Becoming a Detective: Historical Case File #5—Prisoners and Hunger Strikes

At the request of the textbook committee your class has been asked to investigate whether Hazel Hunkins deserves to be included in the next edition of the textbook. This case cannot be solved without an understanding of the National Woman's Party's decision to commit civil disobedience, their demands to be treated as political prisoners, and the attention their imprisonment brought to the cause. As a member of the commission selected to review the case, your job is to examine the following documents to better understand the why these women decided to break the law and what affect their actions had.

- Why did suffrage prisoners consider themselves to be political prisoners? Do you agree with their claim?
- How effective was this tactic?

Step 1: Review Background Information

The National Woman's Party (NWP) introduced tactics to the American woman's suffrage movement that were inspired by its leaders' experiences with the militant wing of the British suffrage movement. According to historian Robert Cooney, "The movement's many nonviolent strategies deserve closer inspection particularly because they repeatedly offered suffragists the way out of strategic binds, dead ends, discouragements and immobility." (From Cooney, Robert. "Enduring Significance of the American Woman Suffrage Movement." Women's Studies Database Reading Room, n.d. Web. 02 Sept. 2015. https://archive.mith.umd. edu/womensstudies/ReadingRoom/History/ Vote/enduring-significance.html.)

Among the NWP's non-violent tactics was braving arrest and imprisonment. Although they were ostensibly sentenced for "obstructing traffic," the suffragists viewed themselves as political prisoners, unjustly incarcerated for

peacefully exercising their right to petition their government. Because they believed themselves to be political prisoners, the women refused to cooperate with their jailors.

According to an article published on the website American Memory, the imprisoned women were "sometimes beaten (most notably during the November 15 "Night of Terror" at Occoquan Workhouse), and often brutally force-fed when they went on hunger strikes to protest being denied political prisoner status. Women of all classes risked their health, jobs, and reputations by continuing their protests. One historian estimated that approximately 2,000 women spent time on the picket lines between 1917 and 1919, and that 500 women were arrested, of whom 168 were actually jailed. The NWP made heroes of the suffrage prisoners, held ceremonies in their honor, and presented them with commemorative pins. Women went on publicity tours dressed in prison garb and talked about their experiences in prison in order to win public support for their cause." (From Library of Congress American Memory, "Historical Overview of the National Woman's Party," Web. 4 Sept. 2015. http://www.loc.gov/collections/ static/women-of-protest/images/history.pdf)

Step 2: Investigate the Evidence

Expect to spend about ten minutes on each of the sources in your packet, available online at http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins.

Exhibit 5-A Photograph: "Miss [Lucy] Burns in Occoquan Workhouse, Washington," National Woman's Party Records, Group II, Container II:274, Folder: Individual Photographs Nos. 18-70 "B," Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. http://www.loc.gov/item/mnwp000011

Exhibit 5-B Newspaper article: "'Suff' Pickets Go to Hospital," *Washington Herald*, August 31, 1917

Exhibit 4-C Hand-written letter: Hazel Hunkins to the *Montana Socialist* newspaper, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Exhibit 5-D Telegrams: Hazel to Mrs. E. L. Perkins, August 15, 1918, and Hazel to Mrs. E. L. Hunkins, August 21, 1918, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Exhibit 5-E Newspaper article: "Twenty-six Suffragists Get Tribute," Washington Herald, December 15, 1918

For each source, answer all the questions on the Document Analysis Worksheet. Note: You will be sharing these answers with your class in an "exhibit" format—so write legibly!

Step 3: Crack the Case

Based on your analysis of the documents and citing evidence to support your answer, please create a presentation to share with the other members of the textbook committee (your class). You may use technology if you wish and, for your convenience, we have provide images of all the documents you examined in a PowerPoint, available for download at http:// mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins. However you structure your presentation, it should answer the following questions:

- 1. Why did suffrage prisoners consider themselves to be political prisoners? Do you agree with this description for them?
- 2. In her letter to the *Montana Socialist*, Hazel Hunkins makes a point of stating that the suffrage picketers are serving their sentences "with the worst negro element of this country." Why do you think she does this?
- Why do you think the suffragists held a

meeting honoring the women who went to jail for the cause? What purpose did this meeting serve politically?

- 4. Did their arrests and imprisonment advance the cause of suffrage? If so, how? If not, what effect do you think they had?
- 5. How does the material you analyzed relate to Hazel Hunkins and the committee's larger question: whether she should be included in the next edition of the textbook?

Make sure to include in your report:

- Specific examples! Quote from the documents.
- Information about where and how the documents contradicted each other (if this occurred) and how you decided which ones to
- A list of any additional questions you still have that were left unanswered through your investigation.

After your presentation is complete, organize your material into an "exhibit" so your fellow committee members can easily access your evidence when creating their briefs. Your exhibit must include your answers to the following questions:

- What is the source called?
- Who created it?
- When was it created? How soon after the event it describes?
- Who was the audience for this document?
- Why was it created?
- Did you find evidence of bias or point of view? If so, what?
- How do these factors affect the source's credibility?

Historical Case File #5—Prisoners and Hunger Strikes



Exhibit 5-A "Miss [Lucy] Burns in Occoquan Workhouse." National Woman's Party Records, Group II, Container II:274, Folder: Individual Photographs Nos. 18-70 "B," Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Additional information: This image was likely taken at Occoquan Workhouse in Virginia in November 1917. Lucy Burns, of New York City, who with Alice Paul established the first permanent headquarters for suffrage work in Washington, D.C., helped organize the suffrage parade of March 3, 1913, and was one of the editors of *The Suffragist*. Leader of most of the picket demonstrations, she served more time in jail than any other suffragist in America. She was arrested for picketing in June 1917 and sentenced to 3 days; arrested Sept. 1917, sentenced to 60 days; arrested Nov. 10, 1917, sentenced to 6 months; in Jan. 1919 arrested at watchfire demonstrations, for which she served one 3-day and two 5-day sentences. She also served 4 prison terms in England. Burns was one of the speakers on the "Prison Special" tour of Feb.-March 1919. Source: Doris Stevens, Jailed for Freedom (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920), 356.

GO TO HOS

Rough Food.

Four of the six women pickets confined at the Occoquan workhouse have been placed in the hospital because of weakened condition,

The women have been unable to eat the prison food and the hardship of confinement has reduced them to the point where their health is threatened. In the hospital they will be given specint food and medical treatment.

The women in the hospital are Mrs. William Upton Watson and Miss Lucy Ewing, of Chicago; Miss Lavinia. Dock, of Pennsylvania, and Miss Na-Lavinia talle Gray, of Colorado,

Miss Burns Files Papers.

Alleged abuses at the Occoquan workhouse were yesterday reduced to charges when Miss Lucy Burns, of Cameron House, filed a complaint with District Commissioner Browlew about the treatment received by the six pickets who are serving sentences of thirty days at the institution.

Miss Burns was accompanied to the District Building by Mrs. Abby Scott Baker and Miss Anne Martin. The latter furnished the surety for the pickets now out on bail.

They did not see Commissioner Brownlow, as he was out of the city. but left the following letter:

"As counsel for six women impri-soned for a month in the Occoquan workhouse, on the charge of 'obstruct-ing traffic,' I visited these prisoners on August 31, 22, and 25. I found them suffering from many causes, that on public grounds, ought to be instantremedied.

"The prisoners for whom I am coun-

sel, gave the following report on the food served tham:
In amount it is ample, but in quality often uneatable. The hominy, the chief article of the morning meal, is sour and dirty. The meat served at the midday meal is very tough and old and often tainted. The cornbread served at dinner and supper can-Four Occoquan Prisoners
Are Weak from Eating

Bread served at dinner and supper cannot be eaten. One of the prisoners found worms in it. The soup served at dinner and supper is often very bad. As soup and corn bread are all that is served to the prisoners for supper, they have had on two occasions to my knowledge to go without supper altogether.

Cruelty In Charged.

"Concerning the general conditions in the prison, I am including with this letter affidavits of Mrs. Virginia Hovee and of Mrs. Robert Baker, who visited Occoquan on August II. The prisoners for whom I am counsel are aware that cruel practices go on at Occoquan. On one occasion they heard Supt. Whittaker kicking a woman in the next room. They heard Mr. Whit-taker's voice, the sound of the blows and the woman's cries."

PICKETS IN WRECK GOING TO OCCOQUAN

Auto in Collision: Miss Burns and Mrs. Dixon Slightly Hurt.

Two of the Cameron House pickets were "rought", up" yesterday on the read to the Occoquan workhouse and whether it was the fault of the chauffeur of their machine or that of the manipulator of the auto with which they collided, will have to be decided in the courts.

Misz Lucy Burns, acting general of omeron House, and Mrs. Dixon, Comeron House, and Mrs. Dixon, mother of one of the pickets, serving a 30-day sentence at Occoquan, were In the machine when the collision occurred. They knew nothing regarding what occurred previous to the crash, but were made aware of trouble when the machine turned over on its side.

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sent
Address
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Both women escaped with no serious injury apart from bruises.

Bernie Hackett, colored, chauffeur of the machine, was taken to Alexan-dria and held in \$60 bonds for reck-less driving. Surety was furnished. The comptaint was made by John 8. West, of Fairfax County, Va.

MUSIC AND DANCING GIVEN BY FROLICKERS

A musical program furnished the feature of an entertainment given last night by the Prolickers at the home of

Exhibit 5-B "'Suff' Pickets Go To Hospital," Washington Herald, August 31, 1917. Full page available at http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045433/1917-08-31/ed-1/seq-7.pdf

Historical Case File #5—Prisoners and Hunger Strikes

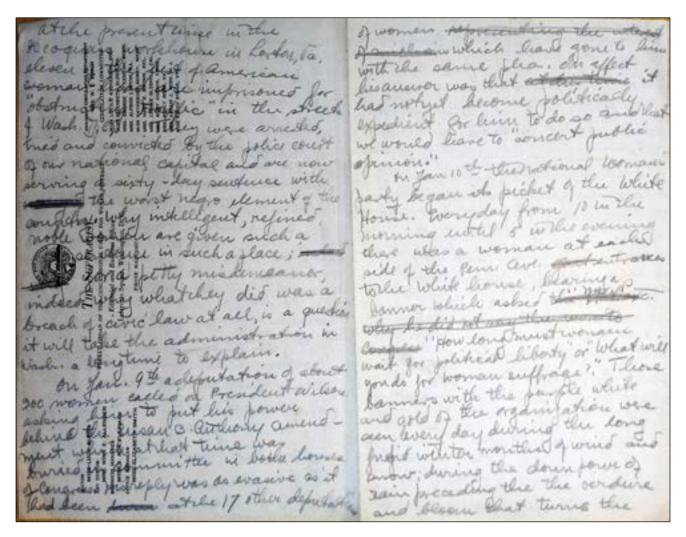


Exhibit 5-C Hazel Hunkins to the *Montana Socialist* newspaper, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute (See pages 77-78 for a transcript/)

grounds of the mational mausio, anothe park a posite into a vertile the probets, eve remainding the President is a dusty yet evaded ather whise nation to fact that he had notyet acked on a mater that his representatives had promised the women of the west in an attempt to get their roles last fall. Juring that time Elilie Root had been to the sent as an envery Who free Russia and had told & that new born still Anoggling democracy that we in aundica had "Exa equal + univeral suffrage", on his natural to the master who had sentlum, our hanners advertised the fact that he had storings Russian people. We have not free aqual & universal suffrage when There are so por roo women yet willy

u so with an amen mentes the constitution frees hem. This barring was vised tothe office of the secretary of the president of was not termed loyal traitorsus or reditions & that office or any of the lange anational repute who dos saw it Itwas toric down by a second charmer was town down Cardy atternet to profest the There followed days of picketing me barners which had been used for the 5 months eceding + the pickets were demented woman, and Trus chewous The day of the the attack made ised to find that our propers had been arrested for ortlation act which includes language, + drunkender. over night there had been a ange in the policy of the police.

Juning the present conditions existing withe U.S. due to the wine in forsible to get a square than the This has been refuse to below that reform to be drowned in the war fever, montana Etualist as an organ liked twongle to buly put facts those its anderica. In our struggle fra moscomplete democracy to came enemies - capital & the interest condolled lycapital, chief

among the othe press of the country which gloves in giving an unfair throat to owe activities like as a more accurate account and a fair interpretation is what the women who agitate suffage attles time are trying to accomplish. To that endo we articles tolich I ask you To print atyour earliest convenience. They are really one but it might be more possible for you to run two shorter articles than me long Culosadir address ouvelogen the service of archeles of prisons where

Hazel Hunkins to the Montana Socialist newspaper, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

At the present time in the Occoquan workhouse Lorton, Va, eleven of the best of American woman-hood are imprisoned for "obstructing traffic" in the streets of Wash. D.C.

They were arrested, tried and convicted by the police court of our national capital and are now serving a sixty-day sentence with the worst Negro element of the country. Why intelligent, refined, noble women are given such a sentence in such a place; for a petty misdemeanor, indeed why what they did was a breach of civic law at all, is a question it will take the administration in Wash. a long time to explain.

On Jan. 9th a deputation of about 200 women called on President Wilson asking him to put his power behind the Susan B Anthony Amendment, which at that time was buried in committee in both houses of Congress. His reply was as evasive as it had been at the 17th other deputations of women which have gone to him with the same plea. In effect, his answer was that it had not yet become politically expedient for him to do so and that we would have to "concert public opinion."

On Jan 10th, the National Woman's party began its picket of the White House. Every day from 10 in the morning until 5 in the evening there was a woman at each side of the Penn Ave. entrances to the White House, bearing a banner which asked "How long must women wait for political liberty?" or "what will you do for woman suffrage?" Those banners with the purple, white and gold of the organization were seen every day during the long frigid winter months of wind and snow; during the downpour of rain preceding the verdure and bloom that turns the grounds of the national mansion and the park opposite into a veritable fairyland of blossoms during the humid, exhausting heat of mid-summer—nothing daunted the pickets, ever reminding the President of a duty yet evaded and calling to the attention of the entire nation to fact that he had not yet acted on a matter that his representatives had promised the women of the west in an attempt to get their votes last fall.

During that time Elihu Root had been sent as an envoy to the free Russia and had told that new born still struggling democracy that we in America had "free, equal & universal suffrage". On his return to the master who lied [illegible], our banners advertised the fact that he had deceived the Russian people. We have not "free equal and universal suffrage" when there are 20,000,000 women yet unenfranchised and who will have to remain so until an amendment to the constitution frees them. This banner was read [?] at the office of the secretary of the president and was not termed "disloyal", "traitorous" or "seditious" by that office or any of the lawyers of national repute who also saw it. It was torn down by one man, a second banner was torn down by 2 boys, the police making a tardy attempt to protect the pickets. There followed days of picketing with the same banners which had been used for the 5 months preceding and the pickets were protected by the police from mischievous boys and a demented woman.

The day after the attack made by the latter, we were surprised to find that our pickets had been arrested for violation of the peace and order act which includes foul language and drunkenness.

Overnight there had been a change in the policy of the police. The picketing which had been legal, law abiding for 5 months was suddenly a misdemeanor. The pickets had always been silent, inactive and non-resistant; any violence whatsoever had come from irresponsible members of a small crowd, easily handled by the efficient metropolitan police.

We continue to picket and in the following week 53 of the bravest women in America had been through the mill of the police court and 30 of them had spent 3 days in the district jail.

During the present conditions existing in the U.S. due to the war, it has been more than ever impossible to get a square deal from the press of the country for any propaganda other than that [illegible] to the war. This has been especially true of the attitude toward the Suffragists in Washington who refuse to allow that reform to be drowned in the war fever.

I have been through the persecutions meeted out to National Woman's Party this past summer and I turn to the Montana Socialist as an organ liberal enough to help put the facts before its audience. In our struggle for a more complete democracy in this country—Socialists and Suffragists have the same enemies—capital and the interests controlled by capital, chief among these the press of the country which glories in giving an unfair twist to most democratic activities.

Knowing that your liberal paper has liberal readers, I wish to put before them a more accurate account and a fair interpretation of what the women who agitate suffrage at this time are trying to accomplish. To that end I am enclosing two articles which I ask you to print at your earliest convenience. They are really one, but it might be more possible for you to run two shorter articles than one long one.

Enclosed is an addressed envelope for the return of articles if you feel you cannot use either. Hoping I may have your help in this matter.

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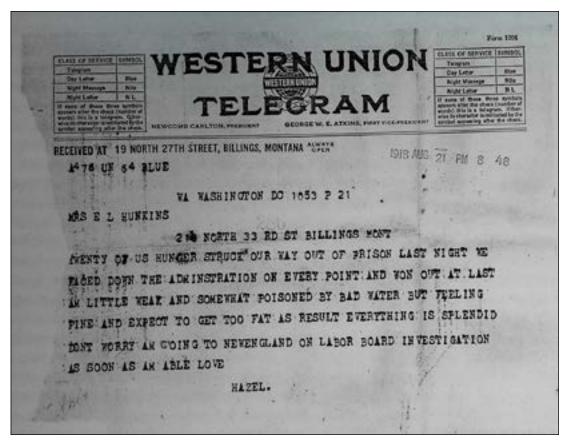


Exhibit 5-D Hazel to Mrs. E. L. Perkins, August 15, 1918, and Hazel to Mrs. E. L. Hunkins, August 21, 1918, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

26 SUFFRAGISTS TO GET TRIBUTE Women Prisoners Will Be Decorated with Service

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, of New York, who is attending the threeday conference of the National Woman's Party, will preside at the mass meeting in the National Thealer at I o'clock this afternoon, and act as hostess at a reception to be given at the national headquarters this evening.

Pins Today.

The mass meeting is held as a protest against the failure of the Senate to pass the suffrage amend-

To contrast American women, who were the first to demand political freedom, with the enfranchised women of other nations, the twentysix suffragists who have been put into prison during the present year for demanding political freedom for the women in the country, will be



recorded to the stage by representatives of the freed women of other countries dressed in national cos-

medley of their national airs will be played as the foreign womon, carrying the banners of their countries, come forward, while the "Buttle Hymn of the Republic" will be the accompaniment for the American prisoners, who will carry the iri-colors, purple, white and gold representing the struggle for women's freedom Mrs. Toscan Ben-nett, of Hartford, Conn., will pay tribute to those who have suffered imprisonment for liberty, and will present them with prison pins, duplicates in ministure of the cell doors, as insignla of their service.

List of Prisoners.

This years suffrage prisoners are Dr. Sara Lockrey, of Philadelphia: Mrs. W. D. Ascough, Mrs. George L. Koenig and Miss Edna Purteil, of Hartford, Conn.; Mrs. Lawrence Lowis of Philadelphia; Miss Allon Paul, chairman of the National Woman's Farty; Mrs. Agnes Chase, Miss Katherine Flaher, and Mrs. Miss Katherine Fisher and Mrs. Margaret Online, of Washington; Margaret Onless of Washington; Miss Clara Wold, of Portland, Ore.; Miss Haset Hunkins, of Billings, Mont.; Mrs Helena Hill Werd and Miss Elsie Hill, daughters of the late Representative Hill, of Con-hecticut; Mrs. Effic Main, of Tops-ha; Miss Mary Winson, of Haverford, Pa.: Miss Kate Hoffeldinger, of Shamobile, Pa.: Miss Gertrude Crocker, of Chicago: Mrs. Irving Gross, of Rosthreach Mrs Irving Gross of Pay-ten; Miss Layinin Dock, of Pay-ettesville, Pa. Miss Alice Kimball, of New York, Mrs. Annie Arneil, of Wilmington, Miss Edith Airge, of Jamestown, N. Y.; Miss Lucy llucus, of Brooklyn; Miss Gladys Greiner, Miss Julia Emery and Dr. Anna Kutin, of Baltimere.

Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, daughter of the pioneer suffractst, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Miss Mand Younger, lobby chairman of the National Woman's Party, will speak on the present critical posi-More Jane Osborne Hanna will swig women's Marseillaise, written by Miss Hugel MacKaye.

Will Occupy Boxes.

Mrs. Champ Clark, Mrs. Charles Roughton Wood, of Washington and Connecticut, and Mrs. Abram Van Winkle, of New Jersey, will be among those occupying boxes. Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, is in charge of the moss meeting and Mrs. Jossie Hardy MacKaye of the decoration of the theater.

Miss Adeline Kent, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Kent, is in charge of the ushers, who will include the Misses Margaret Sutherland, Janet Howard, Detty Shaw and Betty O'Brien

The mass meeting today will be followed by a reception at the party headquarters in Lafayette Square this evening at which the hostesses in addition to Mrs. Belmont, will be Mrs. Henry Atwater, District chairman, Mrs. William B. Thompson, Mrs. Richard Wainright, Mrs. John Jay White, Mrs. Harvey, Wiley, Mrs. Jay Walte, Sirk Harvey wiley, Mrs. S. M. B. Young, Mrs. Hornsby Evans, Mrs. Lawrence Darr, Miss Anne George, Mrs. William Kent, Mrs. Harriet McCutcheon, Mrs. Arthur Ramsay, and Mrs. A. D. Rottangi.

Exhibit 5-E "Twenty-six Suffragists Get Tribute," Washington Herald, December 15, 1918. Full page available at http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045433/1918-12-15/ed-1/seq-4.pdf