



One Mission, Two Pathways: Annette Parmelee and Lucy Daniels in the Campaign for Woman Suffrage

Unknown to most Vermonters today, Annette Parmelee and Lucy Daniels both made their mark on the state's history as they participated in changing the political status of women in the nation. Meeting only once, they differed temperamentally and strategically but nonetheless bolstered each other to help strengthen the campaign.

BY MARILYN S. BLACKWELL

In 1918, Lucy J. C. Daniels of Grafton informed suffragist Annette W. Parmelee of Enosburg Falls that she was sending Parmelee's "Vindication of Pickets" to Alice Paul, head of the National Woman's Party (NWP) in Washington, DC. Frustrated with the lack of progress in Vermont, Daniels had joined Paul's spectacular parades and notorious pickets staged to protest President Woodrow Wilson's reluctance to advance woman suffrage. Parmelee, by contrast, had spent the last ten years cajoling state legislators to recognize that women wanted to

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vote, though privately she was willing to support any action in addition to persuasion if it advanced woman suffrage. Despite her increasing radicalism, Daniels appreciated her friend's patient advocacy and wanted Paul to know that, "It is Mrs. Parmelee who always keeps suffrage alive in Vermont."¹

It was a telling comment, for Parmelee was largely responsible for leading the charge for women's voting rights in the state during the 1910s. Daniels, on the other hand, played only a peripheral role among the devotees of Alice Paul. Both suffragists sought full voting rights, but like many activists, they chose divergent strategies to reach the same goal, ones that split the national movement into warring factions. A woman of few words, Daniels relished the exhilaration of direct protest in the streets, while Parmelee's expertise resided in her rhetorical skills as an advocate and humorist, both at the legislature and in the press. Both approaches were important to women's enfranchisement and ratification of the 19th Amendment to the US Constitution in 1920.

At the same time, the personal relationship between these colorful suffragists provides insight into the tensions within the fledgling suffrage movement in Vermont. Given their strategic differences, the enduring friendship and collaboration between the two women is surprising because Alice Paul's provocative tactics often rendered cooperation impossible. On the national level, her minions—voicing their demands in the streets, picketing the White House, and targeting politicians with partisan attacks—shocked moderate reformers who had been petitioning and quietly lobbying legislators in state-level campaigns since the Civil War. They believed the unladylike and confrontational behavior of NWP members would alienate male politicians, bring condemnation from the press, and impede progress. Yet in Vermont, where suffragists struggled mightily to enlist fellow activists, the mutual support that Parmelee and Daniels offered each other fortified the movement.

The long campaign for woman suffrage in the United States began in the 1840s, culminating in 1920 for white women but not until the mid-1960s for many women of color. It was fraught with divisions, not only between white and Black women, but also over how to convince men to share political power. Should women proclaim gender equality as citizens or assert their essential differences as mothers possessing the civic virtue and probity that men supposedly lacked? Should they seek universal voting rights or prioritize sex over race? Should they propose a federal amendment or pursue incremental state-by-state reforms? Would suffragists be accused of unwomanly behavior and lose their role as arbiters of public morality if they engaged in the seamy game of partisan politics? To display themselves on street corners or parade in the streets

threatened the hard-won respectability of middle-class women, rendering them potentially helpless to effect change. These controversies divided white suffragists while Black women, who were largely excluded from national organizations after the Civil War, rightly claimed that racial discrimination was as great an impediment to enfranchisement as rigid gender roles.²

In the 1910s, a younger and more diverse generation of suffragists, including working-class women in trade unions and ethnic and racial minorities, reinvigorated the movement. Suffragists, such as Harriot Stanton Blatch, who organized the Women's Political Union in New York City, Alice Paul, and her associate Lucy Burns, ushered activists into the streets for stump speeches, parades, and nonviolent protests gleaned from their experiences with the British movement. Yet as they gained public visibility, disputes over how to maintain respect for womanhood and who should be included in the suffrage ranks rattled the majority of suffragists who belonged to the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).³

In Vermont, where race was not a dominant issue due to the state's demographic mix, white middle-class women and a few men led the movement, one that was barely visible to the general public. Vermont's earliest suffragist, Clarina Howard Nichols, had petitioned the legislature for voting rights in school meetings in 1852 with no success, but after the Civil War, advocates for universal suffrage hoped to enfranchise women by amending Vermont's constitution in 1870. The incipient movement failed quickly and miserably after male leaders of the newly organized Vermont Woman Suffrage Association (VWSA) sponsored suffragists from Boston to tour the state and educate voters. These outsiders were met with ridicule and disrespect, leaving Vermont advocates with little courage for speaking out or faith in outside help. In its wake the VWSA, largely comprised of women from northeastern towns, barely kept the movement alive until the early twentieth century.⁴

Vermont's rural economy and mountainous terrain limited women's ability to participate in a movement that appeared to have little impact on their daily lives except to ignite their husbands' ire. Yet they willingly supported temperance legislation. A ray of hope emerged in 1880 when members of the Vermont branch of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) achieved voting rights for taxpaying women in school district meetings. They relied on mothers' special childrearing role to argue that women needed to vote in order to supervise school curricula, especially temperance instruction. Building upon this success, VWSA initiated a campaign for municipal suffrage but achieved little progress for nearly two decades while membership dwindled. In

her seminal article on the campaign, Deborah Clifford noted that membership in VWSA peaked at 276 in 1896 while the WCTU claimed several thousand members in the state.⁵ Thus when faced with repeated demands for municipal suffrage, legislators maintained that their wives and other women in their towns did not want to vote.

When Lucy Daniels and Annette Parmelee appeared on the scene in the first decade of the new century, the VWSA, which affiliated with NAWSA, was just emerging from the doldrums with a membership hovering around a hundred. Meanwhile, women in Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho had attained full suffrage rights in state and national elections; by 1912 other western states—Washington, California, Oregon, Kansas, and Arizona—would enfranchise women as well.

TWO ROADS TO ACTIVISM

Born just before the Civil War in 1858, Lucy Joselyn Cutler Daniels benefited from the privileges afforded a young woman of wealth. Named after her mother, Lucy Barrett, Daniels maintained deep roots in Grafton, Vermont, where her Barrett grandfather was a prominent storekeeper. Her father, Francis Daniels, was also a successful businessman and had amassed a fortune in cotton trading before settling in Grafton. He became a leading member of the Congregational Church and served in the Vermont Legislature during the war. Yet, when it came to politics, Lucy later claimed that she had gleaned her ideas from her strong-minded mother. Her four older brothers moved to the West and became successful businessmen and lawyers, while she and her younger sister Susan, both of whom remained single, maintained lifelong connections and property in Grafton.⁶

Though attached to her hometown, Daniels broadened her experience and recalibrated her worldview through an extended education. A life-long learner, she attended her parents' alma mater, Kimball Union Academy in Meriden, NH, and graduated from the Gannett Institute for Young Ladies in Boston in 1880. Subsequently, she earned a certificate for a four-year reading course from the Chatauqua Literary and Scientific Circle in 1885. In 1896 she graduated from New York University's innovative "Law Program for Women," which provided her with a legal education, if not a law degree, that would direct her clear-eyed vision of social justice. Moreover, she was introduced to a network of independent-minded women, including suffragists, pacifists, socialists, sex radicals, and advocates for equal pay and workers' rights, many of whom would stand alone outside established norms of womanhood to effect social change in the 1910s.⁷

In addition to her exposure to new ideas and activists in New York

City, Daniels had established a residence in Boston, where she escaped from the winter cold and small-town existence in Grafton. After a failed referendum on municipal suffrage in 1895, suffragists in the city were as disheartened as their Vermont colleagues. Yet Boston provided Daniels with access to suffrage fairs, lecturers, and publications, especially the *Woman's Journal*, the organ of NAWSA, which reported worldwide suffrage news. NAWSA slowly gained new momentum after the turn of the century when Carrie Chapman Catt succeeded Susan B. Anthony as president, followed by Anna Howard Shaw in 1904. Daniels normally distanced herself from organizational meetings and bureaucracy, preferring to contribute her membership fees to advance the work. An avid reader of the *Woman's Journal*, she kept up-to-date on news in Vermont while sending copies back to the library in Grafton for circulation. Enthused with new ideas about women's political, economic, and sexual independence, in 1903 she joined VWSA, which sent representatives to meetings of the New England Woman Suffrage Association and to NAWSA. That year she became the Vermont delegate to the NAWSA convention in New Orleans, where her parents had regularly spent the winter months.⁸ At age forty-five, Daniels had become an independent-minded woman whose wealth, education, and urban lifestyle led her to disregard conventional notions of female propriety.

Unlike Daniels, who preferred to act on her own, Annette Parmelee eagerly participated in local community organizations and adhered closely to the standards of white middle-class womanhood. Born at the end of the Civil War on April 7, 1865, Annette Cora Watson was the middle child of Joseph Jefferson Watson and Carrie Gurney Watson of Washington, Vermont. Little is known about her girlhood, though her parents were farmers who obviously cared about her education and religious training, resulting in a life devoted to self-improvement and abiding Christian faith. When she was sixteen, her parents managed to send Annette to Goddard Seminary, a high school in nearby Barre, where she also joined the Barre Congregational Church. After one term at Goddard and teaching briefly, she enrolled in one of the earliest nurse training programs at Mary Fletcher Hospital in Burlington, graduating in 1885. With a keen desire to serve others, she worked as a nurse in Burlington and Barre before marrying Edward J. Parmelee of Enosburg Falls on Christmas Day in 1889. Edward, who had two young children by a previous marriage, was employed as the chief accountant for B. J. Kendall Company, a renowned developer and marketer of Kendall's Spavin Cure, a liniment for horses. Highly respected as a financial manager and dedicated Methodist, he eventually became his wife's most stalwart supporter as she engaged in controversial social reforms.⁹

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Having joined the Enosburg Falls United Methodist Church, Annette Parmelee became devoted to the religious community and to charity both locally and through the Woman's Home Missionary Society (WHMS). The WHMS developed Christian educational programs and scholarships for Black, Indigenous, and immigrant women and children nationwide. This connection between her religion and social improvement intensified Parmelee's sense of mission while also providing an outlet for developing her talent as a lecturer, vocalist, and writer. She eventually became well known for her speeches on art and performances of sacred music at WHMS conventions; her own paintings decorated the walls of the Parmelee home.¹⁰

As the wife of a Kendall Company executive, Parmelee also associated with an elite group of women whose prominent husbands were responsible for major structural developments in Enosburg Falls as it expanded in the 1890s. She became a founding member of the Ladies Village Improvement Society, organized to beautify the new village park, and arranged literary and musical programs to entertain the group. In 1900 Parmelee helped establish the Clover Club, a separate literary group, for which she organized lectures and chose readings on poetry, history, and other topics, including the Civil War, slavery, the "new woman," and social problems, especially temperance.¹¹

Not satisfied with local beautification and the literary endeavors of women's club work, Parmelee turned her attention wholeheartedly to the temperance movement, which drew her into more controversial reform activism. Members of the WCTU, founded in 1874, extended their missionary zeal beyond the prohibition of drinking to a myriad of social problems supposedly related to excessive alcohol consumption. By the early twentieth century, they had embraced Francis Willard's "Do Everything" policy of social and political reforms, including woman suffrage. As citizen-mothers, women needed the ballot, they argued, in order to protect their homes, not only from alcohol, but also against tobacco, poverty, prostitution, and other social ills. This link between temperance advocacy and woman suffrage remained strong throughout the long campaign in the state. On the one hand, it mobilized women into the movement, yet on the other, it inhibited progress by galvanizing antiprohibition politicians.¹²

The WCTU's "Do Everything" policy dovetailed perfectly with Parmelee's desire to help poor women and her ambitions as a social reformer. Beginning in 1903, when she organized a local chapter in Enosburg Falls, she and her members visited poor households and supplied food, clothing, and other necessities along with leaflets, "Scripture texts," and "sacred pictures" that would inspire "nobler living." Stories

of poverty and abuse heightened Parmelee's commitment to enacting prohibition and "righteousness legislation" for women and children. With a heightened sense of mission and a supportive husband, she began distributing materials for debates on the woman's vote in schools, granges, and churches. While still serving as superintendent of "purity in literature and art" for the WCTU in Franklin County, she became head of the Franchise Department for the state WCTU and press secretary for the VWSA.¹³

"ANNETTE THE SUFFRAGETTE"

When Annette Parmelee joined the Vermont Woman Suffrage Association in 1907, it was on the brink of a major rejuvenation, due partly to her efforts. After the death of the organization's longtime secretary, Laura Moore of Barnet, new leaders emerged to revitalize the movement by recruiting younger members, expanding geographically, and adopting a new name, the Vermont Equal Suffrage Association (VESA). Bolstered by progress in western states, their bill providing municipal suffrage for taxpaying women easily passed the Vermont House in 1906 and lacked only three votes in the Vermont Senate. The appearance of NAWSA's new president, Anna Howard Shaw, at VESA's next annual convention in Burlington and a contribution of \$1,000 boosted the campaign even further.¹⁴

With her appointment as press secretary, Parmelee hoped to raise the visibility of the movement in preparation for the 1908 legislative session. She wrote polite letters to newspaper editors statewide urging them to print suffrage news; she corresponded with school principals suggesting woman suffrage as a student essay topic; she sent suffrage literature to religious and other community leaders and even secured an endorsement from Governor George Prouty. At first her efforts went largely unrewarded. Typical was the response of W. C. Belknap of the *Bellows Falls Times*, who noted politely, "We have no particular objection to women voting, if they want to, but are not enough interested to keep telling them that they ought to want to." He had no room for suffrage news unless she paid for it. Several friendly editors were willing to report state meetings, but most avoided the issue by claiming they would only print local news. Neither school principals nor the superintendent of schools responded favorably.¹⁵

Parmelee's efforts to gain publicity for the movement improved markedly after her first address to a joint legislative hearing at the Vermont State House in December 1908. With a keen sense of righteousness, Parmelee appealed to male lawmakers by highlighting the injustice of "TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION" and insisted that

women are citizens; “WIVES, MOTHERS, WIDOWS, AND DAUGHTERS ARE ‘PEOPLE,’” she asserted, with “special rights to protect, taxes to pay and wrongs to remedy.” She presented an extensive list of supportive men’s and women’s organizations, named other nations and US states that had adopted some form of woman suffrage, and urged lawmakers to “recognize the justice of our claims.”¹⁶

Women’s equal citizenship may have been her initial plea, but Parmelee’s rhetoric was deeply rooted in white middle-class notions of female behavior. Taking her cue from national campaign literature, she touted all women as more highly educated, virtuous, and progressive than most male voters, and she accepted property or educational qualifications for voting. Any man, whether a “loafer, one who had to make a cross on his ballot, one in his dotage, a negro, a foreigner, or a pauper” was urged to vote, she grumbled, while “a college educated woman, who had raised a noble family, was not wanted at the polls.” She detailed the trials of working women paid far less than their male counterparts while evoking sympathy for mothers and widows unable to vote for “home protection.” All women needed the ballot, she insisted, “because, they are, or ought to be EQUALLY CONCERNED for GOOD GOVERNMENT and CIVIC RIGHTEOUSNESS.” With a heightened sense of female rectitude, she condemned male hypocrisy. “If women yelled for 45 minutes as the men did for [Theodore] Roosevelt or an hour and a half as they did for [William Jennings] Bryan, . . . the women would be charged as being too emotional.” Yet women would never get “up on a platform waving an umbrella, whirling another around in the air by her jacket, and hugging each other like grizzly bears, as the men did in Chicago.”¹⁷

After witnessing the conduct of legislators in the Vermont State House, Parmelee became increasingly passionate about protecting the home and vulnerable women and children from ignorant, greedy politicians and liquor lobbyists. In her assessment, these were the “real enemies” of the woman suffrage movement. “Suffrage for women,” she explained, “means the placing of a weapon of power in the hands of one-half of our intelligent citizens” to combat the “greed and lust” prevalent in society and politics. In those states where women have access to the ballot, “one of first things they do is to exercise it in defense of the dearest spot on earth, the home.”¹⁸

Disregarding her attempts to shame them or to gain their sympathies, some Vermont legislators and newspaper editors were quick to dub Parmelee as the state’s “suffragette” in an initial desire to dismiss this provocative woman as a dangerous radical. Yet she was nothing of the sort. In fact, she informed them that members of VESA were “suffragists”

not “suffragettes,” a term adopted by British women who had protested in the streets and resorted to violent actions. Parmelee, by contrast, refrained from “unladylike things” in order to get a hearing and maintain respect with lawmakers. Yet the editor of the *Rutland Daily Herald* was determined to squash this scolding, “shrewish woman” by coupling her with British radicals, questioning her married status, and suggesting she belonged in the “ducking pond.” Quick to respond with her own repartee, Parmelee exclaimed, “O, dear! We are glad he admits her shots are ‘fatal’; the aim has always been to kill or cure.” “If these men should be disfranchised because of their violent talk,” she asserted, “they could better appreciate the legal position of women.”¹⁹

Though the editor of the *Rutland Daily Herald* remained a staunch enemy, by the 1910 session eighteen newspapers carried favorable accounts of Parmelee’s one-hour address to the legislature. Her regular attendance led the *Montpelier Argus* to note that, “Annette Parmelee of Enosburg has appeared in her seat in the third house [gallery] and now the legislature can settle down to business.” The *Burlington Free Press* called her the “star attraction,” and another compared the legislators’ enthusiasm to that of “a suffragette convention on the war path.” After witnessing her lecture in Windsor, the friendly editor of the *Vermont Journal* confirmed that she was not your typical “suffragette” or “Carrie Nation type.” He described her as a modest-looking Quaker-like woman, a “diplomat, not a shrew,” though she was clearly “on the warpath” for

suffrage. She was tall, “kindly countenanced,” and happily married with a couple of grown children, and her husband did not look “henpecked,” as some claimed. Still, despite a flood of petitions and Parmelee’s attempts to propose a constitutional amendment, woman suffrage became entangled with new debates about whether tax-paying women should be allowed to vote on liquor questions and pay a poll tax.²⁰



Annette W. Parmelee. The only known image of Mrs. Parmelee. It comes from a photographic portrait she commissioned and appears on some of her broadsides announcing lectures. No date.

Always gracious, Parmelee thanked every friendly editor and expressed her appreciation to the many legislators who voted for suffrage. But after witnessing lawmakers in action, she bemoaned their foolishness and had little regard for their political capabilities. They cast votes for spurious reasons, gained popularity from spouting the “funniest lie,” and knew little about current bills or law. After they repeatedly claimed that women were uninterested in voting because they failed to attend school meetings, she promptly informed them that only “taxpaying women” could vote, which included single women with inherited property or widows owning property in their own right. Subsequently, they admitted having laughed at their wives if they indicated a desire to participate in politics. “I think if I could have about 100 years I could get a few ideas into some of these rock ribbed heads,” she explained to Mary Dennett of NAWSA, though “I might have to use granite drills.” Yet she was also confident that “the men of this state are coming to think of Annette, taxes & dirt as three things that can’t be evaded, dodged, or killed.” They are finding that “‘Annette’ will not be bluffed ignored or beaten which is worth something.”²¹

Parmelee earned respect as much from her sense of humor as from her polite and affecting political rhetoric. She confessed to having a childhood proclivity to always being “a rogue” and seeing the “fun side of things,” though she worried, it could “bar me from activity in a ‘dignified campaign.’” Proof of her celebrity emerged during a mock session of the Vermont Legislature in January 1911, when she joined in the fun along with the lawmakers. A young representative from Londonderry suddenly appeared in the house chamber in the modest feminine attire of “Annette . . . the suffragette.” The prim “Annette” proceeded to recite a poem in defense of a facetious universal suffrage bill, which required married men to vote only as their wives had dictated. Watching the farce from the gallery, Parmelee was as “tickled” as anyone that evening.²²

Not to be outdone by this playful gender reversal, she wrote and performed in a satire, entitled the “Man’s Suffrage Bill.” In collaboration with the local WCTU, she staged the farce in several communities in Addison County, billing it as “an evening of fun and fact.” Set in 2099 when women are in power and men are seeking their rights, the play posed Parmelee as speaker of the house who heard arguments from the “suffrager, Mr. Danette W. Farmelee,” and the “anti-suffrager” before a vote was taken. This spectacle topped her more prosaic efforts to educate the public. In 1910 she reported having written 3,057 pieces of mail, canvassed the clergy, conducted thirty-seven debates, composed 131 newspaper articles, furnished leaflets to ninety WCTU units, delivered the *Woman’s Journal* to every graded school and library in the state, and placed literature at county fairs.²³

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SOMETHING NEW UNDER THE SUN

A Legislature Composed Wholly of Women and A

PUBLIC HEARING

ON THE

MAN'S SUFFRAGE

BILL

THE ENTIRE DEMONSTRATION is founded upon fact, not fiction. Many of the arguments used against granting the suffrage to men are the very same that men have used against granting the ballot to women. "What is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander." The entertainment will be given under the auspices of the ADDISON COUNTY W. C. T. U. and will be in charge of

Mrs. Annette W. Parmelee of Enosburg Falls,

who is widely known in connection with Suffrage Work, and who will act as Speaker of the House.

Holly Hall, BRISTOL, Vermont,
Wednesday Ev'g, May 24.

ADMISSION 10-25-35c. Seats on sale at the South Side Drug Store.

Also at FERRISBURG CENTER, MAY 25th. at the Town Hall.

TICKETS 10 AND 15 CENTS.

COME PREPARED TO "LOOK PLEASANT," PLEASE.

The Standard Booklet Press.

"Man's Suffrage Bill" Broadside, 1911.

Parmelee's entertaining lectures and press accounts spread her fame among suffragists and encouraged supporters, though many women in Vermont, unfamiliar with politics, may have been unaware of her activities. An admirer from New Jersey reprinted her letters to editors in her local press; the editor of the *American Suffragette* in New York City sought an article for the magazine; and NAWSA exhibited Parmelee's flyer, "Seventeen Reasons Why Women Should Vote," at international meetings.²⁴ Locally, she received compliments from women who were heartened by the new apostle for woman suffrage. A member of the WCTU praised Parmelee for "the atmosphere of consecration to God and unselfish devotion to the things that make for the uplift of humanity which radiates from your personality." Yet there were fierce opponents as well. One correspondent insisted she had all the rights she needed and filled her letters with insults, exclaiming that "a woman *who will lower her self* enough to want to vote, does not deserve to be called woman." The silent majority of women may not have been so opposed to voting as indifferent to the cause or afraid of speaking out.²⁵

THE TAX RESISTER

Far from apathetic, Lucy Daniels sprang into action after witnessing Parmelee's activism. She had become an enthusiastic follower of the British suffragettes and their American followers who were experimenting with new tactics. She had even marched in one of the earliest parades in New York City with 3,000 suffragists, including many working-class women, who were willing to bring "Votes for Women" into the streets.²⁶ Taking her cue from Parmelee's insistence that taxation without representation was un-American, Daniels notified Grafton's tax collector that she would not be paying her property tax until the town's representative changed his vote on woman suffrage. Moreover, she brazenly advertised her politics by painting, "A Square Deal, Votes for Vermont Women," on one of her buildings, borrowing President Theodore Roosevelt's political rhetoric for the cause of woman. Townspeople were astonished, and Parmelee was delighted; the action prompted plenty of press coverage and support from taxpaying women. Daniels was equally interested in improving conditions for working-class women, asserting, "women should vote . . . to help regulate their salaries and make them as high as men's." It was unjust, she noted, that women in the West and not the East could vote. She also began placing regular advertisements promoting "Votes for Women" in the *Bellows Falls Times* and supplied the Grafton library with works by freethinkers Olive Schreiner and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who bemoaned the confines of domesticity and explained the



"A Square Deal, Votes for Vermont Women." Daniels's building in Grafton. Year uncertain.



Lucy J. C. Daniels, age 30, 1888, Courtesy of the Grafton Historical Society.

gendered division of labor. Officials in Grafton responded to Daniels's protest by seizing enough of her bank stock to cover the tax. After a nephew bought it at auction, she may have recouped the loss.²⁷

For the next eight years, Daniels corresponded intermittently with Parmelee as the two women supported each other while pursuing divergent strategies to enfranchise women. While in

Boston, Daniels asked Parmelee to keep track of her representative's votes, and in turn, she kept Parmelee abreast of activities in Boston. After watching a suffragist performance, she advised Parmelee on the script for her upcoming farce. Daniels eagerly anticipated the imminent arrival of Sylvia Pankhurst, the British socialist and "suffragette," while explaining that "My sympathies are in England."²⁸ Active in the labor movement, the Pankhurst family founded the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), which advocated suffrage for working-class women and ushered protest marches, civil disobedience, and militant tactics into the suffrage movement. Inspired by WSPU's ability to generate publicity, the Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government (BESAGG), organized in 1901 to advance suffrage along with other progressive reforms, began hosting trolley tours, outdoor meetings, and door-to-door visiting in immigrant neighborhoods.²⁹

Having witnessed or even participated in some of these events, Daniels had been exposed to a new kind of suffrage activism in the city as well as the plight of urban working-class women, all of which expanded her experience beyond that of most of her middle-class counterparts in Vermont. She was in her mid-fifties, unmarried but economically secure, and removed from small-town gossip. She had little concern about her reputation as a woman, appreciated her economic independence, and recognized that it was essential for other women as well. Laconic and frugal, she spent her money carefully, never missing a chance to minimize expenses while occasionally contributing more than the regular membership of \$1 to VESA. She often sought to shed her status as a woman of independent wealth. When Grafton's tax collector reminded her that she could vote in

school meetings, she refused until all women could vote because, she exclaimed, "I am not an aristocrat!"³⁰

Though she was eager to distance herself from the privileges of class, Daniels worked with other white middle-class suffragists dedicated to grassroots organizing. In 1912 she became a local ward officer with the Woman Suffrage Party of Massachusetts (WSPM), an umbrella group of suffragists connected to the BESAGG. They began canvassing tenement buildings seeking to educate and recruit every voting-age woman. The experience of going door-to-door to engage urban working-class women heightened a sense of sisterhood among women while mitigating their class differences.³¹

Daniels had little patience for administrative duties or the intraparty squabbles endemic to organizational culture and rarely undertook official roles. "I like to keep a little aloof to keep out of the fusses," she told Parmelee, "they have them too in Boston & one dislikes to get the feelings against any."³² Impatient with circulating literature and petitions, Daniels was increasingly captivated by the fun of Pankhurst-style "militancy." She believed spectacular antics garnered "enthusiastic recruits," and that most men admired women for it despite their criticism. In pursuit of the excitement of the streets, she marched in two exhilarating suffrage parades organized by the Women's Political Union in 1911 and 1912 in New York City. In this way, suffragists hoped to capture the public's attention.³³

Daniels was therefore ready for action when Alice Paul and Lucy Burns brought the WSPU's tactics into the national limelight by staging a spectacular suffrage parade in Washington, DC. Branded as radicals and militants for their association with British suffragettes, Paul and Burns were committed to WSPU's policy of holding politicians to account on woman suffrage. They had joined the British movement and been jailed with other activists for harassing politicians, illegally entering buildings, interrupting meetings, and damaging property. After suffering through two hunger strikes and forced feeding that had ignited the press, Paul returned to the US. Eventually, she joined NAWSA, hoping to redirect the organization to focus on the federal amendment and bring the suffrage campaign into public view without the militancy British women exhibited. In March 1913 she famously staged her first parade to embarrass President Wilson the day before his inauguration. With a single-mindedness that became legendary, Paul organized contingents of beautifully clad suffragists in white gowns from every state to parade down Pennsylvania Avenue. With Inez Milholland in the lead, astride a white horse, suffragists perched on elaborate floats or waved from decorated automo-

biles. Seeking diversity in the ranks, Paul sought to include college, professional, and working-class groups as well, but racial diversity raised objections from NAWSA officials, who warned that Southern women would boycott the event if Black women marched alongside their white counterparts.³⁴

Eager to participate and attuned to both class and race issues, in an unusual move Daniels wrote the parade committee offering to donate \$50 for the recruitment of a hundred Black women and \$60 if they were allowed their own float. For a thrifty woman, it was a significant contribution, but it revealed her grasp of racism within the movement. Black people “would inspire more respect if they would arouse to their rights,” Daniels informed Julia Pierce, president of VESA. Daniels’s advocacy for Blacks may have been rooted in her Barrett family’s tradition of support for abolition and her acquaintance with the highly respected family of Alec and Sally Turner and their thirteen children, whom she had known since their arrival in Grafton in 1872. In the end, Paul segregated most Black women at the back of the parade, though Ida B. Wells famously marched with women from Illinois; several other state contingents were integrated, and Black women from Howard University also participated as a college group. The event proved to be a turning point in the movement and Paul’s leadership after the suffragists endured considerable physical harassment from angry men and police failed to protect them. The spectacle ignited the press, culminating in the nationwide publicity Paul had hoped to garner.³⁵

Daniels brought her enthusiasm back to Vermont the following year when she bravely staged a suffrage parade in the quiet village of Grafton. On May 2, 1914, NAWSA sponsored nationwide suffrage demonstrations, leading members of VESA to organize local meetings and pic-



*“Women Marching in Suffragette Parade, Washington, D.C.” March 3, 1913
[National Archives, ID# 24520426, unrestricted]*

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nics in fourteen towns in Vermont. Foregoing the suffrage march in Boston, Daniels orchestrated a unique parade in Grafton reminiscent of Alice Paul's spectacle in Washington. A twelve-year-old boy, mounted on his gray horse decked out with a "Votes for Women" sash, led a small troop of youngsters dressed in white and adorned with yellow ties, tunics, and bows; they carried "Votes for Women" flags with stars and knocked on doors, alerting residents about a rally on the village green. After singing suffrage songs, they planted a tree in honor of Daniels's great aunt, Caroline Barrett of Freeport, Illinois, who had cast her first vote at age 80 in local elections a month earlier. A hundred residents gathered to hear speeches from men and women including Daniels, who overcame her discomfort with public speaking to detail the benefits of "Votes for Women." Yet the "hit of the afternoon" was a speech by Florida Turner, the twenty-two-year-old daughter of Alec and Sally Turner. Daniels had succeeded in making Grafton's parade and program an integrated event.³⁶

At a banquet following the rally, Ella Dwinell, a young suffragist, delivered a speech that reflected Daniels's ideas and suffrage rhetoric. Woman's place was no longer in the home, she explained; thousands of women are forced out of their homes into factories because of "the need of self-support." Those at home work tirelessly on farms in support of their families. "A woman's sphere is to do all the odd jobs men do not care for at half price," she asserted. Full citizenship would allow women to vote for educational and wage improvements, dispelling their frivolous and fanciful image. She advised doing "something valiant to better the world" rather than letting your "lives move aimlessly on with only criticism for any movement not conforming to the ruts of our old experience." Daniels and her contingent of suffragists sought to awaken Vermont women who feared that political activism would disrupt their status as wives and mothers or result in ridicule.³⁷

By this time Daniels had shifted her political loyalty to the Progressive Party. She urged Parmelee, who like most suffragists favored Republicans, to join the only major party to fully endorse woman suffrage. With Theodore Roosevelt as their standard bearer in 1912, party leaders adopted woman suffrage as a wedge issue that would attract female voters. In Vermont, Progressives split from Republicans, who had dominated politics since the Civil War; they proposed Fraser Metzger for governor, and gained a quarter of the vote. Daniels worked to elect Samuel T. Leonard, a member of the Progressive Party, to represent Grafton in the legislature; he voted for municipal suffrage in the next session. Though it failed to pass once again, she finally paid her taxes.³⁸

ROADBLOCKS ON THE PATHWAY TO SUFFRAGE

Annette Parmelee was just as exasperated with Vermont legislators as Daniels. The municipal suffrage bill had become a “football,” tossed back and forth between the house and senate; if one body passed it, the other would not. Daniels, who believed the “reactionary” body was nearly hopeless, shifted her attention to direct actions and the passage of a federal amendment, while Parmelee became more pragmatic and pursued her own legal research before submitting another bill for municipal suffrage. To ensure that all women could vote in town meetings on an equal basis with men, they needed to fulfill the qualifications of “free-men” by taking an oath of loyalty and paying local taxes, which included a percentage on the value of their property plus the poll tax, set at the time at \$2. To include the majority of women who did not own property on the tax list, she reasoned they could pay a small poll tax. Therefore, at the 1912 legislative session, she proposed two bills, one to allow women who qualified to vote and another to reform the poll tax provision by assessing each man and woman a \$1 poll tax, thereby splitting the tax for married couples while meeting the taxpaying qualification for women. Unfortunately for Parmelee, the proposal became the “storm center of suffrage” in the state; it not only caused confusion and resistance from men and women, but also encountered serious contention within VESA.³⁹

By 1912 VESA’s membership and geographic reach had expanded along with the success of the suffrage movement nationally. Successful campaigns in California and Oregon enfranchised significant numbers of women, who held the potential to influence election outcomes. New activists in Vermont included Frances H. Rastall, whose experience as a successful temperance and suffrage advocate in Kansas gained her considerable deference among VESA’s leadership. Immediately appointed to the legislative committee, Rastall took charge of formulating a municipal suffrage bill, not realizing that without addressing the statutory qualifications for voting, it would have only enfranchised taxpaying women, about fifteen percent of the total. Parmelee fretted that Rastall was unfamiliar with either Vermont statutes or judicial precedents, so she submitted her controversial proposal as well. Not only did other suffragists object to imposing a poll tax on women, but the bill allowed legislators to wrangle over the poll tax question. One representative speculated that he would have to pay his wife’s tax and that of his four unmarried adult daughters. Moreover, the poll tax provided antisuffragists with just the argument they needed to organize recruits and turn out for a tumultuous hearing during the 1912 session, when they expressed

their disdain for the burden of voting. Suffragists concluded that the poll tax question had derailed their bill, and they dismissed Parmelee as press superintendent. Regardless of her legal expertise and her desire to remove both gender and class barriers to voting, she had obviously miscalculated and felt betrayed by her own colleagues.⁴⁰

If at any time Parmelee needed a friendly collaborator, this was the moment. Feeling slighted and chagrined, she also suspended her activism with the WCTU, whose members had mistakenly endorsed Rastall's bill. Lucy Daniels assured her friend that her reasoning was sound and raged against Rastall's "farfical" bill; it was a sham, she insisted, designed to create "an aristocracy of women voters" and "hood-wink" the public into believing that "Vermont women have municipal suffrage." She urged Parmelee to simply submit a presidential suffrage bill to the next legislative session and to keep educating the public, especially in *The Advance*, the organ of Vermont's Progressive Party. "You are an exceptionally keen & clear writer & the papers know you & are eager for readable, ENLIGHTENING articles." Daniels also wrote Lydia Pierce, VESA's outgoing president, praising Parmelee's expertise. With characteristic diligence, Parmelee spent much of the following year consulting legal experts and educating the public through the press. Daniels admired her columns for their "amiability, homelike flavor & absence of malice," which "has been the charm of your writing, while hitting the nail squarely at the same time."⁴¹

Despite Daniels's occasional warnings about organizational dysfunction, Parmelee was eager to reengage with VESA. She was delighted when Elizabeth Van Patten of Burlington enlisted her to help organize county leagues for VESA in Franklin and Lamoille County. Putting her "shoulder to the wheel" again, Parmelee spoke to local meetings of the Grange and recruited new members. In preparation for the 1915 legislative session, she also wrote independently to lawmakers, politely informing them about the legal issues, and supplying them with proposals for a presidential suffrage bill and an alternative to Rastall's bill equalizing the poll tax. It was "a mistake and unjust," she argued, not to enfranchise more women than "merely taxpayers" according to Rastall's bill. Despite Parmelee's entreaties, legislators debated the bill anyway, which passed in the senate but failed again in the house.⁴²

Defeated again, leaders of VESA retreated to "quiet methods" while Parmelee's stature rose. Her tactful letters and informative newspaper columns had resulted in a serious debate over how to achieve a legal basis for women's equal citizenship. By 1915 all three political parties and the governor had endorsed woman suffrage to varying degrees; meanwhile women were voting in twelve other states. Yet her promi-

nence also provoked a new round of banter in the press after the editor of the *Rutland News* dubbed her the “Suffragette Hornet” and suggested she relocate to Iceland, where women could vote. Others speculated how she would fare in Iceland, but the editor of the *Montpelier Argus* defended Parmelee. With her “ready wit” and “good nature,” Vermont could not afford to lose her, he proclaimed.⁴³ Not to be undone, Parmelee invited all the editors to Enosburg Falls, where she would supply them with easy chairs, hammocks, and “plenty of women’s suffrage and prohibition chin music, ending with a Victrola concert.” “Now what more can a real live hornet do to stir things up and then give them a rest?” Appreciative of their attention, she noted that the “cause is marching on,” even though “Vermont men are slow to adopt good things.” It is unlikely that any journalists appeared on her doorstep, but the Parmelees were pleasantly surprised when Lucy Daniels arrived instead. After their brief visit, Daniels noted that her friend was “surprisingly pretty, refined & interesting,” with a “quiet manner,” and her “business-like husband” was “an ardent admirer.”⁴⁴

With renewed self-confidence that woman suffrage was “marching on,” Parmelee began a whirlwind campaign to educate the public, recruit suffragists, lobby Vermont’s congressional delegation, and prepare her bills for the next legislative session. In January 1917, woman suffrage was one of many reform issues that had changed the political climate, brought serious deliberation to social problems, and ushered civic-minded women into politics. Under pressure from the Progressive Party, labor unions, and women’s groups, Republicans debated protections for factory workers, child labor, care of the poor, and educational reform.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, the campaign for the 18th Amendment prohibiting the sale of alcohol had gained momentum, and Parmelee continued to have her voice heard on that issue while pursuing woman suffrage. Working closely with VESA’s leadership, she campaigned in northern and central Vermont and consulted with friendly legislators, including former Progressive Party gubernatorial candidate Fraser Metzger, who agreed to submit her bills again. Despite the sudden death of her thirty-six-year-old stepson, Parmelee lectured, wrote articles, and spent time in Montpelier testifying and lobbying. Her extraordinary efforts were finally rewarded at the end of March when the house (104–100) followed by the senate (16–11), passed a bill allowing women to vote in town meetings. In lieu of a poll tax, women without real property could simply list cash on hand to be taxed at 1 percent. Suffragists touted the fact that Vermont was the first state in New England to pass municipal suffrage, but the following November New York enacted full suffrage for women, marking an even more significant turning point as the first state

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in the East to do so.⁴⁶ By summer, after more than a year of exhausting work, Parmelee was ready to relinquish her seminal role to younger suffragists who were shifting their focus to what became known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

THE PICKETER

While Parmelee lobbied legislators in Vermont, Lucy Daniels had become enthralled with Alice Paul, who was developing new strategies to pass the amendment. During 1916, Daniels kept Parmelee abreast of happenings in Boston, where she attended meetings of the Progressive Party and Paul's organization, the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage (CU). Initially organized as an affiliate within NAWSA, Paul and Lucy Burns were unable to reconcile with its leadership over financial and strategic differences, causing a formal split from the moderates. In the 1914 and 1916 elections, Paul used the CU as a single-issue political party to organize western women voters in an effort to defeat all Democratic congressional candidates to punish the party for failure to pass the amendment. For the suffragists of NAWSA, this injection of partisan behavior into the movement threatened the long-standing nonpartisanship of respectable women and the relationships they had forged with Democratic leaders. But according to Daniels, who had no qualms about partisanship, CU's Boston branch included "the more advanced suffragists." In late 1916, Paul created its successor, the even more radical NWP. Though it represented only about 5 percent of activists, it had an outsized influence on public sentiment because of its partisanship, aggressive lobbying, protesting, and personal attacks on Wilson—all considered unbecoming of women.⁴⁷ Wilson feigned support for the women's vote, insisting it should be left to the states, yet Paul believed the president had the power to shift the party's position, and steady pressure on him was the key to success. Meanwhile, President Carrie Chapman Catt of NAWSA, with VESA in tow, insisted on nonpartisanship and politely lobbied any Congressional leader amenable to woman suffrage.⁴⁸

The split divided allies like Parmelee and Daniels over tactics, but did not curtail their friendship. Initially, Parmelee praised the CU for its power to "strike blows," but feared the unintended consequences of Paul's campaign and single-minded pursuit of partisan goals for Vermont's fragile movement. Vermont suffragists could not afford divisions, she argued, when so many women were still uninformed or indifferent and partisanship would alienate both friends and foes. Daniels held no such scruples, plunging ahead to follow Paul's inspirational leadership, including her controversial deployment of pickets.⁴⁹

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After Wilson was reelected, Paul organized what were called the “Silent Sentinels,” suffragists who stood silently, draped in purple, white, and gold banners, in front of the White House. As one of the earliest nonviolent political protests in the nation, their vigil began on January 10, 1917, and continued every day in freezing rain, sleet, or snow as they held large banners questioning, “Mr. President what will you do for woman suffrage?” and “How long must women wait for liberty?” At first spectators were dismissive of the curiosity, and Wilson ignored them; but critics abounded, and leaders of NAWSA decried the personal attack on Wilson. When the sentinels persisted after the US entered World War I in April, however, the NAWSA and the public condemned the NWP for lack of patriotism. Recruiting suffragists became more difficult, yet for Paul, Wilson’s claim that he was saving democracy abroad while refusing to enfranchise women at home was the height of hypocrisy. Meanwhile members of NAWSA sought to counter the backlash against suffragists with a display of women’s extraordinary commitment to the war effort, insisting that their war service qualified them as voters.⁵⁰

Attributing warlike behavior to male rule, Lucy Daniels believed there would be no war if German women had been allowed to vote. Like other pacifists, she applauded the sentinels and was delighted with newly elected Representative Jeanette Rankin of Montana, who voted against the war measure. By summer, however, the public had little tolerance for the unpatriotic picketers. After they dubbed the president “Kaiser Wilson,” crowds disrupted their silent vigils, ripped up their banners, and sent some women tumbling into the street. Failing to protect them adequately, the police eventually began arresting the women for obstructing traffic. Refusing to cooperate with legal proceedings or pay fines, they were sentenced to jail and/or the Occoquan Workhouse in Virginia, where they were housed with mixed-race inmates and prostitutes, stripped and clothed in prison garb, fed minimal rations, and slept in unsanitary cells. In protest, they demanded to be treated as political prisoners and threatened to go on a hunger strike. Instead, they were put in solitary confinement. These hardships eventually reduced the supply of willing picketers, with the exception of more radical and socialist women. Seeing no other option to hold the administration to account for the mistreatment, Alice Paul, who had been ill, returned to the picket line, was sentenced to six months in the workhouse, and began a hunger strike. Subject to three weeks of forced feeding down her nose, the frail suffragist was eventually transferred to a secluded ward for psychiatric evaluation.⁵¹

Paul’s courageous stand and imminent commitment to a psychiatric

hospital galvanized the press and catapulted Lucy Daniels into action. On November 10, 1917, she and forty other “best and bravest” suffragists marched to the White House and were arrested, hoping to overwhelm prison officials and forestall Paul’s demise. With cheers from a more sympathetic crowd, the women were herded into patrol vans. After their release on bail, they returned to the picket line twice and were eventually sentenced to varying terms at Occoquan; Daniels for fifteen days and Lucy Burns for six months because of her previous arrests. For the twenty-nine women transferred to the workhouse, the ordeal had just begun. After they claimed political prisoner status and refused to cooperate, prison officials ordered guards to handle them roughly and weaken their resistance. Thrown, dragged, carried, and slammed into cells in the men’s section, the women were traumatized, not only physically but also by the indignities they suffered. Refusing to be silenced, Burns was handcuffed to the bars above her head and left hanging; she led several other prisoners in a hunger strike, resulting in painful feedings through their nostrils. *The Suffragist*, the organ of the NWP, printed news of the cruel treatment of these white middle-class women, dubbing it the “Night of Terror.” As the news spread nationwide, the prisoners garnered considerable sympathy from the public and became an embarrassment for the Wilson administration. After they demanded a habeas corpus hearing, the bedraggled women were returned to district jail. Three days later, prison officials abruptly released Alice Paul and all the other picketers, probably as a result of public pressure on the administration. In weakened condition after refusing food, many of the women also suffered irreparable damage to their reputations, having alienated friends and neighbors.⁵²

Undaunted by the injustice and abuse during her incarceration, Daniels retooled quickly. She was fifty-nine years old and had just spent thirteen days suffering for a political cause, but she declined to dwell on the mistreatment and exhibited little concern about her reputation. Vermont papers had reported that Daniels had become a picketer, but only the *Burlington Free Press* relayed the prisoners’ ordeal and release without naming Daniels.⁵³ She wrote Parmelee from the Hotel Bellevue in Washington five days after her release, informing her friend simply, “Released Tuesday.” She planned to stay for the upcoming NWP convention and perhaps the NAWSA convention, doubting the latter would yield anything of substance. Yet, she was enthused about hearing Jeanette Rankin’s speech to the WCTU and wanted to meet up with anyone coming from Vermont. At the NWP convention, the suffragists gloried in their release, which validated their right to nonviolent protest, and applauded Congress for scheduling another vote on woman suffrage. To

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honor the bravery and suffering of the prisoners, Alice Paul awarded each a “Jailed for Freedom” pin with a tiny replica of the prison doors. A month later Wilson proffered support for the amendment publicly, and the US House passed the measure on January 10, 1918. Vermont Congressman Porter Dale voted for it, but Frank L. Greene of St. Albans did not, nor had he voted for the recently passed 18th Amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcohol, much to the distress of Annette Parmelee.⁵⁴

TARGETING THE SENATE

Back in Vermont, VESA had condemned the actions of the “militants,” but Parmelee was aghast at the prison terms and “inhuman treatment” of the picketers. She was also in the awkward position of having to defend their actions while lobbying Vermont’s US senators. Senator William Dillingham was firmly opposed, claiming the issue belonged to the states; Senator Carroll Page had expressed some sympathy but no commitment to woman suffrage. Working for NAWSA, Parmelee conferred with Daniels as both women sought to persuade Page to vote for the Anthony Amendment. Daniels sought help from NWP leaders, but as she explained, they considered Vermont a “nonentity & hardly worth it.” To forestall Page’s critique of the just-released prisoners, Parmelee praised the senator for supporting the war and highlighted the patriotism of all those suffragists who were now devoted to war work. The protesters were “just as patriotic,” she averred, yet they have been “compelled to serve prison terms” simply because they were asking for “a complete democracy here at home.” She acknowledged that perhaps their methods were “unwise,” but so were those of the “‘Boston Tea Party’ and the ‘John Brown Raid.’” Meanwhile, the claims of the great body of suffragists were being ignored. Appealing to his “sense of justice,” she reminded him that women are citizens with the “same inherent claims and the same fundamental rights” as men.⁵⁵

Parmelee maintained her correspondence with Page and US Representative Frank L. Greene during 1918 as she was drawn further into parallel efforts in Vermont to gather signatures on a petition for the amendment and to promote presidential suffrage in the next legislature. After celebrating the women’s vote in town meetings, members of VESA were reluctant to take further action immediately, but Parmelee was eager to capitalize on the momentum garnered from passage of full suffrage in New York, and she began soliciting legislative backers for a bill allowing women to vote for presidential electors, which was not subject to state constitutional provisions. By the end of the year, however, war work, the onset of the flu epidemic, and inflationary pressures stymied the suffragists. Suffering from the flu herself, Parmelee was exhausted caring for family members.⁵⁶

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Meanwhile, Daniels had spent the summer in Vermont before returning to participate in direct actions with the NWP. Disappointed with the president's insufficient pressure on Democratic senators, Paul began staging demonstrations in Lafayette Square across from the White House, provoking confrontations with viewers, arrests, and jail time for the suffragists. On October 1, the senate failed to pass the amendment by two votes. Wilson finally urged senators to pass it after the war was over, but when he left abruptly for the peace conference in Europe, Paul ceremonially cast Wilson's speeches into a "liberty fire" to keep suffrage alive in a perpetual "Watchfire." Claiming he was falsely pursuing democracy, a few months later she would burn the president in effigy. Even some members of the NWP were shocked at these antics, but not Lucy Daniels. Fearless in her loyalty to Paul, she willingly stood by the "Watchfire," resulting in her arrest and another brief stay in jail.⁵⁷

The heightened notoriety of the NWP bolstered the "antis" in Vermont and made Parmelee's appeals to legislative leaders even more difficult. She complained that the press "exploited" the picketers' actions to "disgust and deaden the suffrage sentiment in the state." Yet she bravely defended their "lawful" protest in the *Burlington Free Press*. In response to a senator from Morrisville, who dubbed them "a bunch of fanatics" and "unfit for citizenship," she acknowledged they were perhaps "foolish and misguided" but acted in "A perfectly legal manner"; the "real ruffians" were the "officials and bystanders" who mistreated them. They are "among the best educated, most intelligent and refined women in this country," she averred; they are earnestly seeking democracy at home, and are "better fitted for citizenship in every way than the majority of our voters in Vermont." Meanwhile she complained to Daniels that she felt "bound and gagged."⁵⁸

Equally frustrated with VESA's lack of activity on the presidential suffrage bill, Parmelee wrote NAWSA officials, noting that she felt like a "caged lioness." To her relief, in a strategic move NAWSA had taken charge of lobbying lawmakers quietly to avoid a surge of opponents; a month later she proudly noted that her bill passed on February 6, 1919. Moreover, she was able to thank Senator Carroll Page, who had finally chosen to vote for the Anthony Amendment, though it failed to pass the senate again by one vote.⁵⁹ If she was elated, her glee was short lived because Governor Percival Clement, a staunch opponent of both prohibition and suffrage, promptly vetoed the presidential suffrage bill, claiming inaccurately that it conflicted with the Vermont Constitution. Undaunted, Parmelee swept into action to lobby members of the house, but the effort to override failed.

Disappointed with Vermont again, Lucy Daniels performed her last brave action to pressure Wilson on the Anthony Amendment. Just as

Wilson was due to arrive home from Europe after the Paris Peace Conference, Paul solicited NWP members to interrupt his procession to Boston Common by demanding that he secure the last vote needed to pass the amendment in the Senate. Recruiting suffragists to go to jail again had become nearly impossible, according to Boston's leadership, but on February 24, Lucy Daniels and twenty-one other women muscled their way to the front of the reviewing stand to alert the public that suffragists were still waiting for the president to act. When they refused to move, the women were politely escorted to a police van and arrested. Nineteen women, including Daniels, refused to give their names or pay fines and were sent to Charles Street Jail, where they insisted upon political prisoner status. NWP officials complained about the deteriorated conditions in the jail to gain sympathy for the prisoners, but they were relatively well treated and released four days later after a Massachusetts lawyer mysteriously paid for their fines. Subsequently, vandals broke windows and splashed "Jailbird Retreat" on Daniels's Grafton residence, identifying her as Vermont's most "militant" suffragist.⁶⁰

THE "PERFECT 36TH"

Even before Congress finally passed the Anthony Amendment on June 4, 1919, NAWSA began organizing Vermont suffragists for the ratification campaign. The legislature would not meet again until 1921, propelling the suffragists to solicit pledges from legislators urging Governor Clement to call a special session. He was likely to do that "about the time *white black birds* appear," Parmelee declared, for "he is iron clad and rock ribbed against every moral question, and *especially woman suffrage*."⁶¹

By April 1920, Vermont had become one of two states in New England with the potential to be the final thirty-sixth state to ratify, yet Clement remained defiant even against Republican Party leaders who sought credit in the upcoming November elections for passing woman suffrage. In her first venture into the streets, Parmelee became part of an historic contingent of 400 women who traveled to Montpelier in an April storm, marched down State Street, and up the capitol steps to meet with the governor. One of many speakers that day, Parmelee made her last pitch for justice and fairness to American women.⁶² For her part, Lucy Daniels protested at the Republican National Convention in Chicago, where she and other NWP members held banners outside the convention calling out the governors of Vermont and Connecticut for blocking woman suffrage. "Will the Republican Party allow two men to prevent the enfranchisement of 20,000,000 women?" they demanded.⁶³ Despite pressure from ranking Republicans including presidential candi-

date Warren Harding, Clement continued to deny Vermont's suffragists the glory of being the "Perfect 36th." In the end, the battle moved to Tennessee, which supplied the final ratifying vote on August 26, 1920.

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Unknown to most Vermonters today, Annette Parmelee and Lucy Daniels both made their mark on the state's history as they participated in changing the political status of women in the nation. Meeting only once, they differed temperamentally and strategically but nonetheless bolstered each other to help strengthen the campaign. Parmelee, the diplomat, readily bridged strategic differences in pursuit of her goals, while Daniels, fearless in the face of disapprobation, was impatient with the slow pace of change. Yet it was Parmelee who spurred Daniels into action when she publicly reprimanded her legislator, claiming it was unfair for women who paid local taxes to be disenfranchised. Daniels, in turn, provided Parmelee with the sustenance she needed to withstand legislative ridicule and resistance as well as the internecine battles among suffragists.

In the end, Parmelee gained more recognition within Vermont for her valiant and successful advocacy for women's voting rights and for prohibition than Daniels, who remained on the sidelines in the state's campaign. Vermonters were far more willing to countenance a womanly and persistent reformer like Parmelee than Daniels, who spurned established standards of female behavior. Though she may have been proud to vote in the 1920 election, Parmelee had become overworked, and her health deteriorated. She struggled to complete a history of Vermont's campaign for the last volume of *The History of Woman Suffrage* and helped educate women about their new civic responsibilities before she died of pernicious anemia on August 1, 1924, at age fifty-nine. Newspapers statewide acknowledged the loss of one of its "foremost woman citizens," giving her credit for having accomplished her goals. She was an "able, effective, and conscientious propagandist, unafraid and undismayed," according to the editor of the *St. Albans Messenger*. Editors who had "crossed swords with her in public" often received "a congratulatory letter" upon agreeing with her views. No history of the state, he concluded, could be written without an account of Annette Parmelee's activities.⁶⁴

The radical actions of Lucy Daniels, on the other hand, remained in the shadows of Vermont history, and she is mentioned only as a footnote in histories of the NWP. Her tax protest aside, she received little media attention for her militancy nor public sympathy for her willingness to be a prisoner for suffrage. Newspaper editors in Vermont were captivated by the provocative and entertaining Annette Parmelee, but they largely ignored suffrage radicals, who rarely appeared in the state. After 1920, Daniels con-

tinued to support progressive causes, adopted vegetarianism, and pursued her education. In 1926 she received a law degree from Portia Law School (later New England School of Law), established in Boston for women only. Though she spent less time in Vermont, she maintained her residence in Grafton. Remembered fondly as “Aunt Lou,” she was a neighborly but eccentric philanthropist and provided a bequest of \$80,000 to the Grafton Public Library upon her death at age ninety-one in 1949.⁶⁵

NOTES

¹ Lucy J. C. Daniels to Annette W. Parmelee, 14 April 1918, MSC 144, Fl. 17, Vermont Equal Suffrage Association Papers, 1883–1927, Vermont Historical Society, Barre, VT (hereafter VESA Papers).

² For Black, Indigenous, and Asian women, the struggle for women’s voting rights continued into the middle of the century, culminating in the Voting Rights Act of 1965. For significant histories of the movement, see for example, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, et. al., eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6 vols. (Rochester, NY: Susan B. Anthony, 1881–1921); Eleanor Flexnor, *Century of Struggle: The Woman’s Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Atheneum, 1971); Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women’s Movement in America, 1848–1869* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1978); Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, ed., *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement* (Troutdale, OR: NewSage Press, 1995); Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African-American Women in the Struggle for the Vote: 1850–1920* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998); Faye E. Dudden, *Fighting Chance: The Struggle over Woman Suffrage and Black Suffrage in Reconstruction America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Martha Jones, *How Black Women Broke Barriers, Won the Vote, and Insisted on Equality for All* (New York: Basic Books, 2020); Elaine Weiss, *The Woman’s Hour* (New York: Penguin, 2018). For an assessment of suffrage literature, see “Interchange: Women’s Suffrage, the Nineteenth Amendment, and the Right to Vote,” *Journal of American History* 106 (December 2019): 662–94.

³ Organized in 1890, NAWSA combined the National Woman’s Suffrage Association, under the leadership of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and the American Woman’s Suffrage Association, led by Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, Julia Ward Howe, and others in Boston. The two societies had split in 1867 over both tactics and race, two issues that continued to bedevil NAWSA. For the use of new tactics by the next generation of suffragists, see for example, Ellen DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1997); J. D. Zahniser and Amelia R. Fry, *Alice Paul: Claiming Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁴ For Nichols, see Marilyn S. Blackwell and Kristen T. Oertel, *Frontier Feminist: Clarina Howard Nichols and the Politics of Motherhood* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), ch. 4. For the post-Civil War campaign, see T. D. Seymour Bassett, “The Campaign for Woman Suffrage in Vermont,” *Vermont History* 14 (April 1946): 47–61; Deborah P. Clifford, “An Invasion of Strong-minded Women: The Newspapers and the Woman Suffrage Campaign in Vermont in 1870,” *Vermont History* 45 (Winter 1975): 1–19.

⁵ Deborah P. Clifford, “The Drive for Women’s Municipal Suffrage in Vermont,” *Vermont History* 47 (Summer 1979): 182.

⁶ *Five Dollars and a Jug of Rum: The History of Grafton, Vermont, 1754–2000* (Grafton, VT: Grafton Historical Society, 1999), 120, 132–33, 189–92; Daniels Family Papers, Grafton Historical Society, Grafton, VT. Daniels mentions her mother in “Miss Daniels Will Keep Up the Fight,” *Vermont Phoenix* [Brattleboro], 1 December 1911, 4.

⁷ Daniels Family Papers; “Women Lawyers,” *The Standard Union* [Brooklyn], 30 April 1896, 1; Phyllis Eckhaus, “Restless Women: The Pioneering Alumnae of New York University School of Law,” *New York University Law Review* 66 (December 1991): 1996–2013.

⁸ *Five Dollars and a Jug of Rum*, 190; *Annual Report of the Vermont Woman’s Suffrage Association and Minutes of the 19th Convention Held at Barton, Vermont, June 9 and 10, 1903* (Jericho, VT: Roscoe Printing, 1903), 5, 15.

⁹ “Mrs. Annette Parmelee Dies,” *Burlington Free Press*, 2 August 1924, 2; *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Goddard Seminary, Barre, Vermont, 1882* (Montpelier, VT: Watchman & Journal Press, 1882), 13; “Edward Jones Parmelee,” *Burlington Free Press*, 25 September 1928, 12.

¹⁰ Parmelee served on the committee on reading courses for the Vermont branch in 1903. See “Annual Meeting Woman’s Home Missionary Society,” *Burlington Free Press*, 4 June 1903, 4.

¹¹ Janice Geraw, ed., *Enosburgh, Vermont* (Enosburgh Falls, VT: Enosburgh Historical Society, 1985), 137–47; Ladies Village Improvement Society, Record Book, 1896–1918, Enosburgh Historical Society, Enosburgh, VT.

¹² Deborah P. Clifford, “The Women’s War Against Rum,” *Vermont History* 52 (Summer 1984): 141–60. The Vermont chapter of the WCTU fractured over the suffrage issue in the late 1880s.

¹³ Annette W. Parmelee, “Enosburgh Falls,” *Vermont Home Guards* (February 1910); “Do You Want to Vote?” (March 1910), clippings, MSC 146 Newspapers, VESA Papers; “W.C.T.U. Convention Closed,” *St. Albans Messenger*, 15 June 1905, 7; “County W.C.T.U. Convention,” 23 May 1907, 6; *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union of Vermont and Minutes of the Convention at Morrisville, October 11th, 12th, and 13th, 1911* (Newport, VT: W. B. Bullock, n.d.), 70–73. See also Vermont WCTU *Annual Reports, 1903–1913*.

¹⁴ *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Vermont Woman Suffrage Association and Minutes of the Annual Convention at Brattleboro, June Sixth and Seventh, 1906* (Lyndonville, VT: H. B. Davis, n.d.); *The Twenty-third Annual Report of the Vermont Equal Suffrage Association and Minutes of the Annual Convention Held at Burlington, Vermont, Thursday and Friday, June Thirteenth and Fourteenth, 1907* (Bethel, VT: Bethel Printing, n.d.).

¹⁵ W. C. Belknap to Annette W. Parmelee, 25 March 1908, MSC 144, Fl. 5, VESA Papers.

¹⁶ [Annette W. Parmelee], *An Appeal in Behalf of Right and Justice* (Enosburgh Falls, VT: Vermont Equal Suffrage Association, Enosburgh Standard Print, [1908]).

¹⁷ “Hunting Season Is Still Closed,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 27 October 1910, 1; Annette W. Parmelee, “Seventeen Reasons Why Women Should Have the Ballot,” flyer, c. 1911, Vermont Historical Society.

¹⁸ Annette W. Parmelee, “The Real Enemies of Woman Suffrage,” *The Vermont Advance* [Burlington], vol. 2, no. 4 (16 October 1915), 5.

¹⁹ Annette W. Parmelee, “Suffragettes or Suffragists,” *Burlington Free Press*, 19 October 1908, 5; “We Have Heard from Annette,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 27 and 29 November 1909, 4; “Annette and the Editors,” *Express and Standard* [Newport], 24 December 1909, clipping, MSC 146, Fl. 26, VESA Papers.

²⁰ “Annette Came to Town,” *Vermont Journal* [Windsor], 24 February 1911, 1; “Woman’s Column,” *Hardwick Gazette*, 8 December 1910, 7; Annette W. Parmelee, “Franchise,” in *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Vermont Woman’s Christian Temperance Union*, 1910, 70–73, in MSC 145, Fl. 10, VESA Papers.

²¹ “Mrs. Parmelee’s Address,” in *The Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Vermont Equal Suffrage Association and Minutes of the Annual Convention* (Essex Jct., VT: Roscoe Printing, 1909), 10–17; Annette Parmelee to Mary Ware Dennett, n.d., MSC 144, Fl. 1, VESA Papers.

²² Annette Parmelee to Elizabeth Van Patten, 18 March 1915, MSC 144, Fl. 12, VESA Papers; “Pages Fun Making Session,” *Montpelier Evening Argus*, 25 January 1911, 2.

²³ “Man’s Suffrage Bill,” flyer, 1911, VESA Papers; “Man’s Suffrage Meeting,” *Bristol Herald*, 25 May 1911, 4; Stanton, Anthony, et. al., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6:654.

²⁴ Sophia M. Loebinger to Annette Parmelee, 5 December 1910, MSC 144, Fl. 7; Annette Watson Parmelee, “A Possible Solution of the Barry-Bok Puzzle,” *The American Suffragette*, vol. 2, no. 5 (January 1911), 9–12; Parmelee, “Franchise,” 73.

²⁵ Ida M. Parsons to Annette Parmelee, 24 June 1912, MSC 144, Fl. 9; Mrs. H. W. Abbott to Annette Parmelee, 10 November 1910, MSC 144, Fl. 7, VESA Papers.

²⁶ For an account of the parade, see Bertha Damaris Knobe, “The March of 3,000 Women,” *Harp-er’s Weekly* [New York], 20 May 1911, 8. Daniels mentions parades of 1911 and 1912 in Lucy Daniels to Annette Parmelee, 14 May 1913, Fl. 10, MSC144, VESA Papers.

²⁷ “Women’s Bank Stock Sold,” *Vermont Phoenix*, 17 November 1911, 3; “Refuses to Pay Her Taxes,” *Burlington Weekly Free Press*, 30 November 1911, 8; “No Vote, No Tax, She Says,” *St. Albans Weekly Messenger*, 21 December 1911, 12.

²⁸ Lucy Daniels to Annette Parmelee, 7 January 1911, MSC 144, Fl. 8 and 8 March 1912, MSC 144, Fl. 9, VESA Papers.

²⁹ For the Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government, see Barbara F. Berenson, *Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2018), ch. 8.

³⁰ Lucy Daniels to Annette Parmelee, 29 January 1914, MSC 144, Fl. 11, VESA Papers.

³¹ Berenson, *Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement*, 116–18; Minutes, Ward 10, Woman Suffrage Party, 10 December 1912; “Ward and Precinct Officers, 1913–1914; Woman Suffrage Party

of Massachusetts Records, Maude Wood Park Papers, Schlesinger Library, Cambridge, MA (accessed online at: [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:464443971\\$1i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:464443971$1i)).

³² Lucy Daniels to Annette Parmelee, postcard, 22 May 1913, MSC 144, Fl. 10, VESA Papers.

³³ Lucy Daniels to Lydia A. Pierce, 6 March 1913; Lucy Daniels to Annette Parmelee, 14 May 1913, MSC 144, Fl. 10, VESA Papers; Berenson, *Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement*, 114–18; for the Women’s Political Union, see DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage*, 140–43.

³⁴ Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 136–44; for Paul’s tactics, see especially, Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

³⁵ Zahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 136–44; L. J. C. Daniels to Emma Gillett, 5 February 1913, and Daniels to Parade Committee, 10 February 1913, Reel 1, National Woman’s Party Records: The Suffrage Years, Library of Congress, cited in Jill Zahniser, William Watson, and Marilyn Blackwell, “Biography of L. J. C. Daniels,” *Online Biographical Dictionary of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States*, accessed online at <https://documents.alexanderstreet.com/d/1006939754>; see also Linda G. Ford, *Iron-Jawed Angels: The Suffrage Militancy of the National Woman’s Party, 1912–1920* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), 111. For Daniels comments on Black rights and militancy, see Lucy Daniels to Julia A. Pierce, 6 March 1913, Fl. 10, MSC 144, VESA Papers. For a contemporary account of the parade, see *Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News*, vol. 44, no. 16 (8 March 1913). For the Turner family, see Jane C. Beck, *Daisy Turner’s Kin: An African American Family Saga* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), chs. 7 and 8.

³⁶ “Suffrage Demonstrations May Second,” *The Vermont Advance*, 9 May 1914, 9; “Suffrage Day Parade,” *Springfield [VT] Reporter*, 8 May 1914, 8. Florida Turner was the youngest of thirteen children. See *Five Dollars and a Jug of Rum*, 202–203; Beck, *Daisy Turner’s Kin*, 131–135; 176–179.

³⁷ “Suffrage Demonstrations May Second,” *The Vermont Advance*, 9 May 1914, 9.

³⁸ Lucy Daniels to Annette Parmelee, 27 February 1913, MSC 144, Fl. 10, and 7 March 1915, Fl. 12, VESA Papers. For the Progressive Party in Vermont, see Michael Sherman, Gene Sessions, and P. Jeffrey Potash, *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont* (Barre: Vermont Historical Society, 2004) 365–66. (The Vermont Legislature, which normally met every other year in October, did not meet in 1914; a new biennial schedule began in January 1915.)

³⁹ Parmelee explained her legal reasoning to leaders of the WCTU in Annette Parmelee to “Dear Co-Worker,” 19 January 1914, MSC 144, Fl. 11, VESA Papers; see also “Woman Suffrage in Vermont,” *Bethel Courier*, 8 April 1915, 4. For a study emphasizing Parmelee’s legal reasoning as the source of her eventual success, see Megan Moynihan, “Annette Parmelee, the ‘Suffragette Hornet,’ and the Fight for Woman’s Enfranchisement in Vermont,” Senior Paper, Middlebury College, 1997.

⁴⁰ Annette Parmelee to “Dear Co-Worker,” 19 January 1914; *Vermont Equal Suffrage Association Yearbook, 1912–13* (Woodstock, VT: Elm Tree Press, 1913), 11–14; Annette Parmelee to Mrs. Rastall, 8 November 1912, MSC 144, Fl. 9, VESA Papers; “Vermont Women and the Ballot,” *Burlington Free Press*, 23 May 1914, 5.

⁴¹ Lucy Daniels to Annette Parmelee, 29 January 1914, Fl. 11; 14 May 1913, Fl. 10; 19 October 1914, Fl. 11, all in MSC 144, VESA Papers.

⁴² Elizabeth Van Patten to Annette Parmelee; Parmelee to Van Patten, 16 and 18 March 1915, Fl. 12; Parmelee to Stanley C. Wilson, chair Republican State Committee, 22 December 1914, Fl. 11; Parmelee to J. O. Kimball, 16 February 1915, and other correspondence in Fl. 12, MSC 144, VESA Papers; quote from “Woman Suffrage in Vermont,” *Bethel Courier*, 8 April 1915, 4.

⁴³ “The Suffragette Hornet,” *Herald and News [Rutland]*, 29 July 1915, 2; “Annette Would Make It Warm for Mr. Iceland,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 13 July 1915, 4; “Watching Legal Voters,” *Montpelier Evening Argus*, 16 July 1915, 6.

⁴⁴ “The Suffragette Hornet,” *Vermont Journal*, 16 August 1915, 2; Lucy Daniels to Julia Pierce, 15 October 1915, Fl. 13, MSC 144, VESA Papers.

⁴⁵ For the Progressive Party and social reform, see Sherman, et. al., *Freedom and Unity*, 362–75.

⁴⁶ Annette Parmelee to Miss Wakefield, 3 January 1917, Fl. 14; Parmelee to E. E. Moore, 15 January 1917, Fl. 15; Fraser Metzger to Parmelee, 23 January 1917, Fl. 15, VESA Papers. After passage of the bill, Parmelee alerted women voters. See Annette W. Parmelee, “Facts for Women Voters,” *Burlington Free Press*, 11 April 1917, 5; “Communication,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 12 April 1917, 4. Parmelee’s stepson died from appendicitis, after being treated in a hospital in Gary, Indiana. See “Enosburg Falls,” *Burlington Free Press*, 4 January 1917, 6.

⁴⁷ Lucy Daniels to Annette Parmelee, 18 February 1916, Fl. 1 or Lucy Daniels folder, MSC 144, VESA Papers; Berenson, *Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement*, 144.

⁴⁸ Jahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, 177–84; Christine A. Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1910–1928* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1986), 55–70; Adams and Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign*.

⁴⁹ Annette Parmelee to Adelaide Estee, 26 April and 15 November 1915, Fl. 13, MSC 144, VESA Papers. Estee of Montpelier joined the CU and later led a branch of the NWP in Vermont, which had 11 members in 1917. Daniels was associated with NWP's branch in Boston.

⁵⁰ For pickets at the White House, see Jahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, chs. 13 and 14.

⁵¹ Lucy Daniels to Annette Parmelee, [1917] and 21 April 1917, MSC 144, Fl. 15; Jahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, ch. 14.

⁵² Jahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, ch. 14. For contemporary accounts and names of women arrested, see Doris Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1920), ch. 11, 357; Inez Hayes Irwin, *The Story of Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party* (Fairfax, VA: Denlinger's, 1964), 252–53, 257–62; Mary A. Nolan, "That Night of Terror," *The Suffragist*, 14 November 1917, 7; "Suffrage Pickets Freed from Prison," *New York Times*, 28 November 1917, 13.

⁵³ Six Vermont papers reported Daniels as a picketer; see for example, "Picketing Suff a Grafton Woman," *Brattleboro Reformer*, 5 November 1917, 3; for picketers' release, see "Hunger Strikers Given Liberty," *Burlington Free Press*, 28 November 1917, 1.

⁵⁴ Lucy Daniels to Annette Parmelee, 2 December 1917, Fl. 16, MSC 144, VESA Papers; Jahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, ch. 14.

⁵⁵ Lucy Daniels to Annette Parmelee, 13 January and 8 February 1918, Fl. 17; "Present Arguments to Senator Page," *Barre Daily Times*, 28 January 1918, 1; Annette Parmelee to C. S. Page, 12 December 1917, Fl. 16, MSC 144, VESA Papers.

⁵⁶ For Parmelee's letters to Page and Greene, see Fl. 17, MSC 144; for correspondence at the state level, see Fl. 18–20, MSC 144, VESA Papers.

⁵⁷ Jahniser and Fry, *Alice Paul*, ch. 15; Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom*, 357.

⁵⁸ Annette Parmelee to Lucy Daniels, 24 January 1919, Fl. 21; Parmelee to M. P. Maurice, 9 November 1918 and M. P. Maurice to Parmelee, 9 December 1918, Fl. 20, MSC 144, VESA Papers; Annette W. Parmelee, "Political Justice for Women and Its Certainty of Coming," *Burlington Free Press*, 18 January 1919, 5.

⁵⁹ Annette Parmelee to Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, 25 January 1919; Wilson to Parmelee, 5 February 1919; Parmelee to Carrie Chapman Catt, 10 February 1919; Parmelee to Senator C. S. Page, 26 February 1919, all in MSC 144, Fl. 21, VESA Papers.

⁶⁰ James J. Kenneally, "I Want to Go to Jail": The Woman's Party Reception for President Wilson in Boston 1919," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 45 (Winter 2017): 102–33, for Daniels, see 117; *Five Dollars and a Jug of Rum*, 132.

⁶¹ Annette Parmelee to Dr. Marion Horton, 11 September 1919, Fl. 24, MSC 144, VESA Papers.

⁶² "Gov. Clement Replies to Suffragists," *Montpelier Evening Argus*, 22 April 1920, 1–3; for Parmelee's address, see 2.

⁶³ Irwin, *Story of Alice Paul*, 459–60.

⁶⁴ "Mrs. Annette Parmelee," *St. Albans Daily Messenger*, 2 August 1924, 4. Eleven newspapers carried death notices, see for example, "Mrs. Annette W. Parmelee Dies," *Burlington Free Press*, 2 August 1924, 2.

⁶⁵ *Five Dollars and a Jug of Rum*, 93, 191. A framed image of Daniels's Portia law degree hangs in the Grafton Public Library.