emily Davison laid to rest | Century Ireland. Century Ireland, June 15, 1913. Accessed November 5, 2019.

⁴³ Clinedinst Studio, Washington, D.C. *Lucy Burns, Vice Chairman Congressional Union*. United States Washington D.C, 1913. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mnwp000096/>.

⁴⁴ Lucy Burns (1879 – 1966)." Turning Point Suffragist Memorial. Turning Point, March 18, 1970.

⁴⁵"Visionaries: Selected Leaders of the National Woman's Party: Articles and Essays: Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party: Digital Collections: Library of Congress." The Library of Congress. COLLECTION Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party, n.d. Accessed October 9, 2019.

discuss the recent Russian Revolutions that had taken place.⁴⁶ Lucy and fellow activist Dora Lewis; a member of the National Women's who served as "a member of the National Women's Party executive committee, chairman of the finance committee, national treasurer, and ratification committee chairman" picketed outside the White House.⁴⁷ The sign they held stated "To the Envoys of Russia. President Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia. They say we are a democracy. Help us win a war so that democracies may survive. We the Women of America are denied the right to vote. President Wilson is the chief opponent of their national enfranchisement. Help us make this nation really free. Tell our government it must liberate its people before it can claim free Russia as an ally".⁴⁸ This protest that blatantly called out America for being an unequal democracy wasn't the first radical protest Lucy had participated in and it wouldn't be the last either. Not even a month later Lucy was protesting again in Washington with Katharine A. Morey. Morey, a Massachusetts NWP representative is most famously known for being a state chairman that introduced the Woman's Party Bill for Equal Rights. She worked closely to politics as an election campaigner in Kansas (1916) but found her way to Washington to picket with Lucy Burns. Again, we found Lucy picketing outside the White House (stopping street traffic). This was the first picketing of many outside the white house that led to an arrest.⁴⁹ Both served three days in jail for their actions outside the White

⁴⁶ "Envoy." Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster, n.d. Accessed November 27, 2019.

⁴⁷ "Irwin, Inez Haynes." American Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide from Colonial Times to the Present. Encyclopedia.com, December 11, 2019.

⁴⁸ Harris & Ewing, photographer. *To the Envoys of Russia. President Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia. They say we are a democracy. Help us win a world war so that democracies may survive. We, the Women of America tell you that America is not a democracy.* United States United States, 1917. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2016884713/>.

⁴⁹ "1917: Historical Timeline of the National Woman's Party: Articles and Essays: Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party: Digital Collections: Library of Congress." The Library of Congress. COLLECTION Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party, n.d. Accessed October 12, 2019.

House. It is believed that President Wilson was extremely frustrated by this protest which then pushed the Administration to respond.

Inside the Jail Cell

“Burns was arrested and imprisoned six times”.⁵⁰ She served more jail time than any other American suffragist. The women at this time believed to serve jail time more as positive reflection of their work and a step in the right direction. One unnamed suffragist said “Not to have been willing to endure the gloom of prison would have made moral slackers of all”.⁵¹ Burns actions were just as radical as Emmeline Pankhurst who even came to support Alice and Lucy’s fight on Washington following their work together in England.⁵² Burns was arrested in June of 1917, after leading the most picketing demonstration in front of the White House(she was sentenced for three days).⁵³ In September of the same year she was sentenced (this time to sixty days) for protesting the presidential election of Wilson with the “Kaiser Wilson”.⁵⁴ The Kaiser Wilson banner is noted to be one of the most controversial banners ever used by the National Women’s Party. The purpose of the sign was to earn President Wilson’s undivided attention to

⁵⁰ “Visionaries: Selected Leaders of the National Woman's Party: Articles and Essays: Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party: Digital Collections: Library of Congress.” The Library of Congress. COLLECTION Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party, n.d. Accessed October 9, 2019.

⁵¹ Lumsden, Linda J. *Rampant Women: The Role of the Right to Peaceably Assemble in the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1908-1919*. 1st ed. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. 245.

⁵² Frederick A. Schutz, Washington, D.C. *Emmeline Pankhurst, in furs at center, on her speaking tour in United States, Lucy Burns is to the left*. United States, ca. 1914. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mnwp000276/>.

⁵³ “Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party History.” History - Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party - Collection Connections | Teacher Resources - Library of Congress. Library of Congress, n.d. Accessed October 15, 2019.

⁵⁴ “Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party History.” History - Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party - Collection Connections | Teacher Resources - Library of Congress. Library of Congress, n.d. Accessed October 15, 2019.

advocating for Women's rights.⁵⁵ Her next arrest was in November of 1917, where she was again sentenced for six months. Nearly every other woman who participated in this protest was only sentenced to a thirty day sentence but Burns received the longest sentencing time.⁵⁶ This arrest occurred following the October (1917) police announcement that stated jail time for picketers outside the White House would be increase a six-month sentencing was court approved by the district judge (name not given).⁵⁷ Then in 1919, Burns served time following watch fire demonstrations (where she served one three-day sentencing and two five day sentences). Burns was also imprisoned four times in England when working alongside Emmaline Pankhurst. When imprisoned, Lucy remained persistent in her battles she often utilized her freedom of speech when incarcerated. In 1917, Lucy wrote during her time spent in Virginia's Occoquan Workhouse. Her letter to Commissioner Brownlow of Washington D.C., (on behalf of the National Women's Party) was in regards to the poor food and conditions the women endured serving their sentences for striking as "Silent Sentinels". Wilson stated that the suffragists "seemed bent on making their cause as obnoxious as possible" and this led to the high tensions that landed women like Lucy Burns in prison for a sixty-day sentencing. Lucy and many others were exposed to very poor conditions while imprisoned. A suffragist named Betty Gram dropped nineteen pounds during her sentencing and many others were released early for hospitalization.⁵⁸

Doris Stevens was another female suffragist that worked alongside Burns. Stevens most famous work is her seminal memoir entitled "Jailed for Freedom". This memoir is composed of

⁵⁵ "Fragment of 'Kaiser Wilson' Suffrage Banner." National Museum of American History. Alice Paul Centennial Foundation, Inc., n.d. Accessed December 15, 2019.

⁵⁶Lumsden, Linda J. *Rampant Women: The Role of the Right to Peaceably Assemble in the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1908-1919*. 1st ed. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. 230.

⁵⁷Lumsden, Linda J. *Rampant Women: The Role of the Right to Peaceably Assemble in the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1908-1919*. 1st ed. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. 121.

⁵⁸Lumsden, Linda J. *Rampant Women: The Role of the Right to Peaceably Assemble in the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1908-1919*. 1st ed. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

voices of various women that encountered the terrible conditions within prison walls. Stevens documented Lucy's letter to the Commissioner Brownlow in this memoir. Within Lucy's letter she uses the words of Miss Lavinia Dock (a trained nurse) to support her argument of poor treatment within the walls of the Occoquan Workhouse. Burns writes that Dock said "I really thought that I could eat everything, but here I have hard work choking down enough food to keep the life in me".⁵⁹ Lucy continues to elaborate on the poor conditions encountered. She mentions the water pail and ladle each prisoner shares, the single bar of soap used to clean themselves and the rapid spread of diseases within the prison walls. Along with her mentions of the poor conditions, Lucy then writes about the mistreatment the women have encountered while being held in solitary confinement in the Occoquan Workhouse as well stating "The prisoners for whom I am counsel are aware that cruel practices go on at the Occoquan. On one occasion they heard Superintendent Whittaker kicking a woman in the next room. They heard Whittaker's voice, the sound of blows and the women's cries".⁶⁰ To end the letter Lucy writes "I lay these facts before you ... as (you) Commissioner of the District of Columbia are responsible". Burns strong words within this letter are harsh yet purposeful. This letter was passed throughout the prison and was secretly signed by many women serving their time.⁶¹ Burns spoke on behalf of hundreds of women sacrificing themselves for their rights to only be mistreated in prison.

Burns encountered awful repercussions for her actions within the prison cell. After not following instruction to remain quiet and for speaking up on behalf of others she was beaten, handcuffed above her head in her cell (so she could not sit) and force fed following her initial

⁵⁹ "1917 Suite: 'Excerpt of a Letter from Lucy Burns': Blackbird v17n1: #Gallery." Blackbird Archives. reprinted from *Jailed for Freedom*, Doris Stevens, 1920, 2018.

⁶⁰ "1917 Suite: 'Excerpt of a Letter from Lucy Burns': Blackbird v17n1: #Gallery." Blackbird Archives. reprinted from *Jailed for Freedom*, Doris Stevens, 1920, 2018.

⁶¹ Lumsden, Linda J. *Rampant Women: The Role of the Right to Peaceably Assemble in the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1908-1919*. 1st ed. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. 235.

hunger strike.⁶² Following her experience in the Occoquan House, Burns began her career in public campaigns. Sharing her experiences while still advocating at a less radical level. In May of 1919, the House of Representatives passed the bill proposing the 19th Amendment, soon followed the Senate. Burns retired following the ratification of the 19th Amendment and spent the remainder of her life working alongside the Catholic Church and raising her orphaned niece. Burns moved back to Brooklyn with her family.

The irony with history is that it is often reoccurring, we only learn so much from our mistakes in the past. In 1920 Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association stated “I think by their unwisdom they have put us back ten years in Congress. It is pretty hard to work for years and years to bring the cause up to a point where it has some chance of going through and then have a lot of young things who never did anything to build up the cause, attempt to run things their way without being responsible to anyone”.⁶³

Within the research done on Lucy Burns, a conclusion has been made that women still are lacking acknowledgment for the work they have done in history. As women were advocating for the equal rights and the addition of the 19th Amendment they were looking for their voices to be acknowledged within society. Once this Amendment was passed it was almost as if their voices were lost again in history. Individuals like Lucy Burns, Mable Lee and so many other played such influential roles but are lost under the big names associated with Women’s Suffrage.

As we now have reached the centennial of the 19th Amendment, many historians are bringing out the smaller names that have been overlooked. Exhibits are no longer just noting

⁶² “Visionaries: Selected Leaders of the National Woman's Party: Articles and Essays: Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party: Digital Collections: Library of Congress.” The Library of Congress. COLLECTION Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party, n.d. Accessed October 9, 2019.

⁶³ Adams, Jad. *Women and the Vote: A World History*. Oxford Press. Oxford, London. 2014. Accessed December 10, 2019.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Alice Paul and Susan B. Anthony. But rather, taking the voices of the individuals who stood alongside them and dedicated as much of their lives to the movement as they did. Large organizations like the National Park Services have taken the time to create accessible research highlighting the smaller names of the Suffrage Movement. Entitled “20 Suffragists to know for 2020”, this page brings light to the work these women did during their lifetime that changed our history. It is important to highlight these individuals when sharing the story of Suffrage because without every one of these women, we would not have received the rights we deserve.

It is important to note that other historians are seeing that there has been a lack of coverage of the small names associated with much of history. Although history is often shared broadly to justify the main points, it is important to give credit where credit is due.